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REVIEW.

VOL. XXVIII.

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~~New Series.~~

~~VOL. XIX.~~

BOSTON,
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1829.

THE

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REVIEW

VOL. XXVII

NEW SERIES

VOL. XII

BOSTON

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1851

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

LAWRENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY.
No. LXII.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXXVII.

JANUARY, 1829.

ART. I.—*Lord Byron and his Contemporaries ; with Recollections of the Author's Life, and of his Visit to Italy.* By LEIGH HUNT. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey. 8vo. pp. 440.

WE remember Mr Hunt as the author of the *Feast of the Poets*, a gay and pleasing little poem ; of *Foliage*, which faded with considerably more expedition, than if it had been natural ; and of *Rimini*, a work not deficient in talent, but written expressly to recommend a remarkable dialect, which he chose to denominate the poetical language, because, as it appeared, it was such as never had been heard of in the intercourse of men. In the Dedication of the last of these works to Lord Byron, the author spoke much of his *fellow-dignity*, a phrase which we do not profess to comprehend, but which seems to have given umbrage to his lordship ; whose dissatisfaction was expressed in a manner, which evidently had its influence in changing this fellow-dignity into indignation. Nothing we had known of Mr Hunt inspired us with any enthusiastic desire to meet him again, though we could not have expected from his good-natured absurdity, a work like the one before us.

The most pleasing trait in human nature, is that which leads us to forget the frailties of the dead ; which makes the grave a retreat even from just indignation, and considers them as gone where no human praise can follow, and no human judg-

ment reach. Nothing but the sternest sense of duty can justify the man who disinters them ; and in most instances he will bring upon himself the condemnation he was preparing for them. We take it that Byron's character was sufficiently known ; no one worshipped him as a saint, or a martyr ; and we think it was no offence to morality or religion to lament him as a great, though misguided genius, who, with better education and under more auspicious circumstances, might have shone magnificently among the lights of the world. The critics in this case certainly had not been unmindful of their duty ; and if any one was called upon to publish a new edition of his frailties, it was not Mr Hunt, who was treated by him with a respect and intimacy, which was not the least of the follies, with which the world upbraided him. Moreover, Mr Hunt is deficient in the proper qualifications of a judge, and decides on principles with which we are unacquainted ; manfully disregarding the common prejudice, which requires men to be at least merciful to their benefactors. His wrath against Byron turns upon his lordship's avarice, a vice sufficiently contemptible ; but we think the charge is not well sustained by the evidence he offers. He received from Byron two hundred pounds to enable him to visit Italy ; and his friend Shelley, who was very jealous of Byron, gave a bond for the money, but there is not the least reason to believe that this was required. He tells us that, after this, he received at different times one hundred pounds more, and this, with the payment of his expenses at various places, is all that Byron ever gave him. Quite as much, one would think, as he could expect from an avaricious man. We pass over the rest of these complaints, excepting one in which the world at large has an interest. Mr Hunt represents Lord Byron's aid to Greece as a mere parade of good will, and says that Byron remarked to him, that he should not get off for less than four thousand pounds. We had the impression that Byron, weary of his associates and his degradation, had resolved to do something in Greece to redeem his character ; and we are happy to hear from one of the most enlightened friends of that country, whose long residence in it has made him familiar with its affairs, that Byron was by far the most judicious and practical adviser it had, in its most disastrous times ; and that he advanced for its relief about twenty thousand pounds. Mr Hunt gives us to understand that what he did advance was afterwards demanded and repaid ; but omits a circumstance which he well

knew, and which changes the whole character of the statement, that the money was claimed, not by Byron, but by his executors after his death. On the whole, there is no reason to believe that his lordship was not liberal. It seems clear that he expected some little gratitude in return ; but this, though possibly an error in judgment, considering who his associates were, cannot well be tortured into a crime.

Mr Hunt's name and writings, by a very easy and natural association, remind us of the decline of poetry in public estimation ; and we intend to take advantage of this opportunity to account for it, as well as to give our opinion of the poets and poetry of the present age ; a subject amply discussed by Mr Hunt in his 'Recollections.' We take it that the parade of Lord Byron's name, in the titlepage, was intended to gain a sale for the work ; though we would by no means charge such an unworthy artifice on the author, who evidently regards himself, as the most delightful source of interest in his book. The other characters are made to revolve round himself, in a system like that of Ptolemy, representing the most lack-lustre body as the centre of the whole.

There can be no doubt that poetry has been losing the public favor. The new poem is welcomed, it is true ; but poetry is less read than formerly, and a taste for it is not regarded as so important to the character of the mind. There have been times, and those not unenlightened, when men regarded it as one of the highest pursuits of the mind ; not a mere luxury in which they might innocently indulge at times, but a high intellectual exertion, which, both in reading and writing it, inspired the best feelings and called out the most exalted powers. But now, intelligent men have ceased in a great measure to regard poetry in this light ;—not because the art is less exalted and inspiring, for the treasures it has gathered from Homer downward must remain the same, although nothing be added to them in our own day ; but because various circumstances have called forth tastes of a different kind, and pleasure is sought for in new directions. The world is grown bustling and consequential, and seems disposed to give over the whole department of imagination to those, who have nothing else to do. This, however, is far from being an evidence of real improvement ; for poetry, understood and pursued in its purity, has the same tendency with religion ; to lift the mind above its every-day cares ; to prevent a complete surrender of the soul to business and gain ; and to keep up

those insatiable desires of excellence and knowledge, which, though they may be treated as romance and delusion, have always gone before, if they have not produced all advances in improvement, as the Western world was seen in the visions of poets, ages before it was discovered.

We should be more at a loss to explain this neglect of poetry, if it were not plain, that other strictly intellectual pursuits were laboring under the same depression. The philosophy of the mind, for example, excites no general interest,—we may say, no interest at all. At times, a writer like Brown comes forward, and like the last new poem, makes an impression on the public mind. But he finds no strong party waiting to receive him; on the contrary, he is obliged to create for himself whatever interest his work inspires. We speak of the English public; but the boundaries of nations are so broken down, that the intellect of different lands has begun to ‘flow together,’ and we may assume that what is true of one country is in substance true of the rest of the world. The truth is, that everything now tends to the practical. Instead of metaphysics, we find political economy; and in the department of eloquence, the most relentless prosa that counts the fractions of a proposed retrenchment, is sure of more attention, than the scientific wisdom of Burke. We are well content, therefore, to find, that the fate of poetry is no worse; and that if slighted in its own province, it still finds a welcome, when it inspires Irving or Scott to restore that freshness and charm to the events of history, which the lapse of ages is wearing away. We would say nothing against the practical taste of the day; it is a happy one, if it is not attended with the vulgar prejudice, that intellectual improvement unfits men for the business of the world. It may give them a taste for higher things; but this no more disqualifies them for other duties and cares, than the feeling that there is another life to provide for, unfits us to take a part in the concerns of this.

The writer of a foreign review of Milton, more remarkable for brilliancy than correctness of sentiment or taste, seemed to intimate the opinion that poetical genius implied some unsoundness of mind; of which, Milton, to be sure, was an illustrious example. There were doubtless those, to whom his prophetic hopes and prayers for the welfare of his race, seemed like insanity; and his character was not generally understood, till justice was lately done to him, in our own country, by a most powerful and enlightened mind. But perhaps, as in many other pointed

remarks, more meets the ear than is meant in this proposition ; and the writer simply intended to say, that a poet is less fitted for the practical business of life than less gifted men. This is not necessarily true ; a poet, as well as a practical man, can predict foul weather, when the sky is red and lowering ; and we see no reason why his discerning some moral resemblances in the grand and beautiful aspect of nature, should make him less likely to secure himself or his vessel from the storm. If it be said his fancy is not controled by the judgment, this may be the case with one who has little imagination, as well as one who has much, and it implies a deficiency for which poetry is not answerable. The imaginations of the poet may not be true as to fact, but they may, nevertheless, be true to nature. The reason of the poet can be as much cultivated as that of the philosopher, and his excellence in his art will increase in the same proportion. It is true that practical men are apt to grow indifferent to poetry ; but at the same time they grow equally indifferent to all the pursuits and pleasures of the mind.

But while there is nothing in the practical turn of the times really inconsistent with a taste for poetry, there are circumstances discouraging to the art. The interests of the mind seemed to suffer for the time, when men, not long ago, arrived at the notable conclusion, that each one was a fraction of the human race, and with the form possessed the rights of a man. The disclosure of this mystery occasioned a feverish interest in all questions, whether of intellect, government, or religion ; and matters of every description were debated with an enthusiasm approaching to wildness. The province of taste was invaded with as little ceremony as any other ; and we were edified upon these subjects as well as others, by teachers resembling the Cornish miners in South America, who never doubted that they were fitted for the management of gold, by their acquaintance with the mysteries of tin. But this excitement died away,—there was a general disposition to sit down again under the shadow of old maxims and institutions ; it became necessary for the trumpets of reform to sound louder and louder as men's interest in the subject abated ; writers thought themselves obliged to resort to excess where the simple statement of truth failed to move the public mind, and thus they have given an exaggerated character to all the literature of the day. This exaggeration (the word, says Edie, is 'a lang anc') seems to be wholly owing to despair of gaining the general attention ; and we regret that

authors and poets have felt so much of this unnatural excitement, which leaves a weakness in the whole system. This we take to have been Southey's main inducement for attempting to give a rational interest to monstrous oriental fiction ; and the same wish to excite the flagging interest of the reading world led Byron to put on the masquerade dress of a philosophic libertine. Excitement was their object. They evidently thought such was the insensibility of the times, that extraordinary means must be resorted to, to affect the mind or heart.

There is one real improvement in the age, which has had its effect in lessening the influence of the art. Poetry, to be just to itself, ought always to precede and be the herald of improvement ; but long after the world had begun to grow weary of greatness, poetry kept on celebrating the old glories instead of imagining new. It has done far too much to consecrate the fame of destroyers ; it has chanted its inspiration in exalting those, who after they have enjoyed the poor glory of an hour, deserve to live for ever in the execrations of men. It has also taken its pathetic scenes from the high places of life, and seems to have adopted the faith of the Syrians, 'The Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys.' There are very few, who, like Wordsworth, have taken their readers to cottages, to show them that there are hearts and souls in those neglected places ; still fewer, who, like Byron, have had the boldness to unmask the brazen front of war. Besides, as men grow more enlightened, material things become less important ; men care less to pile the rocks for monuments, except as a matter of taste, because intellectual memorials are found to be more enduring ; castles and cathedrals disappear from the world, because violence no longer requires the one, nor erring piety the other ;—men are ambitious of leaving their names graven, not in brass or marble, but in the minds and memories of men ; and are now able to discover that sublimity in human character, in its unwearied love, stern endurance, and lofty self-devotion, which they formerly sought for in the visible world alone. But all this while poetry has been too much enslaved to material things ; the eye of taste has wept over melancholy ruins, and it has seemed as if there could be no inspiration in a land like ours, destitute of these vestiges of barbarous times that have happily passed away. Poetry should have kept the van in this great reform ; it should have gone on opening new views of duty and improvement, giving healthier sentiments of greatness, in-

spiring a sounder admiration, and kindling better feelings in the heart, than those which commonly govern human action ; and if it had done this, it might, at this moment, have stood higher than ever, with the thinking part of the world.

The poets of the present century have contributed to the disrespect into which their art has fallen. They have done much to unsettle the public taste ;—by setting up new and exclusive creeds ; by insisting on invariable principles in an art, which must adapt itself to the circumstances and feelings of men ; by a desire to strike out new paths, and ridiculing the good old way of Milton, Dryden, and Pope, they have given the impression that it is impossible to tell what poetry is, and as happens in all such cases, have succeeded in producing a general indifference to the art. They seem also to have succeeded in producing the same indifference in themselves ; and seeing the channels to wealth crowded with adventurers, the poets have determined to share the spirit of the age, in which the organ of gain is developed in a remarkable degree. We will not, in this connexion, take liberties with living names entitled to respect ; but even Mr Hunt has discovered that there are things more substantial than fame, and openly declares his purpose to consult his interest more ; to which, even if it implies that he will cease to sing, the world will offer no objection. We cannot help regarding this change as rather profitable than glorious ; but this belongs to a later period, than that of which we intended to speak.

Before the poets retired from the field, however, we are willing to believe, that their loss of influence may be attributed in part to want of high and pure morality ; for though a great proportion of readers may be indifferent to such a defect, this can never be the case with those who direct the public opinion ; they must always be compelled, for their reputations' sake, if no better reason, to sink their private taste in their public duty. Campbell, Rogers, and Southey, were unexceptionable in point of morality ; but mere innocence is not virtue ; we have a right to expect gifted minds to sound the trumpet and set up the standard in advance of that moral improvement, which we trust, though unseen and unheard, is for ever going on. We can hardly say they have done this, though, compared with some of their associates, they appear like children of light. Byron, considering what he ought to have been, is the most guilty in this matter, setting aside his last and worst productions. With

equal defect of good taste and morality, he employed himself in drawing characters of 'one virtue and a thousand crimes,' forgetting that neither poet, sculptor, nor painter, ever became eminent by representing monsters. If we add to these, Shelley, a poet who has excited some interest from his beautiful powers, depraved as his moral taste was by a hateful system, we find him calling repentance selfishness, maintaining that a man ought never to reproach himself, and though denying the existence of God, professing to adore a great spirit of intellectual beauty. Here we see, how far this perversion of good sense and feeling could go. The age has not been destitute of religious feeling; the independence which passed for manliness in the times of Voltaire, is now regarded as childish vanity; and the poets who have disowned religion, have done it to their own loss, notwithstanding, as Mr Hunt says, in his inimitable manner, 'they are eminently pious toward nature, and pious toward the human race.'

The circumstance that some of the first names in modern poetry have offended in this way, has given a character to the whole; and after these graver sins, it may seem like an anticlimax to mention the follies of the poets; but our readers must take the trouble to remember that follies, in all cases, are far more offensive to the world than vices, and meet with sterner condemnation. One of these follies, was the debate concerning the invariable principles of poetry, conducted by Mr Bowles on one side, and Byron and Campbell on the other. The question was, whether the objects of nature or those of art, afford the best images for poetry. It would seem to be clear, that the works of God are greater and more perfect than those of man; but poetical interest does not belong to the objects themselves; it is superadded and given; and it seems idle to ask whether most poetical associations have gathered round the works of nature or those of art. Some critics attempted to give nature the preference, by showing that works of art, when poetical, in fact derived their interest from nature,—that is, from man who made them; but they are not the less artificial, on that account, and we apprehend it would be extremely difficult to find works of art, which were not made by man. Whether one shall be more poetical than another, seems wholly accidental; that may be poetical to one person, which is not so to another; and the only thing approaching to a standard in taste, is the sentiment, if we can ascertain it, of the greatest propor-

tion of men. Thus the *Iliad* and the *Parthenon*, having been stamped with the seals of successive ages, are acknowledged as first among the works of art. But these disputes, in subjects which admit of no precision, have tended to produce a weak and capricious taste in some, and aversion to the whole matter in others. What is exclusive, is almost always wrong. This should be remembered by those who speak of low and rustic life as affording the best subjects for poetry. By the best, they mean too often the only subjects; but others can see, that while low life offers fine subjects, and its language powerful expression, there is no reason why higher objects and incidents should not afford the same. If particular associations have made the hum of a spinning-wheel more inspiring to some than the tones of an organ, it is not wise to set it down as a standard for the taste of the world. We can easily conceive of giving a person a disgust to the whole subject, by talking to him of the invariable principles of poetry, and then taking Pope's works from his hands, and giving him Wordsworth's 'Peter Bell.'

The style of many writers of the day is another instance of folly. The versification of English poetry was polished slowly and with great labor, from the roughness of the metaphysical poets; but certain writers have lately found particular beauty in this very roughness, and labored with singular diligence to make their own verse lame and halting. They are not aware that the unpolished vigor, which seems natural in Cowper and Burns, appears like gross affectation in them; but as most men find a charm in musical verse, it is quite hopeless to call on them to turn from the well ordered military march, to admire the cripples' stumbling procession. This, however, is not the worst affectation of the day; there is an affected vagueness and obscurity,—a style in poetry resembling Hazlitt's in prose, which seems to be peculiarly fascinating to writers, though not to readers. We suppose that poets often feel that language is inadequate to convey their glowing sentiments and emotions. But they must consider that others are not thus oppressed with these same fine imaginations, and the language which seems striking to them, because it is indefinite, will most probably seem unmeaning to their readers. Certainly there are cases of description, like the vision of Eliphaz, where obscurity is impressive; but the obscurity should be in the nature of the subject, not in the mind of the writer. Those who think clearly will generally express themselves with precision; and every one

knows that the thoughts and images of the most gifted poets appear with a clear outline, like that of the statue against the bright blue sky. The advocates of these various systems, of course, deny the name of poet to those who have not followed their rules ; and thus every great name has been roughly dealt with in its turn, except, perhaps, Milton and Shakspeare, which all profess to venerate, as all parties in this country bow to the name of Washington, without thinking it necessary to follow his instruction or example.

We may say too that the poems of the day have generally been adapted to a youthful taste ; they have been founded on the excessive passions of youth, or romantic sentiments which those more advanced in life can neither sympathize with nor understand. We seldom find the history of patience and resolution, the adventure of philanthropists, the high endurance of living and dying martyrs, forming the subject of these poems ; neither do we meet with portraits of affection in its simplicity, depth, and power. We have more of the passion than the sentiment of love ; an oriental coloring is given to every feeling, and we have been called to admire characters like that of the ' Corsair,' which never was nor can be true to nature. The painting is all of the miniature kind ; we find no works like the ' Paradise Lost,' resembling some architectural wonder, where the effect depends on the proportion of the whole, and not the finish of particular parts. All this is somewhat discouraging to those, who, like ourselves, are past the enthusiasm of life. When we read, we wonder where the charm has gone that used to steal over us ; we see with profound indifference what once filled us with rapture, and become familiar with a melancholy feeling, like that which Humboldt beautifully describes, when, passing into the southern hemisphere, he saw the stars that had lighted his infancy sink and disappear. This is what makes so many cease to depend on poetry as a source of enjoyment ; they may go back to Pope and Milton, and read them the thousandth time with pleasure, but they no longer care what poetical stars are rising or setting ; they content themselves with living over the past.

Mr Hunt has named several poets in the course of his work, all of them men of great and various talent, any one of whom might have done much to keep up the standing and influence of his art. Why they have failed to do this, we think will appear as we indulge the remembrance of these distinguished men,

who, though most of them are yet living, have, like Napoleon, passed into history, and made all the impression they ever will make upon the world.

If we arrange them in the order of talent, we should set Byron first ; for it is in vain to deny him the praise of most exalted powers. It is true that they were often perverted and misapplied, and that circumstances aided in the outset to give him notoriety ; but that accidental interest would soon have passed away, had it not been sustained by real and gigantic power. While the harps of other poets could only gain audience as men paused awhile in the midst of their business and care, he sounded a trumpet with which all Europe rang,—people, principalities, and powers stood still to listen ; the moralist was enchanted into silence before him, and the well deserved reproof of virtue died away in praise. We think we give his moral history, and at the same time explain why he did so little to exalt his art, when we say that he wanted character ; he was always the creature of circumstances, impulse, and passion. A youth like his, wild and wayward, with no restraint but that of parents who deserved no respect, and appear to have been remarkably unfaithful to their trust, the one being a dissolute man of the world, the other a headstrong and violent woman, was not likely to give him a right direction for life. We may say that he might have resisted these circumstances ; but we must make fair allowance for the effect of being thus exposed to misleading example. We do not see how he could have been otherwise than haughty, capricious, and resentful ; a prey to the designing, who would flatter his passions, and an enemy to all who would have taught him to restrain them. A strong effort of principle might have altered his character as he grew older ; but throughout his life, he seems to have been wholly destitute of fixed principles, and even habits, of action. He was also disposed to melancholy, which unfitted him for any such exertion. Cheerful in society no doubt he was ; and cheerful in appearance, when, like the sufferers in his vision of ‘Darkness,’ he fired his dwelling as the shadow deepened, to afford a momentary warmth and light. But it is against nature to suppose that an ill-balanced mind like his could be happy, or that dissipation should have failed to produce its usual effect of making the world a wilderness round him. We have no doubt that he felt all the careless desolation he so powerfully describes, even in his youth ; and no one will question that he felt it, after he

had madly 'cut down the bridge,' by which he might have returned to his home, friends, and country. Certainly his inconsistency is far from proving that he did not feel. We can conceive nothing more natural, than that such a man should begin to lament his wife the moment after he had cast her away; or that he should have again been incensed at times, when he thought of his imaginary wrongs, even while he knew that he himself was guilty. Such things are but too natural; and in such quick revulsions of feeling, the colors would naturally be heightened by his poetical imagination.

Such a man requires to be excited by circumstances; and we accordingly find that he did not put forth his strength, till a rude attack from a Reviewer had made him furious. The poem in which he expressed his resentment, was fierce and powerful; but he forgot that the satirist must secure the sympathy of his readers. Their sympathy never goes very heartily nor very far with mere revenge, and always changes sides when that revenge falls on the innocent as well as the guilty. We expect to find him, when in Greece, inspired by her majestic desolation; and accordingly he pours out his soul in a voice like that of past ages. But when he leaves her scenes and ruins, the climate of the East spreads its luxurious influence over him, and though before, in the true spirit of intellectual glory, he had trampled on the poisonous laurels that grow in the field of blood, we find him now perversely employed in exalting robbers and pirates into heroes and martyrs. He rises again among the recollections of Rome, which suggested perhaps the best of his poems; though one would think that he had conceived the idea of writing it, like Gibbon, among the ruins at night. He seems like a guide walking mysteriously through the city, and when he comes to some striking fragment of antiquity, turning upon it the strong light of his dark lantern. But Italy, with her 'fatal gift of beauty,' seems to have enervated all his faculties, and unfortunately his associates were not of a character likely to redeem him. Shelley says in a letter, 'Lord Byron is now reformed, and lives with a very beautiful and sentimental Italian lady.' Mr Hunt, too, declares himself very merciful to such *arrangements*; and with our impressions of Byron, it seems very natural that under such influences, he should have written canto after canto of a work which made many who were unused to blush, redden with shame for him. Again, when, weary of this debasement, he breaks the chain and

goes to aid the Greeks, his energy is called out and he acts with a generosity, good sense, and decision that amazed even his admirers. Like Burns, he had a strong and manly understanding, which appeared where circumstances were favorable to its action. But he had nothing of that resolution, which gives those who possess it such a mastery over themselves and over weaker men. This shows why he appeared at different times so strong, so feeble, so lofty, and so low; why, with powers like an angel's to tower above his fellows, he so often sunk beneath them, and left in the hearts of his admirers, a memory made up of strangely blended recollections of glory and of shame.

We cannot think that the greater proportion of Byron's poetry is likely to endure; too much of it is obscure, prosaic, and unnatural; though in the heavy clouds of smoke, we are occasionally startled by volcanic bursts of passion. He is irregular and unequal; there are few of his longer poems in which he sustains himself throughout; and if we were to select among his writings for immortality, we should pronounce his smaller pieces, like the one beginning 'Oh lady! when I left the shore,' most likely to be admired in future times. Many of these are unequalled for the depth and fulness of their sentiment and meaning, and the plaintive music of their flow. But his fame must be in a measure traditional, though monuments of his greatness will remain. Even if there were none, no one will ever doubt the power of him who made such an impression upon the world.

Next to Byron, if we consult our recollections, we must place Campbell; a name once delightful to all lovers of the art. We can remember the fine promise of 'The Pleasures of Hope,' in which the youthful air of the sentiments contrasted so well with the manly power displayed. His 'Gertrude of Wyoming' was far more perfect; it was almost faultless in its design and execution; and his 'Hohenlinden,' and 'Ye Mariners of England,' equal any thing that poetry has ever produced. Even now, familiar as they are, they send a cheering thrill to the heart, like the roar of a signal gun.

But Campbell early retreated from the field, thinking, perhaps, that he had written enough, and content, as well he might be, to rest his fame on what he had already done. It was certainly a great effort to sustain so high a character, and his later works sufficiently show, that it could not be sustained without

labor. His early works, rapid as their flow appears, were evidently touched and retouched with the painful industry of ancient sculpture. The spirit of the times did not encourage this delicacy, and being sufficiently sure of immortality without it, he gave over the exertion. No one can think that he retired through fear of suffering eclipse from any of the excentric orbs that were rising; but he might have been willing to make an experiment upon his fame, to learn what was his chance for immortality, while he was yet living. We cannot help regretting that he departed from his plan; for 'Theodric,' though it is now generously forgotten, was only calculated to injure his fame, and like Rogers's 'Human Life,' is a warning to poets never, out of complaisance to the times, to attempt to conform to a system which they do not approve at heart.

The world has no right, that we know of, to find fault with a poet for ceasing to write. He cannot be considered as indented to the business, simply because he has written well; still we cannot help feeling as if Campbell's retirement were somewhat inglorious; injurious it unquestionably has been. While he was building the tombs of the older prophets in a beautiful criticism, he might have reflected that the best way to do them honor was to show what kind of poetry their memory and example could inspire. It is unfortunately true of living on one's fame, as of living on one's capital; it diminishes faster than the owner is aware. The world insists upon looking on him, who has once been a poet, as always a poet; and its gratitude, as Walpole said of statesmen, consists in 'a lively sense of *future* favors.' We lament his retirement, not only as depriving us of a pleasure, but as encouraging the gradual decline of the art; for he seems to us better calculated than any living poet, to restore the classical taste and manly simplicity of former days. Campbell had no reason to complain that his works were undervalued; they were sought for and admired by old and young; and the public requires a constant supply of such poetry to keep its taste good. The public mind, disgusted by absurd, or wearied by uninteresting works, soon grows indifferent; and an unhallowed excitement can soon deprive it of its perception of true poetical beauty. If Chantrey should shut up his work-shop, and leave the field to artists of the bowsprit, the taste for sculpture would degenerate rapidly enough in England; and it is evident that a similar effect has resulted from Campbell's retirement; swarms of gilded insects have come out to the light;

many pretenders have gained notoriety by wildness and extravagance, who would have had neither chance nor ambition while labor, accuracy, and talent were essential to success.

We turn, almost with regret, to Wordsworth; a poet surpassed by none in elevation of feeling, strength of imagination, or tenderness of heart, who, by tenaciously adhering to a system, has had less influence on the public mind than any distinguished writer of the age. This is not wholly the fault of the public; and we are the more disposed to give our impression of his merits, because we know that there are among ourselves men of high religious feeling, who find a key-note struck in Wordsworth's writings, and in no other, to which their own hearts can fervently reply. On this account, they forgive or forget his obscurity and other defects; we fully agree with them in their admiration of Wordsworth, and regret the more that a mistaken system, which is nothing but his own taste exalted into a law, has limited his excellent influence in the world.

He maintains that the incidents of humble life are the best calculated for subjects of his art; and in this, we are inclined to agree with him. We are glad to find, that novels, as well as poems, are revealing sources of deep interest among the humble as well as the high. But he evidently treats them as the only subjects of interest, and in this we do not agree with him. We can see no reason for this exclusiveness; if association has made other scenes more poetical to others, he has no more reason for condemning their taste, than they for rejecting his. But to be a good subject of poetry and to be poetical one's self, are two different things; and thus we feel, that to represent the rustic as feeling the poetry he inspires, as actually walking in glory and joy behind his plough, is ludicrously untrue. Many of those cottages that look out so beautifully from their caverns of foliage, are abodes of vulgar vice and pain. Those acquainted with the character of peasants, tell us that they have generally no regard for the beauties of nature; and it is because this taste is so rare among them, that it seems so poetical when it is found. There must be proportion between circumstances and character; and it is by observing this proportion, that Crabbe has become so eminent for his rough-hewn sculpture. Truth is the charm in his poetical descriptions. The want of this truth to nature, prevents Wordsworth from becoming a favorite with the class he describes. They know that there is a simplicity of the man as well as the child, and they

think he has mistaken the one for the other. They know that philosophic pedlars are not to be found in all their acquaintance with that estimable race; and they can have no sympathy with beings that have no existence among men.

We think him mistaken, also, in his theory of the poetical language; a dialect generally supposed to exist, and yet sought for as much in vain, as the *Lingua Franca* on the shores of the Mediterranean. He is for the language of low life, 'purified from its defects'; but it seems to us that its main defect is its rusticity, and when purified from its coarseness, as it is in his writings, it is no longer properly called low. We have half suspected, at times, that he believed with the Frenchman, that 'speech was given us to conceal our thoughts'; but it seems to us, that the best language in poetry and everything else, is that which expresses our ideas, if we have any, with most force and directness. If it be true that people in low life express themselves more forcibly than others, the reason must be that they are more easily and deeply moved; but if others are subjected to the same emotions, the same language will spring to their lips; the accidental difference in circumstances making no change in human nature. That they are more easily moved, we are ready to admit; it is shown in the effect of eloquence upon them; but this only proves that they are better subjects of poetry; that they are more poetical in their sentiments and language, we are not ready to allow.

The general strain of Wordsworth's poetry is healthy and reviving; but there are some instances in which the feeling is excessive, and can find no sympathy in poets or others. We sympathize with him in the joys and sorrows of the cottage, because human nature is there; but we cannot consent to search for 'thoughts too deep for tears' in 'the meanest flower that blows,' because this can only be done by a marvellously excited imagination. It must require a long discipline to learn to be thus strangely moved, and it is, after all, a sad waste of feeling. We can find matter of interest and admiration in the flower, as a work of nature suggesting fine moral resemblances; but we are not prepared to weep over it, till we can be assured that such feelings are consistent with a manly regard to the duties of life; and moreover, till we can be sure of exemption from those misfortunes of life, for which tears are generally shed.

Wordsworth evidently desires to make poetry inspire reli-

gious feelings ; and the attempt is worthy of all praise. But there is no such thing as reforming men, by talking in a language which they do not understand. If he had consulted the example of that religion which inspires him, he would have chosen the language most familiar to his readers, and endeavored to adopt their feelings, so far as he could without compromising his own. In this way he might have elevated theirs, and rendered a noble service to the cause of human improvement ; as it is, he has contributed to the decline of his art, and done as little as a pillar-saint for the welfare of man.

We do not mention some other distinguished poets, partly because Mr Hunt has not afforded us a pretext by introducing an account of them into his book, with the exception of Moore and Coleridge ; the latter of whom has been fortunate enough to maintain the reputation of a great genius, on the strength of his ‘ *Ancient Mariner*,’ a wild and powerful ballad, though his admirers were sorely dismayed, for a time, by the publication of his ‘ *Christabel*.’ The age has afforded all sorts of extravagance, among which the writings of Shelley, Barry Cornwall, and Keats, deserve to be mentioned, to show how beautiful talents can be eclipsed by an unnatural style. They might have shone bright in their several stations, if they had kept the orbits marked out for them by nature ; but they chose to strike out new paths for themselves, and the world has shown no disposition to follow them. They seem to the uninitiated, employed as unprofitably as they would be in painting the colors that float before us when our eyes are shut, or setting to music the ringing in their ears ; and each, by his particular errors, has done something to injure the influence of poetry in the world.

We could not, perhaps, better illustrate what we have said of the decline of poetry in public favor, than by giving a few extracts from writers of this description, Mr Hunt among the rest ; and then by asking whether the art could do otherwise than decline, in an age when there were any who would listen to their magnificent pretensions. But we have no room for these, nor for extracts from the work before us, which has been widely circulated already. It is addressed, not to that desire which all feel to know something of the familiar life of an eminent man, but to the malicious scrutiny which so often assumes the censorship of virtue. We may honor the moralist who throws down the monument of the dead, when he thinks there is contagion lingering in it to destroy the living ; but we have no

desire to repeat Mr Hunt's high-colored account of one who had been his friend, because we believe that he acted more from passion than duty.

What the destiny of poetry will be, we cannot pretend to determine. If, as Byron remarks in one of his letters, the poetical world is in a state of revolution, we trust, that, like other revolutions, it will terminate in improvement at last. The two faults of the age have been imitation and affected originality. It seems hard for a man of talent to confine himself to the foot-prints of those who have gone before him; but he should reflect that excessive care to avoid this resemblance, shows a consciousness of inferiority, quite as often as imitation. We really think, however, that most of those who have dreaded resembling Pope, need have been under no apprehension, lest the likeness should be too striking. We allow that he was elaborate and artificial; and those who find fault with him for this, would do well to remember that poetry is an art. If they say he was too elaborate and artificial, we can assure them that they do not mend the matter by going to the other extreme; and we have no doubt that he will be found nearer to truth and nature than his opposers, when the question, What is truth and nature? is determined, as it must be, by the prevailing sentiment of cultivated men.

ART. II.—1. *Edda Sæmundar hins Fróða, Edda Rhythmica sive Antiquior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta. Pars III. continens Carmina Voluspá, Hávamál, et Rigsmál. Accedit Magnússen (Finni) Priscæ veterum Borealium Mythologiæ Lexicon, &c.* Havniæ. 1828. 4to. pp. 1146.

2. *Svea-Rikes Häfder af E. G. Geijer.* 1sta Delen. Upsala. 1825. 8vo. pp. 605.

THE attention of the scholars of almost every country in Europe has been recently turned with renewed and fresh interest to the cultivation of their own native literature, language, and history. An exclusive devotion to classical models, and especially a subservience to those of French literature, have ceased to be the order of the day. None have labored with more zeal in this patriotic work than the Danes and Swedes.

They have found, too, an ample field of curious research and investigation, in the old monuments, relating to their early history, still preserved in the ancient Icelandic or Scandinavian tongue, the parent of the modern dialects of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. There are no nations of modern Europe, who can trace back the authentic history of their ancestors so far in written records. We do not mean that the mythic and mythico-historical books of those remote times are always to be relied on, for particular facts and circumstantial relations of events, or as establishing an unbroken succession of kings or other chronological data. These are often, doubtless, mixed up with mythological fictions, and the false exploits of the gods attributed to real heroes. But what is of vastly more importance to the philosophical student of history, than any mere barren detail of dry facts, or long lists of kingly lines, like those which the weird sisters showed to Macbeth,—is the broad and strong light cast upon national manners, laws, religion, and other institutions, by these ancient works. Even those which are the most blended with fictions are not the least valuable in this respect. They trace the systems of religion on which the popular faith was founded, and describe to us the conduct of human agents under the influence of this belief. They paint the wars, and festivals, and loves of these ancient nations. They exhibit, in high relief, their manners and customs, laws, government, religious rites, and other peculiarities. So that when we strip off the poetical and mythic exterior of these monuments, we are presented with a living picture of the character and manners of our remote ancestors, true to nature, and valuable for its antiquity. But the national historians of Denmark and Sweden have not been satisfied with this general application of these remains of antiquity to the philosophy of history. They have sought in them for auxiliary evidence of particular historical facts and chronological data. They have been used for this purpose with great skill and ingenuity by *Suhm*, the Danish historian, who, by the aid of this clue, has succeeded in unravelling the intricate web of Danish history, and dissipating the obscurity which hung over the early annals of his country. The Swedish historians have also made a similar use of these materials, as we shall see hereafter.

The earliest emigration from the North, of which we have any authentic account, was that of the Cimbri and Teutones, who went forth from the Cimbric Chersonesus, about a century

before the Christian era, or in the year of Rome 640, in search of a new country in the milder climate of the South. The military genius of Marius saved Italy from the menaced consequences of this irruption, which came near to anticipating the fate of the *Eternal* city by several centuries; and we do not hear of another swarming from the great northern hive, until the Goths accomplished what their precursors had vainly attempted. Like all other nations, the Goths sought to illustrate their origin by boastful appeals to the achievements of their ancestors, who, in their migrations wars, and conquests, were led by heroes and demi-gods. Cassiodorus, the principal minister at the court of Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, compiled a Gothic history from the ancient chronicles and songs, which were preserved among them by oral traditions; and, Gibbon supposes, may have embellished it with such fictions of his own invention as would flatter the national vanity of these conquerors. But the light, thrown by more recent researches upon the history of the North, would seem to confirm the general authenticity of the materials from which he compiled. The original of this history is lost, and a very imperfect idea of its contents is to be obtained from the abridgment of Jornandes. But it represents the Goths to have left the Scandinavian peninsula, where they had been established by Odin, and to have settled on the southern shores of the Baltic, long before they made their irruption into the Roman empire. It is, however, a more probable opinion, adopted by some later historians, that the Goths in Scandinavia were rather a colony from those on the southern coast of the Baltic.

The Gothic class of languages belongs to the Japhetic, or Indo-Germanic family; and we have a specimen of one of these languages, of the Teutonic branch, (the *Mæso-Gothic*), in the version of the Gospels by Ulphilas in the fourth century.

But the oldest and most authentic monuments of northern history have been preserved in the ancient Scandinavian or Icelandic language, which is the parent of the modern dialects of Sweden and Denmark. This, too, belongs to the Gothic class of languages, and consequently to the Japhetic family, and has many internal marks of its oriental origin. In the year 874, A. C., Ingolf and several other distinguished chiefs of Norway, in order to escape from the intolerable tyranny of Harold the Fair-haired, who had reduced all the petty states of that country under his dominion, founded a colony in Iceland,

which had previously been discovered by the Norwegian navigators. The descendants of these fugitives preserved the knowledge of the Scandinavian language and literature in this sequestered island. The remote situation of Iceland from the great theatre of wars and revolutions on the continent, and consequently the external peace, together with the free, republican form of government, favored the cultivation of letters in this *Ultima Thule*, whilst the parent country was too often involved in darkness, bloodshed, and tyranny. Like those of most other uncivilized nations, the Scandinavian learning and history were preserved in oral traditions, long before any attempt was made to reduce them to writing. The Sckalds, like the rhapsodists of ancient Greece, and the bards of the Celtic tribes, were at once poets and historians. They were the companions and chroniclers of kings, who frequently entered the lists with them in their own art. An intercourse, pacific or warlike, was constantly kept up with the parent country, and the Sckalds were a sort of travelling minstrels, continually going from one northern country to another. A regular succession of this order of men was maintained; and a list of two hundred and thirty in number of those who were distinguished in the poetic art, in the three principal kingdoms of the North, from the reign of Regner Lodbrok to Valdemar the Second, is still preserved in the Icelandic language, among whom are several crowned heads. This Regner Lodbrok, who was a famous poet and pirate (!) reigned in Denmark about the commencement of the ninth century, and after many predatory excursions into different countries, was taken prisoner by Ella, a Saxon king of one of the petty states into which Britain was divided, and by an exquisite refinement of savage cruelty was left to perish from the venomous bites of serpents with which his prison was filled. An ode still exists supposed to have been sung by him in his torments, but doubtless composed by Brage the Old, or some other of the Sckalds, which is full of glowing anticipations of the felicity he was to enjoy in the hall of Odin, after such a long career of what, in that age, were called glorious achievements.

A collection of these traditional poems of the ancient Sckalds was made and reduced to writing, in the eleventh century, by Sæmund Sigfusson, who was born in Iceland about the middle of that century, and studied at Cologne, in Germany. This is what is called the *poetical Edda*. The original

text of this very ancient and curious book, with a Latin version, various readings, notes, glossary, &c. was begun to be published at Copenhagen in 1787. One volume of this work was issued in that year, under the superintendence of the learned men composing what is called the Royal *Arna-Magnæan* Commission, to whose care is confided a collection of Icelandic manuscripts, which is now in the library of the University at Copenhagen, and which was left by a native Iclander, Arne Magnussen, eminently skilled in the literature of his country. A second volume was published in 1818, which contains, principally, mythico-historical poems. These not only throw light on different passages of Scandinavian history, but illustrate the connexion between the history of the northern nations, and that of the Franks, Huns, and Burgundians, in their various wanderings, wars, and conquests. A third volume has just been published by Professor Finn Magnussen ;* who is also the author of an essay which gained the prize offered in 1816, by the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen, for a critical solution of the connexion between the religion of the Scandinavians and other northern nations, and that of the Indo-Persians, with a comparative view of the traditions, language, and monuments of this national family, published in Danish, 1824-1826, in four volumes, octavo. He has brought a vast variety of learning to bear upon this subject, and considers the Scandinavian mythology as mostly physical, and in this manner connects it with the mythic systems of the East. Professor Magnussen has also compared the mythic system of Ossian with that of the Scandinavian nations, in another essay, published in the Transactions of the Scandinavian Literary Society, and shown their identity, from which he infers the originality of the poems published by Macpherson.

The *prose* Edda is supposed to have been arranged in the beginning of the 13th century by Snorro Sturleson, born in Iceland in 1179, and descended from one of the most illustrious families of the republic, in which he had filled the highest offices with honor and distinction. Certain it is, that this Edda or prosaic Mythology (which may be compared to the Library

* This contains a Lexicon of the ancient Northern mythology, compared with the religious systems and rites of other cognate nations, such as the Germans, Persians, Indians, &c., with a view of the popular superstitions, the remnants of the ancient Pagan religion, which still prevail in the North of Europe.

of Apollodorus), being thought of little value, and perhaps rather scandalous than useful to Christian people, was continued by some other authors, with a view to explain the poetical imagery and circumlocutions in the songs of the *Skalds*, and this continuation is called *Skalda*. The prose Edda is a sort of *Ars Poetica*, intended to initiate young poets in the science of mythology and the poetical language. It was first edited, much altered and abridged, in 1665, by Resenius, with Latin and Danish versions by other hands. To this he appended two songs of the poetic Edda ;—the *Völuspá*, or poetical prophecy of Vala, which contains a sort of abridgment of the mythological system of the Edda in a very mysterious and often unintelligible style, resembling the Sibylline verses ; and the *Hávamál*, or sublime discourse of Odin, which is a metrical collection of moral precepts, not unlike the Proverbs of Solomon, or the Pythagorean *Carmina Aurea*. The best and most complete editions of the original text of the two Eddas, with various readings, &c. are those published by Professor Rask, at Stockholm, in 1818, in two separate octavo volumes. His eminent qualifications for the task, by his previous residence in Iceland, and his profound knowledge of the ancient languages and literature of the North, are well known and fully appreciated by all those acquainted with these subjects. The text of the poetic or elder Edda in this edition differs, however, but little from the large Copenhagen edition in three quarto volumes, mentioned above, except in being more accurately accented, having the *i* distinguished from *j*, *u* from *v*, *ö* from *o*, &c., and being of course, more legible to persons who have a tolerable knowledge of the common Icelandic. The songs are also placed in an order nearer to the original arrangement, and divided into two parts, the first of mythological, the second of heroical songs. But the text of the other, or the *prose Edda*, is almost entirely different from that in Resenius' edition, it being derived from the most ancient manuscript, called *Codex Regius*, from which Professor Rask never has deviated, except where some reading in the other ancient manuscripts on parchment, for critical reasons, seemed to be decidedly preferable. The *Edda*, properly so called, is here, for the first time, distinguished from the *Skalda*, with which it was confounded by Resenius, so that even some scholars have thought the *Skalda* a lost work, not perceiving that almost one half of it had been incorporated in Resenius' edition of the *Edda Snorronis*.

Various opinions have been maintained by critics, as to the share which Sæmund, who first gave to the world the poetical Edda, had in its composition. Some suppose, that he merely collected the Runic manuscripts of the different poems, and transcribed them in Latin characters. Others maintain that he collected them from the mouths of different Sckalds, living in his times, and first reduced them to writing, they having previously been preserved by oral tradition merely. But the most probable conjecture seems to be, that he collected some from the poets of his day, and others from the scattered manuscripts written after the introduction of Christianity and *Latin* letters into Iceland, and merely added one song of his own composition, the *Sólar Liód*, or *Carmen Solare*, of a moral and Christian-religious tendency, so as thereby to consecrate, and to leaven, as it were, the whole mass of Paganism. He thus performed for these ancient poems the same office, which, according to the theory proposed by Wolf and Heyne, and generally adopted by the critics of Germany, was performed by the ancient Grecian Rhapsodist, who first collected and arranged the songs of his predecessors, and reduced them to one continuous poem, the Iliad. But that the odes now in question could not have been collected by Sæmund, or any body else, from Runic manuscripts, will be evident from the following considerations.

The Runic alphabet consists properly of sixteen letters, which are Phœnician in their origin. The traditions and chronicles of the North attribute their introduction to Odin. They were probably brought by him from the East into Scandinavia, but they have no resemblance to any of the alphabets of central Asia. All the ancient inscriptions to be found on the rocks and on stone monuments, which exist in the greatest number near Upsala, the principal seat of the religion of Odin, are in the ancient Scandinavian language, but in Runic characters. Some ancient coins exist with Runic legends engraved upon them. They were also used for inscriptions on arms, utensils, and buildings, and occasionally on wooden tablets for the purpose of epistolary correspondence. There is an allusion to this latter use of them in the *Atlamál in Grönlensko* ;* and also in a Latin poet of the sixth century, Venantius Fortunatus, who asks his friend Flavus, if he is tired of the Latin, to write to him in Hebrew, Persian, Greek, or even *Runic* letters ;

* *Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróða*, Pars II. p. 422. Edit. Legat. Mag-næan.

‘ Barbara fraxineis pingatur *Runa tabellis*,
 Quodque papyrus ait, virgula plana valet;
 Pagina vel redeat perscripta dolatilis charta,
 Quod relegi poterit, fructus amantis erit.’

But they were principally used for lapidary inscriptions, and there is no evidence that any such thing as *books*, properly so called, existed among the Scandinavian nations before the introduction of Christianity. Ulphilas made use of the Runic characters in his translation of the Gospels into Mæso-Gothic in the fourth century, making certain alterations and improvements in the alphabet to accommodate it to his purposes. But the only manuscript which now exists in Runic characters, is a digest of the customary laws of Scania, which is supposed to have been written in the thirteenth century. A magical quality was attributed to the Runic characters by the ignorant superstition of the Scandinavians. This was artfully inculcated by Odin. In the poem which terminates the edition of the *Hávamál* by Resenius, he is represented as detailing the power of various charms composed of *Runes*, as adequate to heal diseases, to counteract poison, to enchant the arms of an enemy so as to render him impotent in battle, to still the rising tempest, to stop the career of witches as they ride through the air; and he even boasts that by these magic spells he could raise the dead, and hold converse with them respecting the secrets of the invisible world. In the *Vegtams-Quida*, he is represented as mounting his horse *Sleipner*, one of the foul brood of the evil spirit *Locki*, and descending into the infernal regions to evoke the spirit of a deceased prophetess with Runic incantations, and to compel her to reveal future events respecting which the gods themselves were in doubt and alarm.

It is this passage which Gray has translated, or rather paraphrased;

‘ Uprose the king of men with speed,
 And saddled straight his coal-black steed;
 Down the yawning steep he rode,
 That leads to *Hela's* dread abode.
 Him the Dog of Darkness spied,
 His shaggy throat he open'd wide,
 While from his jaws, with carnage fill'd,
 Foam and human gore distill'd;
 Hoarse he bays with hideous din,
 Eyes that glow, and fangs that grin;
 And long pursues, with fruitless yell
 The father of the powerful spell.
 Onward still his way he takes,
 (The groaning earth beneath him shakes,)

Till full before his fearless eyes
 The portals nine of hell arise.
 ' Right against the eastern gate
 By the moss-grown pile he sate,
 Where long of yore to sleep was laid
 The dust of the prophetic maid.
 Facing to the northern clime,
Thrice he trac'd the Runic rhyme ;
 Thrice pronounced, in accents dread,
 The thrilling verse that wakes the dead ;
 Till, from out the hollow ground,
 Slowly breath'd a sullen sound.
 ' PR. What call unknown, what charms presume
 To break the quiet of the tomb ?
 Who thus afflicts my troubled sprite,
 And drags me from the realms of night ?
 Long on these mould'ring bones have beat
 The winter's snow, the summer's heat,
 The drenching dews, and driving rain !
 Let me, let me sleep again.
 Who is he, with voice unblest,
 That calls me from the bed of rest ?'
 * * * * *

These magical qualities of the Runic letters are also described in the *Brinhildar-Quida*, (the Ode of Brynhilda.) * We will give a short sketch of this legend, as it affords a very good specimen of the style and subjects of these singular compositions. *Sigurdr*, journeying to the south towards Franconia, sees upon a high mountain a flaming light. As he approaches it he enters a valley, and beholds what he supposes to be a man in full armor sleeping on the ground. *Sigurdr* takes off the helmet of the sleeper and discovers that it is an Amazon. Her armor clings to her body so that he is obliged to cut it off with his sword, when she arouses from this deathlike sleep, and inquires who has unbound the spell in which she lay entranced. *Sigurdr* informs her who he is, when she hails in mystic strains the cheerful light of day, pours libations to the fruitful Earth, and the other deities, and tells him that she is a *Valkyria* employed by Odin to watch the fate of battle, and give the victory to him to whom the god had decreed it ; she had unadvisedly interfered in a combat between two kings, to one of whom Odin had promised the victory, but she gave it to the other by cutting off his adversary's head. Whereupon the god struck her with his soporific wand (he is represented with this attri-

* *Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróða*, Part II. p. 190.

bute of Mercury), and commanded her never more to engage in war, but condemned her to be married. The spirited Amazon vowed that she would marry no man who knew fear. Sigurdr, stimulated by curiosity and love, asks her to indoctrinate him in that lore which she had gathered in various regions, or as some commentators have it, various *worlds*, which she had visited,—for these wild and mystical poems are most of them susceptible of a mythic as well as a literal interpretation. Thus *Odin* is the supreme deity, as well as the conqueror, high priest, and king of the Scandinavians; *Asgard* is the Olympus of the northern deities, as well as the eastern city from which *Odin* is supposed to have come; the *Giants* are the Finns; the *dwarfs* are the Laplanders; the *Vani* are the Russians, &c.

Brynhilda then describes the qualities of the enchanted cup of liquor, which she offers to Sigurdr, strongly medicated with poetical inspiration, wit, and other good things; and instructs him in the magical virtues of the different hieroglyphic characters, and especially of those which *Odin* had expressed from the liquor (or had discovered when *inspired* by the influence of the liquor) distilled from the head and horn of *Heiddraupnir* and *Hoddropnir*, two monsters whom he had vanquished and killed. The ode then makes a rapid transition, and abruptly introduces the god, as standing on a rock, ‘with naked sword and helmed brow.’ Having just decapitated *Mimis* the Giant, he compels, by Runic incantations and magical charms, the ghastly head to join in the colloquy. The head of the defunct Giant then becomes an interlocutor in the dialogue, utters oracles, and indicates the true magical characters, or *Runes*, and their various offices. Brynhilda then desires Sigurdr to determine whether he will pursue this course of philosophy any longer at the hazard of learning something fatal to his peace. But he declares that he will abide the disclosure, even if instant death await him in the decrees of fate. She then proceeds to read him a course of ethics, which in comparative purity and good sense is strangely contrasted with the grim features, that generally mark the religion of *Odin*. For instance,

‘And first this counsel take.—Towards thy kindred, lead a blameless life. Do not avenge, if they provoke; for this, they say, in heaven meets its reward.

‘Another I will give.—When thou swearest, speak nought but truth. Atrocious punishments await the perjurer’s crime.’

She proceeds to give him a great deal of other good advice,

and among the rest, to beware of 'the evil eye,'—of enchantments,—not to take a wife for her beauty or riches,—against hard drinking and quarrelling in his cups—if attacked by an enemy in his house, to go forth and meet him, 'for it is better to perish by the sword, than to be burnt up alive,'—and not to confide in the promises of the kindred of the man whom he has slain, 'for the wolf lurks in the little child, even if they have accepted the price of blood.' These counsels are followed by directions for burying the dead, 'whether they perish by disease, on the sea, or by the sword.'* The story is continued in several subsequent cantos, comprising very beautiful specimens of these antique compositions, and containing a copious mine of poetical wealth, from which Olenschläger and other living Danish and German poets have enriched their works. They are not only full of wild and beautiful poetry, and lively pictures of the manners and customs of the heroic age of the North, its patriarchal simplicity, its deadly feuds, and its fanciful superstition, peopling the earth, air, and waters with deities, genii, dwarfs, and giants; but there are many touches of the deepest pathos, to which the human heart beats in unison in every age and in every land;

'Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.'

This is especially true of the *Völundar-Quida*, and the succeeding connected odes; which have all the interest of a complicated drama from the variety of events, and of the characters, who are introduced and portrayed with exquisite skill, the scene continually changing from one country to another; and in which might be found the materials of many tragedies and tragic romances. How beautiful is the allegory of the Serpent

* These are, to prepare a *tumulus*, wash the body, comb the hair, bring it on a stone bier to the place of interment, and bid the deceased repose in peace. These stone biers are still used by the people of the North; and in Norway it is the custom to set down the body at the front door of the house, where a valedictory is pronounced, not by the minister of religion, but by some one of the peasantry. Before the arrival of Odin in the North, the usage of *interring* the bodies of the dead was universal. He introduced the custom of *burning* them, and collecting the ashes in an urn, which was deposited in the *tumulus*. But this usage never prevailed universally, and the primitive custom was subsequently revived, and must have been practised when the above poem was composed. The religion of Odin also inculcated the duty of wives' sacrificing themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands, and the Scandinavian chronicles and poems contain many traces of this practice.

who conceals the treasure, and, transmitting it from hand to hand, makes it the continual *stimulus* of new crimes of constantly increasing atrocity, and illustrates the dreadful power of the *auri sacra fames* over the heart of man! * Such too is the story of the heroine who is represented in the *Gudrúnar-Quida in Fyrsta* (or First Ode of Gudrúna,) as standing by the dead body of her slaughtered husband Sigurdr, immoveable in her resolution not to survive him, and refusing to be comforted. The illustrious chiefs, and noble women ‘girt with gold,’ crowd around her, and vainly strive to console her grief and dissuade her from her fatal purpose. She sheds not a single tear, but remains a fixed picture of silent despair, whilst her female friends and companions endeavor to suggest topics of consolation from their own calamities and sufferings. Among these *Giaflauga* tells of her having followed to the grave five husbands, two daughters, and three sisters. *Herborga*, a queen of Hungary, has a sadder tale of woe to relate. She had lost seven sons, and her husband slain in battle, and her father, mother, and four brothers buried in a watery grave within a year; had been taken captive in war, and carried into slavery, where she was compelled ‘to loose and unloose the shoelatchets’ of the chief’s wife, by whom she had been taken prisoner, and to perform other menial offices similar to those so much dreaded by Andromache in her parting speech to Hector. Still Gudrúna cannot weep, until they are about to remove the dead body of her husband; when they take off his robe, and, disclosing his gaping wounds, desire her to take the last kiss,—she bursts into a flood of tears. This tragic story ends by the return of Gudrúna into her native country, Denmark; but Brynhilda, the lover of Sigurdr, will not survive him. She commands eight of her male slaves, and five females to be slain, and falls upon her own sword. † These same persons and their tragical history make the subject of the old German epic poem *Nibelungenlied*, which is however much more modern in the form, in which it exists at present.

One of the most curious of the mythic poems contained in the Edda (volume first) is the *Vafthrudnismál*, which, like most very ancient writings of this sort, is in the form of a dramatic dia-

* *Edda Sæmundar hinns Fróða*, Pars II. Proëm. p. xii. Edit. Legat. Magnæan.

† *Idem*. Part II. p. 270—284. Edit. Legat. Magnæan.

logue. Odin proposes to visit one of the most famous Giants, or Genii (the original word is *Jötun*, signifying one of the race of demigods), for the purpose of comparing the extent of their respective attainments in sacred science, and consults his wife, the goddess *Frigga*, 'to whom alone the future is known,' upon the subject of his enterprise.* She with true feminine prudence counsels him to stay at home, where his godship is safe in the celestial mansion, 'for no one of the Giants is to be compared with Vafthrudnir in craft and valor.' But Odin persisting in his resolution, she vouchsafes him a favorable augury, and bids him have his wits about him, for her sake, and that of the other deities, whose fate was linked with his. Odin sets forth on his journey *incognito*, and comes to the hall of this giant, celebrated for his knowledge of sacred mysteries, which he approaches, and discovers that the master is at home.

'ODIN.

'Hail Vafthrudnir! I have at last reached thy mansion; but before I enter, first I would know if thou art indeed that wise and omniscient Genius.

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Who is this mortal, that thus accosts me in my palace? Unless thy wisdom exceeds mine, thou shalt never go hence.

'ODIN.

'Gagnráder is my name. I have been long on the road, and am both hungry and thirsty; I demand hospitality, Genius!

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Why then, Gagnráder, do you remain at the threshold? Come and take a seat in the hall, and we shall soon see who of the two is the wisest, the guest or the old speaker.

'ODIN.

'The poor man who enters the rich man's door should be frugal of his words.

'VAFTHRUDNIR.

'Tell me then, Gagnráder, if thou wouldst give a specimen of thy science, the name of that horse who drags the car of Day over the heads of mortals?

'ODIN.

'*Skinfaxi* is the horse called, who drags the car of Day over

* In this *mythus* a trait of the ancient manners of the North is glanced at, to which Tacitus has alluded in respect to the veneration in which women were held by these nations; '*Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum adspersantur, aut responsa negligunt.*' De Mor. Germ. cap. 8.

the heads of mortals,—the fleetest among horses, with the ever-shining mane.

‘VAFTHRUDNIR.

‘Tell me, Gagnráðer! if indeed thou wouldst give a specimen of thy science, the name of the horse, who drags the car of Night over the heads of the beneficent Deities?’

‘ODIN.

‘*Hrimfaxi* is the horse called, who drags the car of Night over the heads of the beneficent Deities, and the foam which distils from his mouth is the dew of Morning.’

The Giant, finding from the readiness of his guest in thus naming and describing Lucifer, Hesperus, and the other stars, that he had an antagonist worthy to enter the lists with him, invites Odin to take a seat by his side, and engage in a disputation upon the mysteries of sacred science, with this singular condition, that the losing party should forfeit his head! Then begins the keen encounter of their wits, and Odin (who still keeps his *incognito*) commences the digladiation by asking the Giant, whence proceed the earth and the heavens; who answers very learnedly and correctly, that the earth was created from the flesh of *Ymir*,—the rocks (primitive, transition, and all), from his bones,—the heavens, from his brain,—and the sea, from his blood.* The god proceeds to interrogate the Genius (numbering his questions like a Chancery lawyer) upon the most puzzling points of cosmogony and theogony,—whence proceed day and night, winter and summer,—the creation of the human race, &c. His eleventh interrogatory regards the condition of departed spirits, and he inquires respecting the nature of the occupations of the heroes, who, having perished by a violent death, were alone thought worthy to enjoy the felicity of Odin’s *Valhalla*. The Giant answers, that they are daily engaged in martial exercises, similar to those in which they were employed on earth, and encounter each other in battle, in which real blows and even mortal wounds are dealt, and many are slain; but at the signal given for the banquet, they arise, and march with the rest to the hall of Odin, to share in the feast prepared for them, and to quaff the liquor of the gods, and converse together in peace. These tournaments and feasts were to continue to the end of the present world. He then pursues his inquiries, respecting the destruction of the universe,

* Under this mythological imagery is described the creation of the external world from *Chaos*, typified under the form of the giant *Ymir*.

and the new creation by which it is to be followed, according to the mythological notions of the Scandinavians, evidently derived from the East, where that dogma had prevailed from very early times. He asks what is to become of Odin himself, in this final consummation of all things. To which Vafthrudnir readily replies, that *Femir* the wolf shall devour the 'Father of Ages' (Odin), and the whole world, with all things therein, both gods and men, shall be involved in one general conflagration. The pretended Gagnráder at last asks the Genius what are the words which Odin whispered in the ear of his son, when the latter was placed upon his funeral pile. Whereupon the astonished Genius recognises Odin, and acknowledges himself vanquished in this intellectual duel.

‘VAFTHRUDNIR.

‘No mortal man those words can know which thou whisperedst in the ear of thy son at the beginning of ages. I read my doom, written in magic characters, and decreed by the celestial fates for having dared to encounter the all-wise Odin in sacred controversy.’

One of the oldest Danish annalists is Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote in the twelfth century, under the patronage of the celebrated Archbishop Absalon, minister of Valdemar the First and Canute the Sixth. That remarkable man, who united the apparently incompatible characters of churchman, warrior, and politician, and in each of them excelled the most conspicuous personages of his age, not only encouraged Saxo in the compilation of this work, but is supposed to have furnished him with great assistance in its progress. The genius of the historian does not however appear to have corresponded with that of the statesman by whom he was patronized. He attributes the foundation of the Danish monarchy to *Dan* (A. M. 2910), from whom the country was called *Dannmarck*. But other national authorities trace the origin of the name to the word *Dan* or *Dann*, which signifies *lowland* (and of which kindred forms remain in the modern dialects, as *downs* in English), being applied in opposition to the highlands of Norway and the mountain tracts of Sweden. In the preface to his work he professes to classify the authorities on which he proceeded. These are the old songs, odes, or chronicles in verse, by which the ancient Danes celebrated the exploits of their heroes; the Runic inscriptions found all over the North; the Icelandic chronicles and *Sagas*; and the relations communicated to him by Arch-

bishop Absalon. Some of these are certainly valuable, and indeed indispensable, materials for ancient Danish history. But this author wanted the skill to make the right use of them. He seems to have been a credulous pedant, incapable of distinguishing between those fictitious narratives, which are very good evidence of general manners, and those original documents which are alone sufficient to establish particular historical facts and the circumstantial details of events. His general authenticity is arraigned by the learned Torfæus, in his *Series Dynastarum ac Regum Daniæ*; who proves that Saxo Grammaticus had but a very limited acquaintance with the old traditional poems of his country, which besides are insufficient evidence as to the succession of kings or the chronological series of events; that the Runic inscriptions are of little or no value as illustrative of national history, since they rarely contain anything of a public nature, and are most of them obscure, effaced, or illegible; that the Icelandic chronicles and *Sagas* might indeed have been highly useful, had they been diligently studied by this author, which there is internal evidence they were not, since he is so often contradicted by these ancient writings; and, lastly, that we have no means of determining the precise value of the information received from Archbishop Absalon, since we do not know from what sources he himself derived it. From all which Torfæus concludes, that though the compilation of Saxo Grammaticus contains many curious particulars as to the antiquities of the North, it is entitled to very little credit in respect to authority, as he has blended the fabulous, the heroic, and the historical together, and has swelled the list of Danish monarchs to an inordinate length by confounding the various dynasties who reigned in the petty states into which the country was divided before the time of Gorm the Old.

Torfæus, who was himself a native of Iceland and deeply versed in Scandinavian learning, very laborious, diligent, and active in his inquiries, attempted to rectify these errors, and to settle the chronology of the series of Danish kings from a period a little before the commencement of the Christian era down to Gorm the Old in the ninth century, when the different parts of the monarchy were reunited, and from which epoch its indivisibility became, according to the Danish publicists, a settled constitutional maxim. He begins with Skiold, the son of Odin, making him the founder of the first race of Danish kings, retrenching the long line of preceding monarchs which the imagination or

anachronism of Saxo had supplied, and correcting the multiplied errors into which the latter had fallen as to the order of the succeeding reigns.

The chronological system of Torfæus appears to be followed by Suhm, and the best modern Danish historical critics. But to a foreigner, at least, it does not seem to be entirely free from objections similar to those which have been justly made to that of Saxo Grammaticus. The derivation of all the first dynasties of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway from Odin, is not a little startling, when we reflect that the kings of the Saxon heptarchy also traced their descent from *Woden*, and that the early history of all nations is filled with fabulous genealogies of their princes, deriving their origin from deified heroes. The Icelandic chronicles are doubtless curious and valuable monuments of national literature. But it must be remembered that they were collected from very remote oral traditions, handed down from one generation of Skalds to another, and first reduced to writing after the introduction of Christianity into the North. Though this does not in the slightest degree diminish their value as illustrative of national manners, polity, and religion, it would seem to render them less worthy of implicit credit as evidence of particular historical facts. Eleven centuries elapsed from the advent of Odin to the epoch of the first Scandinavian chronicler *in writing*, Is-lief, bishop of Skalholt in Iceland, who died in 1080. Even his work has perished, although it is believed to have been made use of by Are (the Learned), the friend and fellow-student of Sæmund, who first collected and published the poetical Edda. On the other hand, the power of oral tradition, as a medium of communication between ages remote from each other, ought not to be too much undervalued; especially where there is a perpetual order of men, whose exclusive employment is to learn and repeat, whose faculties of memory are thus improved by cultivation and carried to the highest pitch, and who are relied upon instead of historiographers to preserve the national annals. This is especially true where the compositions to be repeated are in a metrical form, which increases the facility of remembering them. Even after the Homeric poems had been reduced to writing, the rhapsodists still retained them so perfectly that they could readily recite any passage desired; and we are told of Calmuck poems of much greater length than the Iliad, which have never yet been reduced to writing, although their bards can repeat very large portions of them.

Many valuable materials for the history of the North have been collected and published since the time of Torfæus. But as he was a native Iclander, he had the facility of access to these in the original manuscripts, and has in fact used them with great diligence, and even critical skill, in his compilation. Professor P. E. Müler, a living author deeply versed in these studies, has written a learned essay upon the sources from which Saxo Grammaticus derived his information, and also upon those which Snorro Sturleson used in the compilation of his history of the kings of Norway. The *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* is a collection of chronicles and other materials for national history, commenced by Langabeck and subsequently continued by Suhm. It is printed in a very handsome manner, at the expense of the king. Seven volumes in folio have already appeared, and the eighth is now in the press. Several of the ancient *Sagas* which relate to the Scandinavian history previous to the introduction of Christianity, have been published at Copenhagen in the original Icelandic text, some with Latin and others with Danish translations. They are regarded as authentic materials for history ; not precisely chronicles, but family histories or annals, somewhat like those from which Livy and the other Roman historians principally compiled. There are other works which bear the same title of *Sagas*, but which are fictitious romances founded upon the exploits of the deities, kings, and chiefs of the heroic age. Some of these have been published in Sweden in the original, and some translations of such have appeared at Copenhagen.

One of the last authentic *Sagas* which have appeared there, is that entitled *Laxdæla-Saga*, which was published in 1826, under the direction of the Arna-Magnæan Commission, in the original Icelandic text with a Latin version. It is the history of a particular family, who inhabited a valley in Iceland near the river Laxá, so called from the abundance of salmon to be found in it. But, like most of these books, it branches out into general history, and goes back to the discovery of the island and its colonization from Norway in the time of Harold the Fair-haired, and comes down to the period when it was converted to Christianity. It is full of interesting details as to those remote ages and sequestered countries,—the modes of life of their inhabitants,—their hereditary feuds, wars, factions, trade, and fisheries,—and the exploits of the *Vikings*, who were nursed on the mountain wave, and boasted that they had never slept by a cottage fire. The scene is not confined to Iceland, but spreads

itself to Norway, the Orkneys and Ferroe islands, Ireland, and Scotland. Five kings of Norway, and one of Ireland, figure as actors. The narrative is conducted in the most animated strain; the characters are portrayed with fidelity in their minutest lineaments, and we see and hear them in every act of private and public life, as if we were actually present; whilst there is every internal evidence to attest the authenticity of the narrative, and to convince us that we are not entertained by a fiction.

It thus appears that there exist very extensive, and, if they were used with sound judgment, authentic materials for the early history of Denmark. These materials have been collected, excerpted, and arranged with immense erudition and incredible diligence by the great Danish historian P. F. Suhm, who devoted his life and fortune to that purpose. His scattered writings have been collected in fifteen volumes, octavo, containing among various treatises and papers of very different value, one (volume ninth) on the difficulties in writing the ancient Danish and Norwegian history. But his historical writings consist principally of the following very laborious and voluminous works. 1. Preparatory essays for the proper history of the North, namely, on the Pagan religion, on the origin of the Northern nations, on their various emigrations, and a critical history of Denmark during the dark and fabulous ages; making, in all, ten volumes in quarto, except one, containing genealogical tables, in folio. 2. The history of Denmark from Gorm the Old to about the year 1400, making fourteen volumes in quarto, which has been completed during the present year by the learned Professor Nyerup, who was for a long time Suhm's librarian. The style of Suhm is by no means attractive, nor is his judgment very acute, nor his reasoning clear and cogent; but he has amassed the materials and cleared the ground for a future architect.

The best Swedish history hitherto completed, is that by Professor Lagerbrink of Lund, the cotemporary of Suhm, published at Stockholm in 1769–83, in four volumes quarto. He is much inferior to Suhm, however, in research and learning, and perhaps even in style and impartiality. But as the best *subsidia* to Northern history were published at Copenhagen after his work was commenced, or even finished, the author is in a great measure excusable for these defects. Some of the mistakes into which he has fallen in respect to the more ancient

portion of this history have been lately corrected in two volumes of *Annotations to Lagerbrink, &c.*, published by the present royal historiographer of Sweden, Mr J. af Hallenberg. The achievement of a good national history of Sweden seems in a fair way of being accomplished by Mr Geijer, the author of the work, the title of which is prefixed to the present article. The first volume of this work, which (when finished) is intended to be a complete history of Sweden, was published at Upsala in 1825. It contains, 1. A geographical view of the country. 2. An account of the notions which the Greeks and Romans had of the North, and the Gothic emigrations. 3. The Scandinavian, and especially Swedish sources of historical information. 4. The Runic monuments. 5. The Icelanders, and their poetry and history. 6, 7. The mythological and heroic history of the North. 8. The history of the *Ynglinges*, or first Swedish dynasty, descending from Odin. 9. Critical remarks on that period. 10. The *Ynlinges* in Norway, and the history of Regner Lodbrok and his sons. But as this article has already extended to a greater length than we had intended, we will merely add, that it relies on the best authorities existing, and is composed with a very judicious choice of materials, of which the book itself contains a critical account.

ART. III.—*The Life of Elbridge Gerry, with contemporary Letters, to the Close of the American Revolution.* By JAMES T. AUSTIN. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 1828. 8vo. pp. 520.

It has been sometimes remarked, in substance, that the Revolution is becoming a trite theme. This is a great error; its interest is daily increasing. The circumstances, that the generation by whom it was accomplished has almost wholly disappeared; and that the generation, which succeeded that of the Revolution on the active stage of life, is already in retirement, heighten instead of diminishing, the interest of that great event. It is viewed by a new generation of men, educated to new ideas, and new destinies. It is viewed through a new medium, that of oral tradition, growing every day more general and faint, and of written accounts, multiplying in the same ratio. It is in the nature of tradition, to select only

the prominent incidents. It is in the nature of written accounts to represent the subject matter, in the most imposing light, either of praise or censure ; and the result is, that an event of real magnitude in human history is never seen, in all its grandeur and importance, till some time after its occurrence has elapsed. In proportion as the memory of small men and small things is lost, that of the truly great becomes more bright. The contemporary aspect of things is often confused and indistinct. The eye which is placed too near the canvass, beholds too distinctly the separate touches of the pencil, and is perplexed with a cloud of seemingly discordant tints. It is only at a distance, that they melt and mingle into a harmonious, living picture.

Besides, great events in real life, like the master-pieces of poetical creation, have their beginning, their middle, and their end. The glory of the whole cannot be seen in the detail of any one of the parts. It is only when we see the whole spread out, over a series of years, and sometimes of ages ; when the principles for which good men toiled and suffered, have ripened into institutions ; when truths, which seemed at first the abstractions of the philosopher's cell, have grown into laws, into constitutions, and what we may call the habits of nations, that we are able duly to appreciate the character of the leading events of the history of our race, and the merit of the great men raised up in the critical conjunctures of national fortune. No man liveth for himself alone ; neither does any generation live and act for itself alone. As it is necessary to put an individual through all the exercises of social life,—to try him in every relation for which his physical, intellectual, and moral nature qualify him, before you can attain the full conception of what a man is ; so the character of an age, and the joint action of the great men of an age must be traced, through succeeding ages of consequences. It is true, that the result is often far different, we may suppose, from the anticipation of those who took the initiatory steps. Not one, perhaps, of those who attended the first congress in 1774, had any conception of the events which fifty years would bring about in this country ; and it might seem, for that reason, an exaggeration, to give them distinct credit, for what they did not even foresee. This, however, is false reasoning. In a great national crisis, such as the revolution of 1775, the minds of the leading men are wrought up to the highest pitch of fervor. They glow with unwonted enthusiasm ; the future is indeed indistinct, but it is

full of all that is momentous. What the particular consummation will be, they cannot tell; but their spirits are attuned to great issues. It may be some indefinite remedy of a present grievous oppression; or some fanciful fulfilment of projects deemed chimerical; it may even look to a cool reasoning observer like strange delusion, as when some of our revolutionary fathers proposed to introduce the Hebrew tongue, or when Columbus projected a new crusade to Palestine, as the final object of his discoveries.* But it is evident enough, that when men have wrought themselves up to a state of feeling, in which they freely stake their fortunes and lives upon their actions, they are under a prophetic excitement, looking forward to vast consequences, which may be different in kind from those that happen, but not inferior in degree. And whatever the particular form of the result, they who knowingly risked all to produce *some* great and desirable result, are entitled to the full credit of the happy consequences.

To take another example, it may very rationally be stated, that not one of our pilgrim fathers had a distinct anticipation of the future progress of the country. But so far is this from diminishing their glory, as the founders of these republics, that, we might almost say, it increases it. Could they have foreseen the certain train of auspicious consequences, destined to flow from their enterprise, the natural weakness of the human heart would have been so much flattered in the vision, as almost to destroy the merit of their voluntary sufferings. As it was, they foresaw nothing certain, but incredible hardship and numberless sacrifices. But inasmuch as they deliberately encountered these from good motives; and did, at the same time, form to themselves an obscure, but elevated and pious vision of christianizing the Continent, and bringing its undiscovered regions and unknown tribes within the pale of religious civilization; their merit ought fairly to be measured by the grandeur of the actual consequences of their enterprise, although the precise form of those consequences was not and could not have been foreseen.

* An instance may here be found of the different judgments formed of the same thing, by different minds. The suggestion alluded to in the text, is spoken of by the late Mr Gifford, in his notes to Ben Jonson's Plays, in a sneering manner. Mr Poletica, perhaps as good a judge in political affairs as Mr Gifford, refers to it as a suggestion, it is true, of an impracticable character, but one founded on a true perception of the political relation of the United States to Great Britain. A remark on the project of Columbus will be found on another page.

If there be any justice in these principles, they show both that the Revolution, instead of being a theme, trite and exhausted, is now beginning to be understood in its proper grandeur and importance; and also that, however great and happy the train of events has proved, of which that was the commencement, the illustrious men of that day are fairly entitled to have their merit estimated accordingly. But while we must place ourselves in the point of view, in which the event has enabled us to stand, we must, at the same time, go back to contemporary materials, to furnish the foundation of a true understanding of the character of the men and the events of the revolution. We must open the public archives; and this, though not thoroughly done as yet, has not been neglected; on the contrary, a good part of what history we have is drawn from what may be called public sources. But in addition to this, we must search the scrutoires and examine the private files of the leaders of the day. Though not a little of this work has also been done, much remains to do, and every contribution of this sort, to the general stock of our knowledge, ought to be gratefully welcomed by every patriot and every curious student of our history. We already have a series of works, which no one, who wishes to know what the revolution was, ought to leave unstudied. The lives of Otis, Quincy, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Franklin, and the signers of the declaration of independence already, constitute an invaluable series. To these are now added that of Gerry, and we have reasonable expectations, that those of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson will soon enrich the collection.

As no one of these works is, of course, a history of the revolution, and as they all owe their chief value to their connexion with the revolution, it follows that they are to be regarded as collections of materials; and possess an interest, independent of their literary execution. The *Life of Elbridge Gerry*, which is under our present consideration, besides its value as a repository of revolutionary materials, is drawn up in a manner creditable to its author. It is neither overloaded with speculation, nor destitute of the reflections necessary to explain, introduce, and connect the letters of the principal personages of the day. Colonel Austin has avoided an error exceedingly obvious in the composition of a work of this kind; that of making it a historical sketch of the Revolution. The known events of that period are now so familiar, that however natural

it may be, for the biographer of one of its great characters, to present a continuous narrative of its occurrences, it is a far more judicious course, and it is that pursued by Colonel Austin, to take for granted that the reader knows the history of the revolution, and to introduce so much of it only, as is convenient for the understanding of the peculiar action of his hero, and the materials for the first time presented to the reader. On a few occasions, Colonel Austin has indulged in reflections of his own, at some length; and, at these times, has discovered no little vigor and originality of thought, and pointedness of manner.

The life of Mr Gerry was continued to an advanced period, and his agency in public affairs extended throughout an unusually protracted succession of events. In the language of Colonel Austin,

‘In the convention to form a constitution for the confederacy, which may be considered a new epoch in the history of the United States, he attracted no common share of public attention. At the organization of the federal government, he was a member of the house of representatives; during the negotiations, which ended in the termination of our treaties with France, he was engaged in an important embassy to that power; during the excitement and agitation which preceded the second war with England, he was at the head of the government of Massachusetts, and through the greater part of that war presided over the senate of the United States.

‘This connexion with distant and important events in the history of this country, belongs almost exclusively to him. Four of his associates in the colonial legislature and provincial congress of Massachusetts were his colleagues in the congress which declared the independence of the United States, but neither of them was a member of the convention which prepared the federal constitution. Of the whole number who signed the declaration of independence, seven only were members of the latter assembly. Again, the first and second congress under the new government contained many individuals who had been distinguished in the civil or military service of the revolution, and several who had assisted in forming the present constitution, but the number of those concerned in both these events was small. Time rapidly made that number less, and when the subject of this memoir took the chair of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, few of his associates in the revolution were in its councils. At a subsequent period, when he presided in the senate of the nation, he is believed to have been

the only individual, in any branch of the government, who had been a member of the "*immortal congress of 1776.*"

'Two only of his colleagues of the revolution attained an equal elevation under the constitution of the United States. They passed indeed to a rank one degree higher in its service ; but of these eminent citizens one ceased to hold public office about the commencement of the present century, and the other retired in the year 1809. Subsequent to this latter period, ELBRIDGE GERRY was governor of Massachusetts, and died in 1814, vice-president of the United States.'

In the present work, the narrative of Mr Gerry's life is brought down only to the close of the revolution. His biographer has assigned the reasons which have induced him, for the present, to pause at this stage, in the following manner ;

'Of those more recent events which occurred at and subsequent to the formation of the constitution of the United States, it is not easy to speak with sufficient impartiality, at a time so near their accomplishment. The irritation they excited has not subsided. The storm of party violence may have ceased, but the waves are not yet calm. The traces of a consuming fire are still perceptible. The path lies

"per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso."

'The prominent incidents in the life, which this volume is intended to illustrate, occurred in times of revolution, faction, and party warfare. The whigs and tories were not more vindictive than the advocates and opponents of the constitution, or than the factions who quarrelled about the treaty of London and the war with France, or than those who arranged themselves under party banners as republicans and federalists.

'It was not possible that any man of decision of character and personal independence should stand well with all these irritated adversaries. In such times every honorable man selects his side. The consequence of a choice is the favor of one and the enmity of the other.

'The subject of this memoir enjoyed in a remarkable degree the support of his political friends, and had no patent of exemption from the fate, which impended over the statesmen of his age. Much of the malignity, with which he was assailed, may be justly ascribed to a vindictive and vulgar spirit ; but it is not to be doubted that many measures of his public life seriously displeased the leaders of a strong and powerful party, and induced them to believe they "did the state some service" by diminishing the influence of his name.

'To discriminate between defamation intended merely to exas-

perate, and that estimate of conduct which speaks sincerely in the language of reproach ; or between adulation designed to exalt the character of a leader, and praise which is the honest sentiment of a gratified community, is not always a practicable task. The duty of the biographer is doubtless to enable his readers to form their own judgment by an impartial and dispassionate narration of the facts that existed.

‘ This and other considerations have induced the publication, at the present time, of so much only of the life proposed to be written as was passed during the revolution, a period about which, at this day, there is a correct standard of opinion. The residue is in progress, and may be given at some future time to the public. It is the more willingly deferred, because it is that part with which recent inquirers into American history are in some degree familiar.’

We are inclined to think that Colonel Austin has in this adopted a judicious course. In the volume at present before the public, he has presented, on behalf of the venerable subject of his narrative, a claim to public respect, which all will admit. He has identified him, in the most intimate manner, with the American Revolution. He has shown him to us, as the confidential associate and coadjutor of its great leaders,—as a distinguished leader himself ; and in this imposing and dignified light, he has deduced his history to the termination of the war. There is a portion, a very large and active portion of the community, who are prepared already for the continuation of the narrative. We believe no man now finds it difficult to do justice to those, who opposed or who advocated the adoption of the Constitution. There are not many states of the Union, to which this ought to be a more tender theme, than to Massachusetts. The Convention was almost equally balanced, and the means employed to produce the desired result do not illustrate, as much as could be wished, the power of pure reason. Still, however, we believe we have reached an age, when this subject could be treated, without risk of offence in any quarter. The same may be said of the events of a period considerably subsequent, in reference to the younger portion of the community, who have come into life since other events have been the turning points of the politics of the country. But, inasmuch as some of the active politicians of the periods specified by Colonel Austin are still on the stage, we think he has acted with a commendable discretion, in pausing at the close of the Revolution ; and we are quite willing to rest with

the same discretion the choice of the moment, when the interesting narrative shall be resumed; prepared to welcome it, whenever he shall think fit to present it to the American people.

But it is time to invite the reader's attention to some of the interesting details of the work before us,—and among these, we cannot but allude to the subject of the academical exercise assigned to Mr Gerry, at the period of his graduation at Harvard College. At the period, when Mr Gerry took his degree at Cambridge, the annual commencement was a far more important occasion, than it is at the present day, when colleges are numerous, and festivals of all kinds have been so much multiplied, as to divide that public attention, which was then concentrated on a very few, among which the commencement at college was inferior to none, in the general estimation. The academic exercises of this occasion were therefore highly important, both as an indication of the feeling, which existed among the portion of the community, which, having received a liberal education, was destined, in the professions, to exercise an influence over public sentiment; and also as an instrument, at the time, of giving tone and animation to the opinion of those assembled from all parts of the state. Accordingly, the very first movements of popular sentiment were responded from the University. Samuel Adams took his second degree at Cambridge, in 1743. On this occasion, he maintained the affirmative of this question, 'Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?' In 1765, John Adams wrote his *Essay on the Canon and Feudal Law*, in the splendid peroration of which he makes the following animated appeal;

'Let the colleges join their harmony in the same delightful concert. Let every declamation turn upon the beauty of liberty and virtue, and the deformity, turpitude, and malignity of slavery and vice. Let the public disputations become researches into the grounds, and nature, and ends of government; and the means of preserving the good and demolishing the evil. Let the dialogues and all the exercises become the instruments of impressing the tender mind, and of spreading and distributing far and wide the ideas of right and the sensations of freedom. In short, let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set flowing.'

At the annual commencement in 1765, the same year in which this exhortation was given, Mr Gerry received his sec-

ond degree at Cambridge, and supported the affirmative of this question, 'Whether innovations in the laws of trade and revenue which destroy the commerce of a people, may be lawfully evaded by them as faithful subjects?' It will be recollected that, in the year before (1764), new duties had been laid on the West India trade; and that in 1765 the stamp act was passed. At the same commencement, Francis Dana, afterwards a distinguished member both of the continental and the federal congress, and chief justice of Massachusetts, maintained the negative of the question, 'Whether the legislature of a state had a right to change its constitution.' It was therefore, with great propriety, that the following remark was made, by the present chief magistrate, at the annual visitation of the Boston free schools in 1826. 'It was from the schools of public instruction, instituted by your forefathers, that the light burst forth, which now illuminates the world. It was in your primary schools; it was by the midnight lamps of Harvard Hall; that were conceived and matured, as it was within these hallowed walls,* that were first resounded the accents of that independence, which is now canonized in the memory of those, by whom it was proclaimed.'

We pass over a great many details of interest, relative to Mr Gerry's entrance into political life, and his services in the legislature and on the committee of correspondence, and come to the period when, in 1774, he was elected a member of the provincial congress, which sat at Concord, Cambridge, and Watertown, and which Colonel Austin justly describes, as the first purely revolutionary assembly in the colonies. There was nothing contrary to the existing charters of government, in the convocation of the continental congress at Philadelphia. Like the congress of 1765, which met at New York, to confer on the Stamp Act; or the congress of 1754, which met at Albany to devise a plan of general union, the meeting of 1774 could only be regarded as a legal conference of committees from several colonies, met to submit their grievances to the crown; which they did in a dutiful address. The provincial congress of Watertown was convened, against all previously existing law, except that, which is previous to all other law,—the law of necessity. They were truly told by the royal governor, that 'their assembling, as they had done, was a violation

* Faneuil Hall.

of their own constitution.' They in particular took that step, which may be considered, in modern revolutions, as marking, by a precise point of time and action, the turn in the tide of government ;—we mean that, which gives a new direction to the revenue of the state ;—which cuts off the streams from one treasury, and pours them into another. The provincial congress of Massachusetts elected Henry Gardner as treasurer, and called on the people to pay their taxes to him.

On this general subject, Colonel Austin makes the following just reflection.

' This assembly had no justification for convening by any provisions of the provincial charter ; and their assuming the powers of legislation, and other high acts of authority and government, were supported by no other sanction than the voluntary consent and approbation of the people.

' Resistance to organized government usually begins by military force. The arm of the law is active and powerful enough to put down all opposition that is not supported by the bayonet ; but the American revolution began by the exertion of moral and intellectual power. It commenced in an intelligent and peaceable effort by the people to direct for themselves, and by themselves, the public business of the province ; and so far as Massachusetts was concerned, the assembling of these delegates with the intention of exercising all the powers of legislation, and carrying this intention into complete effect, was a perfect abandonment of the provincial government, an overthrow of the royal power, and the beginning of the existence of a free, sovereign, and independent state.'

We are well convinced, that, in after ages, one of the most important points of view, under which the American revolution will be scrutinized by the friends of liberty and the student of history, will be that of a great school of freedom, in which other times may find the most instructive lessons, as to the methods, by which a republican independence can most successfully be attempted. If we trace back our history to the cradle of the commonwealth, we find that after liberty of conscience, the first thing needful, the understanding must be enlightened, and the means of education provided ; in order that the reasoning mind, which in its liberty of conscience has acquired the right to think, may be enabled to think rightfully, liberally, and wisely. Without this preparation, strength is brute force ; and numbers, wealth, and what we may call statistical prosperity, can serve only to make a valuable colony ; never a hopeful commonwealth. When a revolution then is to

take place, let it, according to the great example of our fathers, begin far back with that, which is the glory of human nature, the calm, decided, energetic operation of the *reason* of the people ; diffusively, in the common sense of the mass ; eminently, in the strong conviction of the gifted minds. A just and hopeful political reform must first disclose itself, as such, in this way ; for *reason*, deciding, reflective reason, is the great glory of our nature ; and that, which makes one mortal being superior to another, and nearer the immortal and Supreme, is the elevation and correctness of his intelligence.

When by education the mind of the country is prepared ; when the faculties of the gifted few are prepared to lead, and of the intelligent mass to follow, then, in a well conducted revolution, ensues the purest and chastest operation of intellect,—that, by which the rights of the people and the duties of the crisis are, in the various forms of *written discourse*, powerfully set forth and brought home to the community, and made familiar to its members. After the unexpressed, the inexpressible, the purely etherial operations of mind, that, which approaches nearest to them, is the silent voice of reason, in the retirement of the closet. It does not supersede, it awakens the independent action of other minds. It suggests the theme, but affords space for meditation, for qualification, it may be, for correction. It is the most transparent veil, the most spiritual incarnation, in which the word can be made manifest. Here, too, is the highest test of comparative merit, which man can apply. Of the inward exercises of pure reason, man cannot judge ; nor how much those of one intellect exceed those of another. But when the truth of a cause and the strength of its supporters are brought to the test of a written exposition and defence, we are then furnished with the first and surest means of judging of its truth, and of the power and light, with which it has been conceived and taken up. The whole history of the colonies, down to the year 1760, presents us with the illustrations of this stage of an orderly revolution.

Lower in the scale is the agency, by which the cause, thus prepared in the consciences, convictions, and reason of men, is to win its way to the favor of the less reflecting portion of the community, or to gain a majority of voices in the primary and popular assemblies. This is the agency of *public speaking*, an instrument less chaste indeed and intellectual, than that of written discourse, yet liberal and generous in its nature. But it ne-

cessarily borrows not a little from physical accidents ; it addresses a taste less severe ; it looks more to the side of the passions, and less to that of the reason ; and is not so necessarily the expression of native power, and independent thought. Moreover, till the understanding of the best and most solid portion of the community has been enlightened ; and they are well taught in the principles of reform, it is premature to put the multitudinous assemblies in action, by the sympathetic fervor of popular eloquence. But when each of these in its place has been done ; when the understandings of the people have comprehended the principles of the proposed reform, and their reason has felt its necessity ; when, in the large cities or in the crowded audiences elsewhere convened, their spirits have been wrought up to a certain passionate enthusiasm, by the eloquence of fervid appeals, then they have reached what may be called the maturity of preparation. They are ripe for the reform they demand. From the year 1760 to 1775, may be considered the period, in America, of this second stage of preparation.

If arbitrary power be still opposed to the acknowledgment of their rights, nothing farther is needed, than to raise *the arm of flesh*,—the humble but faithful minister of the righteous will of an enlightened and enkindled people, resolved to be free. This, of course, is an agency still lower in its character, partaking of mechanical impulse, and brute violence ; but ennobled by a noble cause, and necessary in the conflict with the like force, exerted in an opposite direction.

Such is the wholesome gradation of the energies of a people, trained up in orderly discipline, to a seasonable and auspicious independence. It is of such a revolution and such an one alone, that it can be said, in any hopeful sense, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. But woe to the misguided nation, that inverts the succession of the powers and talents, by which alone a great and genial efficacy in human affairs can be exerted ; whose mighty masses are put prematurely in motion ; whose popular assemblies are hurried into hasty and unconsidered measures ; and who are obliged slowly and sadly to go back to the heavenly directress,—the counsels of calm reason,—to repair the errors, into which they had been plunged by following their passionate guides. It would be easy to point out, in the history of the French revolution, a complete contrast to the American, and to show that the prosperous issue of one and the disastrous miscarriages of the other proceeded from a

complete inversion of the natural order of the talents, by which a movement ought to be given to political affairs. It is necessary, to avoid misconception, to add, that the talents of written discourse, popular eloquence, and physical action do not necessarily exist alone, each exclusively of the others. There are rare instances, where they are all united. They were eminently so in Julius Cæsar, who wanted nothing but good moral qualities, to make him the paragon of humanity; being, as he was, the most elegant writer, the happiest popular speaker, and the ablest general in Rome. Less rare are the cases, where two of the three great qualities are united, in the same individual. We have compared them above only as possessed, and brought into operation, singly and each exclusively of the others; that is, as much so, as any one quality of rational man can be exclusive of all the others.

It would be grateful and instructive to examine the characters of our revolutionary leaders, in the application of the talents we have described. Mr Jefferson and Dr Franklin exercised the purely philosophical influence (but that of the highest order) over American affairs; the latter long before the crisis of the revolution came on, the former more eminently in the succeeding stages of our political progress. Neither of them, we believe, possessed any portion of the talent of the orator or of the soldier. Mr Adams united to the pure philosophy of Jefferson and Franklin a powerful gift in eloquence, which made him a far more efficient member of a deliberative assembly than either. Washington's talent was peculiar. We believe he never spoke in a deliberative assembly; and he discharged with great success the functions both of the philosophic statesman and of the soldier, without possessing, in an eminent degree, the *peculiar* qualities of either. As a learned civilian there were many of his contemporaries who surpassed him; as a commander, it certainly would not be hard to point out, in the revolutionary army, a few men more visibly endowed with purely military qualities. He seemed to possess just enough of either character to enable him to do the duties of both. In civil administration, the decision, circumspection, and firmness of the commander were his main strength; in the command of the army, the moderation, assiduity, and perseverance of the civil service were the great features of his Fabian policy. He does not owe his military fame to his battles; nor his reputation as a magistrate to his political science. He is more indebted

perhaps for his great and solitary ascendancy to the moral qualities of his character, and to his high disinterestedness, than to his possession of the talents, which render other men famous. The subject of the present work, Mr Gerry, was not an orator, in the common sense of the word, and though two or three times exposed to peril from hostile violence, was never in the military service. His power was that of intelligence, energetically, assiduously, and patiently exerted ;—strengthened by the merit of early espousing, steadily supporting, and never deserting the cause.

Mr Gerry was a member of the committee of safety, appointed by the provincial congress ; which committee had been in session at West Cambridge, on the 18th of April, 1775. The following interesting anecdote shows, by how narrow an escape he was saved from being one of the first victims of the war.

‘ A committee of congress, among whom were Mr Gerry, Colonel Orne, and Colonel Hancock, had been in session, on the day preceding the march of the troops, in the village of Menotomy, then part of the township of Cambridge, on the road to Lexington. The latter gentleman after the session was over had gone to Lexington. Mr Gerry and Mr Orne remained at the village ; the other members of the committee had dispersed.

‘ Some officers of the royal army had been sent out in advance, who passed through the village just before dark, on the afternoon of the 18th of April, and although the appearance of similar detachments was not uncommon, these so far attracted the attention of Mr Gerry, that he despatched an express to Colonel Hancock, who with Samuel Adams was at Lexington. The messenger passed the officers by taking a by-path, and delivered his letter. The idea of personal danger does not seem to have made any strong impression on either of these gentlemen. Mr Hancock’s answer to Mr Gerry bears marks of the haste with which it was written, while it discovers that habitual politeness on the part of the writer, which neither haste or danger could impair.

‘ MR HANCOCK TO MR GERRY.

“DEAR SIR,

Lexington, April 18th, 1775.

“I am much obliged for your notice. It is said the officers are gone to Concord, and I will send word thither. I am full with you, that we ought to be serious, and I hope your decision will be effectual. I intend doing myself the pleasure of being with you to-morrow. My respects to the committee.

I am your real friend,

JOHN HANCOCK.”

‘ Mr Gerry and Colonel Orne retired to rest without taking the least precaution against personal exposure, and they remained quietly in their beds, until the British advance were within view of the dwelling-house. It was a fine moonlight night, and they quietly marked the glittering of its beams on the polished arms of the soldiers, as the troops moved with the silence and regularity of accomplished discipline. The front passed on. When the centre were opposite to the house occupied by the committee, an officer and file of men were detached by signal, and marched towards it. It was not until this moment they entertained any apprehension of danger. While the officer was posting his files, the gentlemen found means by their better knowledge of the premises to escape, half dressed as they were, into an adjoining corn-field, where they remained concealed for more than an hour, until the troops were withdrawn. Every apartment of the house was searched “for the members of the rebel congress”; even the beds in which they had lain were examined. But their property, and among other things a valuable watch of Mr Gerry’s, which was under his pillow, was not disturbed.’—pp. 67-69.

Mr Gerry was one of the earliest to perceive the importance of organizing the naval strength of the country. While his friend John Adams, in the continental congress, was prompt in directing the attention of that body to the same subject, Mr Gerry, in the provincial congress of Massachusetts, submitted a proposal at an early period in 1775, for a law to encourage the fitting out of armed vessels, and to provide for the adjudication of prizes. This was a step of no common delicacy. The idea of a formal war, offensive as well as defensive, found but tardy entrance into the minds of the people. They easily conceived themselves authorized, by the law of nature and necessity, to defend themselves against the actual application of force; but it was going much farther, to engage themselves in voluntary warfare, particularly a warfare against the private property of their British countrymen. So strong were these scruples, that among the anecdotes illustrative of the opinions of the day and the manners of the people, we hear of American merchants, who, in fitting out their privateers to cruise against British commerce, opened an account with the king of England, in which he was regularly charged with the captures they suffered, and credited with the prizes they took.

Mr Gerry was chairman of the committee, appointed to prepare the act to authorize privateering and establish admiralty courts. Governor Sullivan was another member of it;

and on these two gentlemen devolved the task of drawing the act; which they executed in a small room, under the belfry of the Watertown meeting-house, in which the provincial congress was holding its sessions. It was found necessary to pay regard to the scruples of those, who doubted whether such a measure might not be inconsistent with the allegiance still professed to the crown. This was certainly no easy task, but Mr Gerry said to some of these persons, in the words of Colonel Austin, 'we will contrive to "*whereas*" it, into some reasonable form.' He accordingly undertook to frame the preamble; and Governor Sullivan drew the act. The preamble ran in the following terms; and we apprehend it would be hard to find a more pregnant *whereas*, in the annals of legislation.*

'Whereas the present administration of Great Britain, being divested of justice and humanity, and strangers to that magnanimity and sacred regard for liberty, which inspired their predecessors, have been endeavoring, through a series of years, to establish a system of despotism over the American colonies, and by their venal and corrupt measures, have so extended their influence over the British parliament, that by a prostituted majority, it is now become a political engine of slavery;—and whereas the military tools of these our unnatural enemies, while restrained by the united forces of the American colonies from proceeding in their sanguinary career of devastation and slaughter, are infesting the seacoast with armed vessels, and daily endeavoring to distress the inhabitants, by burning their towns and destroying their dwellings with their substance, plundering live stock, and making captures of provision and other vessels, being the property of the said inhabitants;—and whereas their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, by the royal charter of this colony, "for themselves, their heirs, and successors, did grant, establish, and ordain, that in the absence of the governor and lieutenant governor of the colony, a majority of the council shall have full power by themselves, or by any chief commander, or other officer or officers, to be appointed by them from time to time, for the special defence of their said province or territory, to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture the inhabitants of their said province or territory, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, resist, and pursue by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of the said province or

*There is more light thrown on one peculiarity of the Yankee character, in this admirable *mot* of Mr Gerry, than can be gathered from all the travellers in America, we have ever read.

territory ; and also to kill, slay, destroy, and conquer, by all fitting ways, enterprises, and means whatever, all and every such person and persons, as should, at any time thereafter, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of their said province or territory, and to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatever, all and every person and persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition, and other goods, as should in a hostile manner invade or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoying of their said province or territory ;"—and whereas it is expressly resolved by the grand congress of America, "that each colony, at their own expense, make such provision by armed vessels or otherwise, as their respective assemblies, conventions, or committees of safety, shall judge expedient and suitable to their circumstances and situations, for the protection of their harbors and navigation on the seacoasts, against all unlawful invasion, attacks, and depredations from cutters and ships of war ;" and it is the duty and interest of this colony to exert itself, as well for the purpose of keeping supplies from the enemy, as for those mentioned in the paragraphs of the charter and resolve now recited ;

‘ Therefore, for the more effectual carrying into execution the purposes aforesaid,’ &c. pp. 505, 506.

In connexion with this extract, our readers ought to turn to the volume, and peruse the letters of the late President Adams, preserved in the Appendix, on the subject of the origin of the American navy.

It would be out of our power, did it fall within our present object, to pursue the analysis of this interesting volume. Almost every page of it contains matter, which the curious and patriotic student of our history must read with delight. The original letters of John and Samuel Adams, of Washington, of Jefferson, of Knox, of Dana, of King, and of other distinguished men of that day, are sufficient to stamp the highest degree of importance on the volume. There are fewer letters of Mr Gerry himself, than we could have wished. We account for their absence, on the supposition, that, in the great press of business, which devolved upon him, he had not time to reserve copies of many of his letters, and that the originals have not been returned to him or his representatives.

This is a matter of some general interest in this country, at this moment, and one, therefore, we hope, on which we may be permitted to make a few remarks. In the literary republic of Europe, as far as we are acquainted, letters are considered as the property of their writers, and not of the persons to whom

they are addressed. The person, who writes them, sends them to his correspondent (generally speaking) for the *sole* purpose of being *read* by *him*. In the great majority of cases, private letters are good for nothing else; and consequently it is needless to inquire, in whom is vested the residuary property in them. But the private letters of distinguished men, on public subjects, soon acquire a literary and a historical importance, and with it, a pecuniary value. To whom do they belong? We answer, that, as far as we know, in the estimation of the literary world abroad, they belong to their writer or to his representatives. It is considered a matter of course, when an individual dies, unless some other disposition of his papers be made by himself, that the letters of his correspondents should be returned to their authors; and equally a matter of course, that the letters, which he may himself have written, should be sent back by those, in whose possession they are, to the surviving representatives of the deceased, on whom devolves the care of his property and of his reputation. This course seems to us reasonable and just. Honor, in the first place, forbids the use of a letter, by the person to whom it is addressed, for any other purpose than that for which it was sent him. If I publish my correspondent's letter to me, unless with his express or easily implied permission, I do an act by no means creditable. If injury result to him by the publication, I have been guilty of unpardonable indiscretion. If I make the publication intentionally to injure him, I am guilty of the most detestable baseness. The man, who, intentionally to injure another, violates the confidence of a private correspondence, is an assassin, in all but the nerve which is wanting to plunge a dagger into his neighbor's back. The quality of the action is not essentially changed, when performed by the representatives of the original parties.

But the case of more common occurrence is one, which does not involve a departure from the rules of honor. It is simply that of regarding all the letters found in a person's possession at his decease, as his property and not that of their writers; and this idea has been in this country, in some degree, adopted. But we think it plainly an incorrect view of the subject. How desirable would it have been to the respectable gentleman, who has favored the public with this life of Vice-President Gerry, to have had all his letters in his possession? Or take the case of Mr Jefferson. Suppose that he

had not been in the habit of retaining copies of his letters; and that they existed only in the originals, and these scattered over the continent. His family would, in that case, be deprived of a very considerable portion of the richest fruits of his mind, and of the most lucrative remains from his pen. Even as it is, the pecuniary value of any publication his family may wish to make, is essentially impaired, by the practice of freely publishing his letters, on the part of those, who happen to have them in possession. It will not be thought, that we intend any censure applicable to single cases where this has been done. It is often done from good motives, to raise the fame of the distinguished writer; often from the pardonable wish to gratify contemporary curiosity; but almost always at the expense of the interests of those, in whom whatever value such letters possess, ought to be considered as vested.

After the last remark, it will be doubly unnecessary to observe, that no covert censure is intended on the introduction into the present work of the letters of the contemporaries of Vice-President Gerry. Colonel Austin has pursued not merely the course which usage has sanctioned; but that which necessity and duty imposed upon him, in the want of the letters of his venerable relation. Till a general practice of mutual restitution shall be adopted, it would be the height of injustice to enforce it upon an individual. The letters of the contemporaries of Mr Gerry, which the present volume contains, are many of them of the highest interest, especially those of Samuel and John Adams. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting one of the latter. The event has hitherto shown, that the fears entertained by its venerable writer, in common with almost all his copatriots not of the army, were exaggerated; but the sentiments expressed show the real political principles of a much misrepresented man.

‘MR JOHN ADAMS TO MR GERRY.

“*April 25, 1785.*

“* * * * What is to be done with the Cincinnati? Is that order of chivalry, that inroad upon our first principle, equality, to be connived at? It is the deepest piece of cunning yet attempted. It is sowing the seeds of all that European courts wish to grow up among us, viz. of vanity, ambition, corruption, discord, and sedition. Are we so dim-sighted as not to see, that the taking away the hereditary descent of it will not prevent its baneful influence? Who will think of preventing the son from wearing

a ribbon and a bit of gold that his father wore? Mankind love to see one child at least of every beloved and respected father possessed of his estate, his office, &c. after his decease. Besides, when once the people begin to think these marks rewards, these marks are soon considered as the only proofs of merit. Such marks should not be adopted in any country where there is virtue, love of country, love of labor. When virtue is lost, ambition succeeds. Then indeed ribbons and garters become necessary, but never till then. Then indeed these should be public rewards conferred by the state, the civil sovereign, not private men or bodies. I have been asked, why I have not written against it? Can it be necessary for me to write upon such a thing? I wrote twenty years ago some papers which have been called an Essay on the Feudal Law, in which my sentiments and the sentiments of our ancestors are sufficiently expressed, concerning all such distinctions and all orders of chivalry and nobility. But, sir, while reputations are so indiscreetly puffed, while thanks and statues are so childishly awarded, and the greatest real services are so coldly received, I had almost said censured, we are in the high road to have no virtues left, and nothing but ambition to reward. Ribbons are not the only reward of ambition. Wealth and power must keep them company. My countrymen give reputations to individuals that are real tyrannies. No man dares resist or oppose them. No wonder then that such reputations introduce chivalry, &c. without opposition, though without authority. The cry of "gratitude, gratitude," is animal magnetism; it bewitches all mankind, and has established every tyranny, imposture, and usurpation that ever existed upon earth; so true are those words of Machiavel, "Not ingratitude, but too much love, is the constant fault of the people." This is a subject that requires a volume; and you see I am in haste. I could not have believed, if I had not seen it, that our officers could have adopted such a scheme, or the people, the legislatures, or congress have submitted to it one moment. I do not wonder at a Marquis de la Fayette or a Baron Steuben; they were born and bred to such decorations and the taste for them. From the moment that Captain Jones had his cross of merit bestowed by the king and consented to by congress, I suspected that some such project was in contemplation. Awful, my friend, is the task of the intelligent advocate for liberty. The military spirit, the ecclesiastical spirit, the commercial spirit, and innumerable other evil spirits are eternally devising mischief to his cause and disturbing his repose. It is a constant warfare from the cradle to the grave without comfort, thanks, or rewards, and is always overcome at last.

'Is not this institution against our confederation? Is it not against the declarations of rights in several of the states? Is it

not an act of sovereignty, disposing and creating of public rewards, presumptuously enterprised by private gentlemen? Is the assembly a lawful assembly? Is it not cruel to call this a club for private friendship, or a society for charity for officers' widows and children? Would even such a society be lawful without the permission of the legislature? Is it not substituting honor for virtue in the infancy of a republic? Must it not introduce and perpetuate contests and dissensions, pernicious in all governments, but especially in ours? Is it not an effectual subversion of our equality? Inequalities of riches cannot be avoided as long as nature gives inequality of understanding and activity. And these inequalities are not unuseful. But artificial inequalities of decorations, birth, and title not accompanying public trust, are those very inequalities which have exterminated virtue and liberty, and substituted ambition and slavery in all ages and countries. I do not wonder that the word *republican* is odious and unpopular throughout the world. I do not wonder that so few, even of the great writers, have admired this form of government. Plato himself, I am fully persuaded from his writings, was not a republican. It is the best of governments while the people are republicans, that is, virtuous, simple, and of independent spirit. But when the people are avaricious, ambitious, and vain, instead of being virtuous, poor, and proud, it is not. A republican is an equivocal title; a Dutchman, a Genoese, a Venetian, a Swiss, a Genevan, and an Englishman, are all called republicans. Among all these shades you will scarcely find the true color. Our countrymen may be the nearest; but there is so much wealth among them and such an universal rage of avarice, that I often fear they will only make their real republicans miserable for a few years, and then become like the rest of the world. If this appears to be their determination, it is not worth the while of you and me to die martyrs to singular notions. You are young and may turn fine gentleman yet. I am too old, and therefore will retire to Pen's Hill,

‘The world forgetting, by the world forgot.’

“I am, my dear sir, your sincere friend, JOHN ADAMS.”
pp. 427–431.

ART. IV.—*Johannes Wit, genannt von Dörning. Fragmente aus meinem Leben und meiner Zeit. Aufenthalt in den Gefängnissen zu Chamberry, Turin, und Mailand, nebst meinen Flucht aus der Citadelle letzteren Ortes.*

John Wit, alias Von Dörning. Fragments of my Life and Time. Residence in the Prisons of Chamberry, Turin, and Milan, with my Escape from the Fortress of the latter City. Brunswick. 1827.

THIS curious work has attracted considerable notice in Germany. It is the autobiography of a young man named *Wit* (which auspicious cognomen he soon, and with great propriety abandoned), who first enlisted in the wild projects of revolution, conceived by some ill-advised students in the German Universities; then became implicated with the secret societies of Piedmont and Naples; and after having encountered a world of trouble from the police, in several countries, has now set himself to work within the walls of a Danish dungeon, as a sort of literary state's evidence against his former associates.

Could we place any faith in the author, the book would be valuable. As it is, no one thing, in itself improbable, is entitled to be believed because he asserts it. But, inasmuch as many things in it tally well with what is known to be true, and the author is known to have run, in general, the course which he has described, there is no objection to our admitting as probable his statements on many points, where there is no visible temptation to falsehood. In this respect, his details relative to the revolution in Piedmont are not undeserving of attention.

There is something pathetic in the account he gives us of the circumstances under which his memoirs are composed. He has written them, he says, 'in a dungeon, shut up behind a three-fold range of grated and bolted doors, with a sentinel at the nearest entrance.' 'The thick iron bars before my windows,' he adds, 'are not over cheerful; the storm which almost constantly howls round my prison, is not the sweetest music; and the residence in a solitary fortress, built out into the raging sea, procures no relief to a wasted frame, and no kind alleviation to the suffering mind.' Deprived of all his papers, he could only draw his details from his memory, 'and nothing else,' says he, 'has remained faithful to me.' 'Some important facts,' he adds, 'may be misstated, and some names may be misspelled.'

He studied at the University of Jena, at an epoch when the revolutionary excitement among the Germans was at its highest pitch. At the age of eighteen, he was, according to his own confession, the most exalted of the exalted. After having formed some political connexions abroad, he departed for Paris, in 1818, with a view to the formation of a union between the German revolutionists and those of France. To try the progress which the revolutionary spirit had made in Germany, a short poetical composition, of an obnoxious character, was published and widely circulated. The author of it was arrested in 1819, by order of the Prussian government. But believing, as he says, that the services of this gentleman were necessary to the regeneration of Germany, Wit announced *himself*, in the most solemn manner, as the author of the offensive production, and narrowly escaped arrest. In the autumn of 1819, he repaired to England, where he exchanged his own name, Wit, for that of his step-father, Döring. He employed his time in London in writing libellous and scandalous articles on the German princes, and thus, he says, acquired much notoriety. 'I thought myself a great man.' That our hero thought himself a great man, is very probable; about the notoriety, we are pestered with doubts. From London he returned to Paris. Here he met in Count de Serres, an intimate friend of his family, and Baron Eckstein, who was then inspector-general in the police department, was his maternal uncle.

Having been almost an eyewitness of the murder of the Duke of Berry, his better feelings were for a moment re-awakened. Count de Serres endeavored, by flattering his vanity, to counteract the influence, which the leaders of the revolutionary party exercised upon the young adventurer. He gives no facts of any importance during his residence in Paris, and we give no credit to his general, vague accounts of his connexions with all parties, and his project of forming a party of his own.

In the summer of 1820, he informs us that he defeated a project to murder the king of France. In July, 1821, an intimate associate of the Italian revolutionists, a Dr Joachim de' Prati, declared to him in Switzerland, that they had resolved to bring about the revolution by murder, or (as they expressed it) by *cold iron*; whereupon our hero broke off all connexion with them. His associates resolved to punish him for this de-

sertion ; and hints are dropped that his death was decreed. Shortly afterwards he was arrested by the government of Piedmont. The incidents of his first detention, until his escape from the citadel of Milan, are the subject of the present book. He anticipates, however, a portion of the contents of another volume, by stating that, after having wandered for nearly a year through Switzerland and Germany, under different disguises and names, with a price set upon his head, he was at length arrested, at Bayreuth, in February, 1824. The judge who examined his cause, Baron de Welden, won his confidence. The Prussian government had, by that time, discovered the manoeuvres of a secret association (*geheime Bund*). The author volunteered to declare all he knew about this matter. A counsellor was despatched by the Prussian government to Bayreuth to examine him ; and this gentleman, like the former, inspired him with the greatest confidence and affection. He boasts of having communicated to the Prussian government the true origin of the above mentioned association, and his own secret movements at Paris. No accusation had been brought against him. His declarations were perfectly spontaneous. He could have retracted the one, in consequence of which he had been arrested, namely, that he was the author of the revolutionary poem abovementioned ; but instead of telling this truth, he thought fit to criminate himself, and in consequence is enjoying the leisure of a dungeon.*

From Bayreuth he was sent to Berlin, where he arrived with many prejudices against the Prussian government ; but, during his long detention, he observes that he had abundant reasons to change his opinion. The two judicial personages who examined him won his esteem and friendship. He had spoken very disrespectfully of one of them, a Mr de Kamptz, in English newspapers ; this gentleman did, nevertheless, everything that depended on him to alleviate his sufferings. He calls upon the testimony of all those who have been under prosecution in Prussia to state, ‘ whether it is possible to proceed with more rectitude, mildness, and benevolence, than this much calumniated gentleman.’ He declared all he knew of the plans of his ancient associates, for, he observes, he saw the time was come to tell the whole truth. He saved thus many innocent persons. Against the blame which might be thrown upon him for this

* The memoirs are dated February, 1827, at Fredericstort, a Danish fortress in South Jutland, three leagues north of Kiel.

conduct, he alleges his conviction, 'that the state must, like the church, abandon speculative truth; and that natural rights are as insufficient for the bulk of mankind, as natural religion.' He has, moreover, as he says, acquired the conviction that the several governments of Germany aim at the good of their subjects, and earnestly wish to reëstablish order and tranquillity by mildness. The reader perceives, by this specimen, that the Danish jailors understand the regimen that suits gentlemen like Mr Wit; from 'a patriot of distinguished note,' they have tamed him down to a very edifying loyalty.

Entering now into the details of his revolutionary course, he begins with his adventures in Switzerland. He had been ordered by the Swiss authorities to leave the city of Geneva, and the canton of that name; but instead of obeying that injunction, he went secretly to Mornex, a village on the little Saleve, to wait for an opportunity to begin his operations at Rome and at Naples. While residing here, he frequently repaired to Geneva in the night.

Soon after the arrival of the Austrian troops at Naples, the *Alta Vendita*, or Supreme Directory of the Carbonari, dissolved itself for the time. This was done less from fear of discovery, than from the conviction that it had lost, for the present, its influence over the other *Vendite* and *Baracche* (so they styled their local associations), which were closely observed by the authorities. The members of the three first degrees were, moreover, so numerous, that it was indispensable to adopt a thorough reform.

In the summer of 1821, eleven of the principal leaders assembled at Capua, and resolved to depute two of their farthest initiated 'Cousins' (*Cugini*) to Paris, on purpose to confer with the chiefs of the *Great Firmament*, on the propriety of transferring to that capital the direction of the entire concern of the Carbonari; that being the place where they would find the best means of forming connexions with every part of Europe, of procuring the most important coöperators, and the amplest pecuniary resources. This *Great Firmament*, or Directory of the secret society of France, as the author asserts, originated in two other secret fraternities, the *Adelfa* and *Filadelfia*, which, jointly or severally, were connected with General Mallet, who endeavored to overthrow Bonaparte, while he was himself in prison; a project which conducted him to the guillotine, or to some other such end.

The task of uniting the *Great Firmament* with the *Alta Vendita*, was committed to two deputies, the Sicilian Duke Garutula, and Carlo Chericone, Klerkon (?), son of the Napolitan Duke of Fra-Marino, chamberlain, or major-domo of the king. This latter individual sought our author, and delivered him a letter from an old friend of his, a Pole, who had resided for some time at Naples, as a secret emissary of the malcontents of his country, and had proposed to the Neapolitan Parliament, to organize a legion of his countrymen, which should muster four thousand men. Klerkon was the bearer to Wit of a commission of Inspector-General of Carbonari in Germany and Switzerland; but he declined accepting it, not from love or respect for the existing governments, but because he was persuaded that the Italians were so corrupt, that a revolution would but bring upon them greater miseries than already weighed upon them. Upon being told, however, that the commission which he declined would be tendered to the lawyer Joachim de' Prati, he accepted it; for he knew the sanguinary disposition of this man, how strong was his hatred of all existing institutions, and how easily he could be led into every kind of crime. But whilst he thus sacrificed himself, he says, for the public weal, he took care to disclose his motives and his secret intentions to a highly elevated personage. Whoever this may be, the author owns that instead of encouraging him to continue in the connexions into which he had recently entered, he did everything in his power to reconcile him with his 'father-land,' and to persuade him to adopt a course of life more conformable to his personal interest, and to the welfare of society. But he thought it too late for him to retire from the dangers into which he had plunged, lest his courage might be questioned. He speaks here in a mysterious jargon, well adapted to his revolutionary career, of a Prince, who accepted the highest degrees of the secret association, and who succeeded, by these means, to neutralize the manœuvres of his compeers. Who this new *Monsieur Egalité* may be, we are not informed. The author speaks of him in the following terms; and if there is any truth in what he says, of which we have strong doubts, the *high personage* has great cause to be flattered with the figure he is made to cut.

'For the step which I took, I have the example of a most respected Prince, known and honored by a large part of my readers in a still more definite character. To him, unquestionably the most

deeply initiated among the initiated, was committed the inspector-generalship and propagation of the Illuminati-Association, throughout the North of Europe. He received from the hands of Knigge (?) the documents (*cahiers*) of the three highest orders (fortunately existing only on paper), and thereby learned the scandalous object of the Association. He foresaw the evil which would be occasioned, should he separate himself from it in open disgust, and some other, imbued with the full spirit of the order of the Priests and Epopææ, undertake the direction. On this account he constrained himself to accept the office abovementioned; and gave so skilful a turn to affairs, and so neutralized the poison of the Association, that it disappeared in the North without effect, where, but for this, it would have found but too ready a reception, and but too many supporters.'

The author throws, after all, little light upon the origin of the Carbonari. According to him, the catechism published of that society, by a Mr St Edme, is spurious; and few of the initiated themselves know of how many degrees their confraternity was composed, who were their brethren, and where the *Alta Vendita*, the highest lodge, resided. The Carbonari pretend to a very remote origin. It would seem that a society, called the *Charbonniers*, existed in Franche-Comté; and the Italian Carbonari borrowed from them the title of *good cousins*, and the patron St Theobald; but this, adds our author, is their only similarity. The principal *Vendita* was opened at Capua, in 1809, and their instructions and journals were in the English language. The preference given to this tongue is ascribed by the author to the circumstance, that the Republican party of Italy was intimately connected with the Royalists of Sicily; and that the latter were in close connexion with the British minister, who merely wished to make use of them against their common adversary, the then Emperor of France. Lord Bentinck, says the author, stood very high in the ranks of the order; and while entrusted with a command in the Mediterranean, performed all the duties of *bon cousin* in the most conscientious manner.

In the lower degrees of the Carbonari, morality, Christianity, and even the Church, were the ends for which the initiated swore to sacrifice everything; and the independence and unity of Italy were considered as merely means of extending virtue and piety. But on being admitted to the fourth degree, a new scene opened. The *Apostoli*, as they were called, were obliged to promise to destroy all monarchies, and especially

those of the Bourbon dynasty. But the whole of the secret was revealed to the initiated in the seventh and last degree. The great end was then disclosed, and it was no other than that of the *Illuminati*. The initiated swore destruction to every positive religion, and to every established form of government. Unlimited despotism and democracy were alike under the ban. All means were declared allowable for the execution of these plans, even murder and perjury. The author was admitted to this unhallowed secret, and was received as *Princeps summus Patriarchus*, but without being obliged to bind himself by the ordinary oath. He owed this exemption to the circumstance that he received that high degree, not in a full meeting of the society, but by *communication*, or by full powers especially conferred, to that effect, upon one or more members of the secret society. Here we shrewdly suspect honest Wit of fibbing. He might as well own that he took the oath. If breaking such an oath made him guilty of perjury, we do not know that any body would think the worse of him for that.

By way of set-off for betraying these secrets, our hero (with whom it is *Tros Rutulusve*) denounces another society, which, according to him, is exerting itself to restore everything to the situation, in which it was previous to the French revolution. The *Società della Santa Fede*, as he calls them, are a set of ecclesiastics, who labor to reëstablish the influence of the clergy in Italy. Their president, at one time, was the late Pope. They bear several names, at the present time, such as *Consistoriali*, *Crocesegnati*, *Crociferi*, *Società dell' Anello*, and *dei Bruti*. France favors their designs, because of the identity of their views with the Jesuits, and because she hopes to weaken, by their means, the ascendancy of the Austrians in Italy. In regard to territorial changes, the Duke of Modena, though so nearly related to the Imperial dynasty, was to obtain Piedmont, and the whole of Upper Italy. Tuscany was to be the lot of the Pope, and a portion of the Ecclesiastical Territory was assigned to Naples.

These *Santa-Fedists* hate Austria, adds he, because her government is too wise to confer much power on the clergy, and because she is supposed to wait anxiously for the first opportunity of placing a prince of the Imperial dynasty upon the throne of St Peter. The Piedmontese members of that party hate Austria, because she counteracts their exaggerated

principles, and curbs their vindictive disposition. The author applauds the conduct of the Austrians at that critical epoch. The most perfect discipline reigned among their troops; wherever they were stationed, as for instance at Alexandria, the political reaction was unaccompanied with cruelties, and it was sufficient to be enlisted in the imperial service, to escape all prosecution. We cannot but ask the question, how Wit became possessed of the confidence of this party.

After a long digression, on the state of parties in Piedmont, the author enters into further details respecting his personal relations with the Italian revolutionists; and here the story of this volume regularly begins, if we understand it. Klerkon induced the Prince Antrodocco to trust him with an unimportant, though secret, commission into Lombardy and Switzerland, under the name of Zante. He, and the author, waited for two other associates, who were to join them at Geneva, the Duke Garutula, who had adopted the name of Lord Morby, and Colonel Picolletis, both then residing at London. But whilst Wit awaited their arrival, a police officer of Geneva, named Giron, informed the commander of the *gens-d'armes* at St Julien, of his residence at that place, of his previous arrest at Turin, and of his suspicious character. On the twentieth of September, 1821, Wit, who was on that day confined by illness to his room, was informed, that some persons wished to speak to him; and instantly several soldiers entered the room, and holding their blunderbusses to his head, politely requested him not to move, as he was a prisoner. They were Piedmontese *gens d'armes* or *carabiniers*, as they were called; and the first thing they did, was to seize all the papers that were lying upon a table. Wit was very uneasy, on account of a letter involving the life of a friend, which he had received on the previous day. To save it from the hands of the *gens d'armes* was therefore his first thought, and the mode in which he accomplished it would have done credit to a graduate of the state's prison. Quietly lying in his bed, he draws on his stockings and rubs the bottom of them with a tallow candle, which stood by his bed-side. This done, he leaps from the bed, unclad as he was, and, under the pretence of assisting in collecting and putting up his papers, upsets the table. The papers flew in every direction; and he contrived to set his foot, with its adhesive preparation, on the all-important document.

He then put on his slippers, and soon succeeded, unobserved, in destroying the paper.

From Mornex he was conducted to Bonneville, in the valley of Chamouni, with few or no clothes, and no money. His feet soon became sore and blistered, from his fatiguing journey; and seized with a violent fever, he considered himself happy in reaching his place of destination for the night on the bare back of an unbridled ass.

The commanding officer at Bonneville, Count Avogadro, allowed the prisoner to take up his abode in an inn. Here he sold his watch, which had cost him a hundred dollars, for the tenth part of that sum. On the next morning he set out for Annecy, and here our dainty *Princeps summus Patriarchus* complains, that he did not, like Jean Jacques, find a Madame de Warens, to take pity on him! Instead of this, he says, he was pelted by the boys in the streets, some of whom held grass to his ass's mouth, to make him stand still, while their confederate rogues took aim at poor Wit.

Chevalier Benedetto, the commander of the *gens-d'armes* in the province of Carouge, a gentleman stricken in years, who appears to have shared the sentiments of the Bey of Tunis on the subject of clubs, caused our hero to be instantly conveyed to prison, without previous parley. The *gens d'armes* made their sport of him, and one among them, after having bound him with a rope, drove him into a subterranean prison. 'Am I to go under ground?' asked the discouraged Wit. *Coraggio, carino*, 'Courage, my friend,' returned the *carabinier*, with a grin, which might have rendered superfluous the prisoner's proficiency in the Italian language; *V'alzaranno ben presto; da quì non si sorte, che per andare alla galletta*, 'courage, my friend, you will soon be up; the only way out hence is to the gallows.'

This dungeon was twelve feet square, and so low that the prisoner, though a small man, could not stand upright. It was lighted by means of air holes, open on a level with the street, which, when it rained, gave a free passage to the water from the streets of the town. This place had shortly before been the last abode of a criminal executed for murder; yet his straw bed was a welcome legacy to his successor. He was ever afterwards, he says, unable to remember what he did during the first night he passed in that horrible prison; whether he wept or laughed, slept or was awake. The next morning,

as he came to his senses, he beheld near him an old man and woman, who exclaimed, 'He is not dead; he lives yet.' These were the jailer and his wife; and the latter, moved with pity at the utter dejection of poor Wit, prevailed on her husband to carry him up into her room. They were both very kind to him, and obliged him to share with them their only bed. Yet they dared not procure him medical assistance, for fear of the governor. At length, on the fourth day of his detention at Annecy, he was transported in a wagon, fastened by a chain to several recaptured deserters from the galleys. All the gyves in the jailer's armory being too large for his wrists, an unchristian instrument, for which (Heaven be praised) there is no English name, the *poucettes*, was applied to his fingers, which caused him so much pain, that he excited the pity of his fellow sufferers. They were in no want of food, for the lower class of people in Italy are generally very compassionate to all convicts, except state prisoners. Wit being unluckily of the latter class, whilst his companions experienced all sort of kindness from the mob, he received only proofs of contempt and hatred.

In the military quarters, where he was detained at Aix in Savoy, he discovered the five *carabinieri*, who were placed over him, to be free-masons; and as soon as he made himself known to them, they promised to render him all the good offices compatible with their duties. From Aix, Wit was carried to Chamberry; and here again he met with a kind reception, on behalf of the *carabinieri*. A physician advised his transportation to a hospital. 'Having been brought up with tenderness, I now found myself,' exclaims he, 'in a public hospital.' This institution was under the care of a religious sisterhood. The good nuns, in spite of the misrepresentation to which they exposed themselves, gave him one of their cells; trimmed it with flowers; beguiled his sad hours with reading and conversation; and provided him with all he could wish for his meals. 'Indeed,' cries he, 'I know nothing nobler or more respectable on earth, than the grey sisters. Religion alone can lend them the strength to discharge their arduous duties; and such a religion must needs be the true one.' He corroborates this by the wonderful examples of self-devotion which these excellent females gave at Barcelona, at the time when the yellow fever raged in that city; by the offer they made to the Greek committee to tend the sick at Missolonghi; and by what

he himself had witnessed of their humanity towards the convicts in the prisons at Toulon. Their influence among these unfortunate men, he says, far exceeded that of the clergy. Convicts, on the eve of their execution, and struck with remorse, begged anxiously to be permitted to confess their sins to one of these pure and noble creatures.

He remained five weeks in the hospital. On the second of November, he was torn from the midst of the charitable sisterhood, and withdrawn from the care of a nun, who reminded him of his mother, not only by her personal qualities, but by her appearance. The good nun secretly thrust into his hand a paper containing a few pieces of gold. But this did not save him from being loaded with chains, and thrown into a small wagon, with five soldiers. The commanding sergeant soon ordered him, either to give him half of his gold, or forfeit the whole, no prisoner being permitted to have money. By submitting to this exaction, he obtained, into the bargain, permission to pass his nights on the road in an inn; and on the fifth day, he reached Turin.

Here our author, instead of limiting himself to a narrative of personal events, goes at length into the history of the latest troubles in Piedmont. This part of his work, however, we must pass over, although we do it with reluctance, as being, *if entitled to credit*, about the only valuable part of Wit's book. Being uncertain as to the degree of faith which can be placed in his details, and having undertaken to follow his personal narrative, we must omit his sketch of these revolutionary movements. We accordingly meet with him next, in the presence of the minister of police of the kingdom of Piedmont, the Chevalier Roget de Cholex, a gentleman, he says, of unquestionable integrity, wherever his political opinions are not concerned. The chevalier, with a most winning courtesy, told him that he was convinced of his innocence; but finding him arrested, he could not forbear to examine him, were it but *pro formâ*. He told him, however, that the papers which had been seized upon him, proved that he had been acquainted with the criminal designs of some of the contrivers of the insurrection, namely, Count Santa Rosa, and Morozzo, and left no doubt respecting his intercourse with the Duke de Dalberg, and the Spanish envoy Bardaxi. A full confession of all that he knew, the minister said, would procure him immediately his liberty. *Monseigneur*, replied the prisoner, *ce n'est pas à mes révélations, mais à mon inno-*

cence, que je devrai ma mise en liberté.—J'avouerai d'ailleurs à Votre Excellence, que j'ignore absolument tout ce qui pourrait avoir rapport aux vues supposées des exilés Piémontais.' The minister frowned at him for a moment, and ringing the bell, said to him ; ' It seems, sir, that your memory is rather faithless. You will be conveyed into a place where you will have sufficient leisure to reflect upon what you know, or are ignorant of.' Having said this, he gave him in charge to a sentinel, who accompanied him to his prison. But before he reached it, he was marched through the town, loaded with chains, where not long before he had appeared in a very different garb, and under different auspices. A countess of his acquaintance passed close by him, leaning upon the arm of a young officer, with whom also he was acquainted. His first impulse led him to address them ; but the lady had the barbarity to turn her head aside, her knight laughed in his face, and his own companion gave him a blow, altogether a pretty severe visitation for a civil word to an old acquaintance. He reached, at length, his limbo.

His jailer was a tall, gaunt fellow, of forty, in whose perpetual grin, malice and treachery were ill concealed ; his wife ten years older than he, uncouth and enormous in size, of red, bloated aspect, the personification of female coarseness and abandonment, surrounded by an interesting troop of children, more malicious than herself, with squinting eyes and carrotty hair. The prompt discernment, with which our hero penetrates the characters of these engaging persons, demands our admiration.

The prisoner was commanded to strip off his clothes, to show whether money or weapons were concealed about his person. For this purpose our modest hero demanded the retirement of another room, a proposal which was received with a fiendish yell of laughter ; and as he persisted in his views of decorum, his clothes were immediately torn from his back by main force. After this preparatory display of prison hospitality during nearly an hour, and after having followed the jailer through all the windings of the prison, which had formerly been a Jesuit's convent, he found himself, at length, in his cell, which was better than the one he had occupied in the prison at Annecy. Wit was at first in doubt whether he was to be the sole inmate of the cell. This doubt was presently solved ; for Bagnasco, the jailer, politely applying his foot to something before them on the ground, cried out with the help of an oath ; *Che*

s'alza, calzolajo maledetto, 'Get up, you — cobbler!' Thereupon a colossal figure sprang up, and in a tone equally mild and amiable replied, *Figlio d' una vacca*, 'can't you let people take their rest?' Signor Bagnasco, without heeding the reply, turned to his new inmate with the few and emphatic words; *Lo resta qui*, 'Here you remain.'

Here then, within the safe enclosure of an oaken door, studded with iron, and armed with double bolts, our hero was left to his meditations. Ere long, his amiable chum, whom he had heard and felt, but could not see, approached him with the friendly offer of half his bed, and made himself known to Wit as a masonic brother.

Peculiar care was taken, in this prison, to deprive the captives of all means of attempting their own lives, or that of the jailer, or any of his assistants. This was carried so far, that they were deprived of all furniture, and had no fire. The windows, instead of glass, were of linen; and even the metal buttons of the prisoners' garments were cut off, and a liberal allowance of pack-thread furnished as a substitute. During the night, the jailer visited the prisoners, every two hours, followed by two attendants. At each of these visits, they struck with heavy iron staves upon the floor, and against the grates, to judge, by the sound, if any of the bars were loosened or cut.

Our young German on the following morning was conveyed, in a carriage, to the police office, under the guard of three soldiers. The papers, which had been seized upon him, were already unsealed. He complains of the loss of several, that might have clearly established his innocence; but which, notwithstanding his repeated solicitation, he never was able to recover. His examination lasted three hours, and he was afterwards reconducted to his prison. The little money he possessed, he was obliged to disburse for his conveyance to the police. A pitcher of bad water and a pound of bread were, for that day, his food and his drink. The distribution of the soup having taken place during his absence, he had lost his share of it. An inflammatory fever soon increased his wretchedness, and his only relief was some grapes, with which his compassionate fellow sufferer supplied him. His severe treatment is candidly ascribed by our hero, to an imprudent assault which he had made on two of the jailer's attendants. Seeing his bare neck, they hazarded the remark, that it was

fitter for the block, than for the halter ; which, considering the source from whence it came, was rather a complimentary than a reproachful remark, decapitation being far more genteel than hanging. Wit however took it amiss, and seizing them both, beat their heads together, till the blood gushed from their ears and nostrils. The victory was, as might have been expected, of short duration ; the fellows, though worsted at first, rose like Antæus from the restorative touch of the jail floor, and threw the feverish conqueror against the wall, with such violence, that he fell at their feet, and as they thought, dead. But as soon as this alarm was over, they fastened him with an iron ring and chain to the wall, and separated him from his kind companion. Wit complains that the consequences of this affray were felt by him for years, and that he was never fairly *right in the head* afterwards ; but this difficulty, we believe, ought to be dated much farther back.

The further examination of our hero was delayed by the necessity of translating his papers. As soon as this was done, he was brought before a magistrate, who visited the prison. At first, he resisted the summons ; neither threats nor blows could move him to obey. He insisted that Signor Angelo Romano, the secretary of the police, should repair to his cell ; and to the amazement of the turnkey, and his uncompromising help-mates, that officer not only came, but betrayed, by strong emotions, the pity he felt for the sufferings of the young captive ; and he instantly ordered him to be taken out of his irons, and severely reproved the jailer for his excessive severity. An expert jailer, however, was at this period a very consequential person at Turin ; and it was not without great difficulty that Signor Romano procured his removal into a larger room, which was, however, already tenanted by several state prisoners. They were all, more or less, implicated in the late political movements, and knew Wit's history. They were all under criminal trial, while he, only 'suspected of being suspicious,' as he says, was merely under the *surveillance* of the police. His companions in misfortune, about seventy in number, and all officers, were nevertheless not so much depressed in spirits as himself. They often passed their evenings, which no one of them was certain might not be the last of his earthly career, carousing, and playing at cards. Wit had recourse to a singular expedient to write to one of his friends in France, for pecuniary assistance. Having allowed the nail of the little

finger of his left hand to grow to a considerable length, he sharpened it upon a stone and with his teeth, so as to convert it into a tolerable pen, and his blood supplied the place of ink. Having, by this means, written his note, he was not less successful in finding a faithful agent, among his fellow prisoners, to forward it. A few weeks after, he received a remittance, by which he was enabled to hire a mattress, and to board with the jailer, who, from that moment, became remarkably good-natured. The penitentiary system in Piedmont, especially in regard to state criminals, was not allowed to add much to the burdens on the treasury. Happily for the prisoners of all descriptions, the *Società della Misericordia* supplied them with beds, and with daily rations of bread and rice soup; to which was added meat, twice a week. This society included many ladies of respectability, who were withal engaged in the less feminine business of reforming the state. They composed a secret female political society, under the name of the *Gardeners*. The central committee of this association sat at Bologna.

The fate of the prisoners in whose company Wit now lived, was dependent on the decisions which might be made at any moment by the tribunals, and which, once made, were carried into instant effect. One of their number, a lieutenant-colonel, Chevalier Laucuri, being one day called from table, because his counsel desired to confer with him, left the company, requesting our hero to keep his place and his wine. An hour having elapsed, and no sign of Laucuri, the warden was questioned as to what had become of him. He pretended at first not to know the cause of his protracted absence; but after another hour had passed, the turnkey informed the prisoners, that Laucuri had received his sentence, and was already on the way to execution. At the same moment, the sound of muffled drums was heard; and the prisoners, having climbed up to their windows, saw their late companion suspended on a gibbet. All this was the work of three hours.

This, and similar examples of prompt administration, served but to harden the hearts of the other prisoners. A sullen, impious resignation to their fate, was visible in all their actions. They gambled during whole nights. Two officers agreed to play for the chance of survivorship, the winner to inherit the other's effects. The loser contrived from that moment, to squander all he possessed.

The Piedmontese government offered to Wit a small allowance ; but he refused to accept it, having, as he says, determined, in the outset of 'his political career,' never to bind himself by the two most indissoluble bonds, by which, according to him, a man can be tied, 'by gratitude and by oath.' This self-denial required in the present case no little effort ; for the sum of eight hundred francs, which composed his whole fortune at that time, was purloined from him by his jailer, in obedience, he intimates, to the express command of a higher authority. Count de Latour du Pin, the French ambassador, had addressed a note to the Piedmontese ministry, representing Wit as a person well known to his government, and who had been near doing mischief in France. The minister of police in Geneva wrote to the same purpose. But instead of exploring these additional persecutions, our hero makes no secret of his satisfaction at having been considered so important and so dangerous by two governments, as to induce them to aggravate his sufferings.

Regard to our limits obliges us to pass over some portions of our hero's narrative, and regard to delicacy requires us to omit others. Tired at length of his sojourn within prison walls, he determined to make an experiment of the magnanimity of Count Bubna, the Austrian military governor of Lombardy and the neighboring regions, then occupied by the Austrian troops. He accordingly wrote him a letter informing him of his situation, soliciting a personal interview with him, and kindly giving him an account of the state of things in Upper Italy ; for which Count Bubna, who probably had a spy in every coffee-house in the country, and who read every letter that passed through the post-office, was no doubt much obliged to honest Wit. Some time passed and no answer reached him from the Count. He determined, as the next resource, on suicide. Starvation seemed to him, from experience, the easiest mode of getting rid of life. It was a mode to which the prison regimen afforded great facilities. 'Only begin,' says he, 'with eating and drinking less every day, and at last take no food, and live only upon water, and you may be sure to die without any suffering.' The experiment even procured him many of those pleasurable sensations described by the Opium-eater,—he saw and communed with distant and long departed friends ; but in proportion as he refused all nourishment, the minister of the police was the more diligent in sending him the most tempting

dainties. All these attentions proving without avail, the jailer had recourse to the compulsive process, the favorite method of the Turin jailers to bring gentlemen to an appetite, who are for anticipating the regular course of law. In that crisis, our hero resorted to a remedy, with which, after the example of Frederic the Great and some other heroes, he had provided himself, from the moment that he entered upon his glorious career,—a poison, which he constantly carried in his pockets, prepared in the form of sugar plums. But on the day in which he was to accomplish this great design, an answer was brought him from Count Bubna. The Count promised to see him within a few days; and upon this prospect of coming under the auspicious sway of the Austrian military police, he immediately grew better in health and spirits and appetite. His papers, however, were all seized, a measure which he ascribes to the jealousy of the Piedmontese toward the Austrians. And here we cannot but remark on the endless accumulation of what are called ‘papers.’ Seize a gentleman of Mr Wit’s vocation as often as you will, you always find him with a trunk full of papers of the most portentous import.

At length, in February, 1822, a young Italian Baron was ushered into his cell, with the recommendatory title of an agent, commissioned by the Austrian authorities to release him from his dungeon. On the following night he left his prison, without taking leave of the friends of either sex who had befriended his confinement. He was put into an easy and commodious vehicle, and escorted by four mounted *gens d’armes*. But the Italian Baron soon dismissed this guard, upon Wit’s promise not to attempt his escape. Volpini de Maestris (for this was the name of the polite Baron) did not fail to make his companion sensible of the great honor with which he was treated, in being guarded by so distinguished a personage as himself; and they proceeded, with the fairest weather imaginable, from Turin to Milan, through Vercelli, Novara, and Buffalora.

And here ends the first book of these fragments; and with it, must be drawn toward a close our account of their contents. The adventures of this unhappy young man at Milan, could any faith be placed in their detail, are more interesting than those of which we have laid a sketch before our readers. Count Bubna appears, at first, to have treated him with a blunt kind of military frankness and friendship, intending, no doubt, to draw something from him. He enjoyed great privileges and

freedom from personal restraint, by the Count's permission ; and his pages are filled with the adventures and intrigues with which his time was taken up. We never knew a personage less considerable than a Countess brought upon the stage, on such an occasion ; and accordingly, for the second time in Wit's book, we are introduced to a lady of this quality. We look upon it as mere moon-shine.

By this time, the different governments which had claims on Wit, began to move in his affairs. There was such a controversy for the honor of having him in their respective jails, as has not existed since the dispute of the seven cities about Homer. Denmark claimed him as her subject, and a Prussian diplomatic agent had made, on behalf of the court of Copenhagen, an application to the cabinet of Turin, long before Wit had himself written to Count Bubna. The Piedmontese police, on giving him up to the Count, reserved, however, the right of the Prussian ministry. Not long afterwards, the Austrian Special Commission, in consequence of a discovery of letters, written by him to Count Gonfalonieri, either of a treasonable import, or showing his connexion with the Carbonari, requested Count Bubna to send him back to the civil prison. Yet the affair remained undecided until the Congress of Verona had been for some time in session. Count de Serres, then French ambassador at Naples, the relative of Wit and the friend of his family, was soon joined to the other diplomatists at Verona. 'This gentleman,' as Wit observes, with an amusing tone of irony, 'had ceased to belong to the party of *Doctrinaires*, and was no longer my patron.' He represented the prisoner as the more dangerous, since from his youth, and some good qualities, he could deceive the most cautious ; and confessed that he had himself been led to contribute to his criminal manoeuvres. The imputation the most likely to impede his rescue, was, that he belonged to the General Directory, or *Comité Directeur*, of the revolutionary movements. Wit hints that such a junto really existed ; but his hint, and the jargon in which it is clothed, are probably intended to alarm the governments, and to increase his own importance. At the same time, the *Commissione della Porta Nuova*, at Milan, claimed him anew ; and as Count Bernstorff asked, also, his surrender to the Danish government, it was determined that he should be tried by the Commission, and afterwards embarked for Denmark, either from Genoa or Leghorn. He knew what his fate

in that case would be ; and determined, therefore, to seek his safety by a prompt flight. But, from the apprehension of implicating thereby Count Bubna, whom he always affects to represent as his benefactor, he wrote to him, then at Verona, that he should endeavor to rescue himself. The consequence was, that the commander of the fortress was directed to watch him more closely, and to abridge the liberty which he had previously enjoyed. 'This,' says he, 'was precisely what I wished. During the seven months of plenty, I had provided myself for the seven months of famine. In other words, I had now many friends in the fortress.' In this, however, he was soon disappointed. Being removed to another part of the fortress, he lost the chance of bribing the turnkey, with whom he had been long acquainted, and the sentinels, posted at his door, belonged to nations with whose language he was not acquainted. Under these disappointments, he resorted to his old resource of suicide. He attempted to cut an artery, but succeeded only in opening a vein. Having placed his arm in a basin of warm water, he waited, like Seneca, for his end ; but on the next morning he found himself, unconscious of what had passed, stretched upon a bed, with a physician by his side. Several weeks elapsed, before he was able to rise and walk.

Orders arrived, meanwhile, from Verona to mitigate his confinement ; whereupon the governor of the fortress, Baron Swinburne (an uncle of the traveller of that name), permitted him to visit him, under an escort, once every day. He spent there some time in conversation with the general, who was enchanted, it seems, to talk English. In one of these visits, he met, by assignation, the valet of the Countess. Provided with an officer's cloak, he effected his escape from the prison to the Countess' dwelling. A price of ten thousand *lire* was set upon his head, but he nevertheless spent a week with the lady, disguised in female attire. A messenger sent to Turin, to manage his escape with one of his acquaintance, returned with an unsatisfactory answer. Obligated to hasten his flight, he resorted at length to the resource of assuming the dress and manners of a smuggler, or *frustrator*, as the Italians call that class of gentry, who strongly resemble the *contrabandistas* of Spain. The neighborhood of Switzerland, from which numberless difficult passages and short cuts lead into the interior of Lombardy, to the Lago Maggiore, and to the Lakes of Como and Garda, which border on three different states,

furnishes many facilities for the smuggling trade. The Countess' *valet de chambre* had a brother who was intimately acquainted with a band of smugglers; and Wit, in the expectation of joining them, went to board with the porter of the police director, 'for so cunning a lad was he [Wit] reckoned, that he could not better escape detection than by taking the step most likely to be avoided.' He was received by the door-keeper into his miserable room, under the pretence that he was a Swiss merchant, who, in an encounter with custom-house officers, had been so unfortunate as to kill one of them, and was accordingly obliged to keep a strict *incognito*. During the short time that he found security against the police under the roof of its principal officer, he was, nevertheless, as may well be imagined, in an uneasy state of mind. The porter was constantly receiving visitors; and an old woman, who frequently called upon his wife, one evening mentioned the escape of Wit, and the price set upon his head. Sensible of his danger, he resolved to leave his retreat, and to return anew to his Countess' dwelling, he took refuge there, with the consent of the jailer, with whom everything had been plotted to that end, through the agency of another fair and frail confederate. After having spent five days among murderers and thieves, he removed to a private apartment in a house advantageously situated for his final escape. Here he suffered much from cold, none of his rooms being provided with a chimney. He occasionally got admittance into the apartment of his hostess, where there was a fire, which, however, the worthy mistress of the house would not let him approach. Her first husband, it seems, had committed a murder; but for want of proof had been acquitted on trial. He went home, overjoyed, to his wife, and related the agreeable news to her, by the fire-side. A couple of spies of the police were stationed at the top of the chimney, heard the tale, and within twenty-four hours the indiscreet gentleman was convicted of murder. Ever after that time, his disconsolate widow (who had taken a second husband) had a horror of fire-side conversation; and would not, says Wit, for this reason, let him approach her chimney-corner!

At length his Piedmontese friend arrived, and offered to guide him safely beyond the frontiers of Lombardy. His friend was by profession a lawyer, and in principles a worthy associate of our hero. Disguised as a priest, Wit set out on his

journey to Pavia, in a light vehicle. The greatest difficulty that remained for him was to pass the frontier. But the lawyer knew every unfrequented pass ; and after having crossed the Po, they proceeded, through bushes and moors, along the banks of that river, towards Carbonara, a village which principally thrives by smuggling. Before they reached that village, they were met by a *carabinier*, who called them to account. The lawyer stated that he was on his way to call on a client, and that the priest in his company was directing his steps to the same house, to give spiritual aid to the dying consort of the same individual. The soldier, without manifesting any suspicion, seemed, nevertheless, disposed to accompany the traveller ; upon which the lawyer thrust his hand under his vest, in search of his stiletto, and gave to his associate a signal to coöperate in the bloody deed. Wit however, like the immortal Chancellor, was a friend of moderate counsels ; and by the gift of some pictures of saints which he took from his Breviary, he won the good will of the honest soldier, whose life he thus saved. The man of the law preceded them ; and by the time they entered the cottage, the hale and healthy matron had already stretched herself upon her straw bed, pretending to be in her last extremity, and imploring the benediction of the mock minister of the church, who performed his task with so much effect, that the warrior was moved to tears, and felt himself compelled to withdraw, to avoid showing unsoldierlike emotion. After having thus escaped detection without committing murder, (for he owns frankly, that he would have slain the soldier, in case his own liberty had been in jeopardy), he determined upon making a day's halt at Carbonara, in order to meditate upon his further proceedings. In Switzerland, he could not flatter himself with being long in safety, the Helvetic government having given up several revolutionary refugees, and that country being, at that time, much visited by the *surveillans* of several royal courts. It was also too dangerous for him to return to Germany or France. Spain was then a safe retreat for men of his description, and, as he says, a country where in all likelihood there would be business for him.

In the hope of finding a passage on board of some ship sailing from Genoa or Leghorn, he despatched a circular letter to the nearest lodges or *chiese* of Carbonari, and on the third day, he already, by their contributions, possessed twelve hun-

dred *lire*, which enabled him to make the necessary preparations for his voyage. This was the first and the last time, he says, that he taxed the secret societies with which he was connected; and as soon as he had received remittances from his family, he repaid the money, with which he had been supplied by them in that emergency.

New revolutionary commotions were on the eve of breaking out in Piedmont; and the fugitive profited by them. Under the protection of the *Sublimi Maestri Perfetti*, he traversed a country, which was then filled with *gens d'armes*. With a black wig, mustachios of the same color, and an olive-colored complexion, he assumed, with great success, the appearance of a deserter. When he met with soldiers, he pretended that he was seeking an enlistment in a Piedmontese regiment. Many an honest warrior of that country, approving of his desertion from the Imperial banners, supplied him with food, and drank to his success. Making his way by stealth under the cover of night, and passing the day concealed under the roof of some confederate, he at length arrived at Genoa. Here he flattered himself that he had reached the termination of his toils; but the ships bound for any of the harbors of France or Spain, were too closely observed, to leave him any hope of escaping by sea. There was the same vigilance, and consequently the same danger for him, at Leghorn, and he was therefore compelled to return almost to the point from which he had started, and to seek a refuge in Switzerland. His former disguises could not be safely assumed again, and he chose, therefore, that of a Capuchin friar. He wandered barefoot, and in safety, till he reached Vercelli, where he found, in the house of a *Countess*, several political associates, who had been his fellow prisoners at Turin. The spirit which then prevailed among the inhabitants of Vercelli, occasioned greater vigilance on the part of the police; and on the second day after his arrival in that city, the counter-police of the revolutionary party communicated the intelligence, that their antagonists had some suspicion of the new inmate of the Countess' palace. But the *Sublimi Maestri Perfetti* again saved him; and under a new disguise, that of a priest's attendant, he reached Intra, where the conspirators were so numerous, that he stood in no necessity of assuming any disguise.

Here ends the personal narrative of the author's adventures in the dungeons of Chamberry, Turin, and Milan, and during

his flight from the fortress of the last capital. Twenty pages, which make the conclusion of the book, contain the most singular medley of impious, blasphemous, mystical, dishonest speculations, that can cross a mind bewildered by the basest principles, or originate in a heart thoroughly corrupted.

ART. V.—*A condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley.* By TIMOTHY FLINT, Author of 'Recollections of the last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley.' In Two Volumes. 8vo. Cincinnati. E. H. Flint. 1828.

IF the merit of a writer is to be measured by the good which his books are calculated to effect, Mr Flint is one of the most deserving authors in the department of belles lettres, that America has produced. He has done more than almost any other individual, to bring the distant sections of the country acquainted with each other. If he did not open the gates of the mountains to the reading world, he has tempted its inhabitants to pass through them, far more frequently than they had ever done before. Of his former work, the 'Recollections of the last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley,' an account has already been submitted to the readers of this journal. The value of that work has *extorted* commendations from persons not willing to yield them with a good grace. Mr Ward, the late British Chargé d'Affaires at Mexico, makes the following reference to it; 'Should any of my readers wish for information respecting the mode, in which the western settlements [in the United States] have been conducted, and the extraordinary manner in which they have thriven, I can refer them to Flint's "Journal of a Ten Years' Residence in the Valley of the Mississippi," which, although written in a most uncouth style, is both an interesting and instructive work.' Mr Ward has here incorrectly given the title of Mr Flint's work, although he uses the common marks of quotation. Inasmuch as he undertakes to censure the book, in respect to manner, we think he ought to begin his censure by calling it by the right name. A 'most uncouth style' is a vague reproach. It ought to import a remarkably odd, strange, and unusual manner. These are not

the characteristics of Mr Flint's style ; of which the principal defects are haste and negligence. He has all the essential elements of a first-rate style ; and if he would subject his works to a severe revision, and prune off a little redundancy,—the natural outpouring of a mind full of the subject, and of a glowing imagination,—he would produce a better style than Mr Ward's.

The work before us is one of higher pretensions than the 'Recollections.' It is one of that class of works, which has been rendered popular, in this part of the country, by Dr Belknap's 'History of New Hampshire.' It contains a historical, geographical, and statistical account of the Valley of the Mississippi, first in the general, and then of the various separate states within its limits ; and in this account are included general notices of the various productions found in the same region, in the different departments of natural history. This single suggestion, as to the nature of the work, will show that it cannot be intended to exhaust any one of the topics. It is a work for popular use ; such an one as did not before exist, and such as will be perused with great interest by all classes of general readers. It will not, in reference to any of the great subjects treated, for instance, the history of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi and the country through which it flows, supply the place of the original authorities, in the researches of the student. But it will give a general knowledge of this subject, and a comprehensive view of every thing connected with the western country ; which can be found, we firmly believe, in no other work, and which it would cost the most industrious and judicious reader infinite pains and much time to collect from all the other sources of information. In fact, Mr Flint assures us, that something more than half of his work is original, in the strictest sense of the word, containing the results of his own observation, during twelve years of residence and of travelling in the region described. He alludes to the haste, with which he was led to bring the work before the public, and to his views of its improvement, in the event of a second edition. We feel no hesitation in saying, that if Mr Flint will, at his leisure, subject it to a careful correction in point of style ; take some portions of it into a new draft, with a view to a little more fulness on some topics and compression on others, according to the relative importance of their subject matter ; subjoin the particular reference for facts, that are in dispute, or otherwise important, and extend it perhaps to a third volume,

which will give it a compass by no means out of proportion to the magnitude of the subject; he will have the satisfaction of achieving a work, on which he may safely rest his own reputation, and which will reflect credit on the literary character of the country.

The perusal of such a work excites mingled sentiments of delight and astonishment, and almost of awe, in the mind. The phenomenon, which it presents, is of strange interest. While literary Europe is just learning something of the United States; and the influence on her system is beginning to be felt of those establishments, which are now two centuries old, we behold, in the Valley of the Mississippi—a wilderness at the period of the American revolution,—a population one third more numerous than that of the United States in 1783. Many of these youthful republics, as we are all rightfully called, are in that state of overflowing population, which characterizes the oldest countries in Europe; although the abundance of vacant lands, and the facility of effecting a settlement upon them, have placed that point with us much lower than it stands abroad. The young men, who have emigrated from the Atlantic coast to the West, did not, like the emigrants from Ireland and the Palatinate, leave potato-fare and six pence a day behind them. On the contrary, they left a country of high wages and hearty diet. If emigration be the safety-valve of states, ours is calculated to open at a very low pressure; in others, the governments have loaded it with additional weights, threatening the most disastrous explosions. A heavy tax on the sale of the fixed property of emigrants exists in some of the governments of Germany.

We are not acquainted with any instance, in the history of the world, of so rapid an extension of civilization over a barbarous waste. We all know how little had been effected, in a century and a half, by the French, in the same region; and comparatively speaking, how tardy was the progress of the Atlantic coast, under the auspices of England. Under the patronage of the government of the United States, the West has done more in fifty years, than the Atlantic coast was able to do in three times that period; and yet, at the time of the commencement of the revolution, the growth of the colonies of England was habitually spoken of, as a miracle in human history. It certainly adds, in the highest degree, to the astonishing character of these facts, that, although during the last half

century the Atlantic coast has suffered such a steady and powerful drain, it has itself continued to advance in population, wealth, and arts, with no perceptible diminution in the ratio of progress. On the contrary, the contrast between the present state of the oldest settlements in the country and their condition in 1775, is not less surprising, that the rapidity, with which, from the overflowing of these settlements, a new world has grown up beyond the Alleghanies.

The author begins his work, with some observations on the general features of the Valley of the Mississippi, and the face of the country. Under the head of *mountains*, the following observations on the passages across the great western ridge will command the attention of our readers. If we mistake not, the perusal of the account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition has had considerable effect on the public mind, in establishing the impression, that the waters of the Columbia river are exceedingly difficult of access, from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, and a consequent indisposition to push our settlements into that region. Any facts, therefore, which show that no such natural barrier exists between the two oceans, become of great importance and interest.

'As on the Alleghanies, the rivers, that run in opposite directions from these mountains, generally have their sources near each other. In following the beds of these rivers up to their sources in the mountains, we find the easiest paths and the gentlest acclivities, by which to cross them. The character which they had gained, of being continuous, high, and everywhere alike rugged, and a barrier, almost impassable, between the regions east and west of them, from the descriptions of the first adventurers who crossed them, seems now to have yielded to a very different impression. Various leaders of expeditions of trappers have crossed these mountains, in directions more southern, than those of Lewis and Clarke. They affirm, that they found none of those formidable and almost insurmountable barriers, which undoubtedly exist on the route of those distinguished travellers. We have at this moment under our eye extracts from the journal of Mr Ashley, the leader of an enterprising and powerful association for procuring furs, who has crossed these mountains at different points. This journal narrates the account of a passage over them, from the sources of the Platte to lake Buenaventura, on the western side. It asserts, that he found an easy passage even for loaded carriages; with an ascent nowhere as sharp, as on the national road over the Cumberland mountains to Wheeling. He even asserts, that the

acclivity was so gentle, as nowhere to have an ascent of more than three degrees; and that nature has provided not only a practicable, but a good road quite to the plains of the Columbia. The testimony of travellers seems to be uniform, that to the eye, indeed, the ranges are unbroken and continuous. But nature seems everywhere to have indicated her wish, that no part of the earth should be interdicted by unsocial barriers from communication with the rest. Through the loftiest and most continued ranges there are found chasms, natural bridges, ascents along the beds of rivers, and corresponding descents on the opposite side, that render a passage over them comparatively smooth and easy.' Vol. i. pp. 35, 36.

Mr Flint next passes to a brief account of the *minerals* of this region. The substance described in the following passage, though seemingly different in some of its properties, as color, might supply the place of the *meerschaum* or *écume de mer* of Anatolia, which is in great request in the north of Europe for pipe heads.

'On the waters of the Little Sioux of the Missouri, and on a branch of the St Peter's of the upper Mississippi, is found a beautiful species of indurated clay,—constituting a stone of the most singular appearance, commonly called 'pipe stone,' from the circumstance, that the savages in all these regions, quite to the Western sea, make their pipes, and sometimes other ornaments, of it. It is said to be cut from the quarry, almost with the ease of wood. It hardens in the air, and receives an exquisite polish of impalpable smoothness. It is nearly of the color of blood; and is a beautiful article for monumental slabs, vases, and requirements of that sort. If it be as abundant, and as easily procured, as has been said, it will one day become an article of extensive use through the country. For, although marble abounds, this is a more beautiful material, than any marble that we have seen. It has been generally asserted, that an imaginary line of truce extends round the places, where this stone is found, within which the most hostile tribes pursue their business of cutting out stones for pipes in peace.' Vol. i. p. 44.

Mr Flint divides the Valley of the Mississippi, in respect to temperature, into four climates. The first commencing at the sources of the river, terminates at *Prairie du Chien*, and corresponds with the climate of the region between Montreal and Boston. The Irish potato, in this climate, attains its utmost perfection; and wheat and the cultivated grasses succeed well. The apple and the pear tree need a southern exposure; the peach requires still greater care; and during five months

in the year, the cattle require shelter in severe weather. The second climate is that of Illinois and Missouri, the region between the forty-first and thirty-seventh degree of north latitude. Cattle are seldom housed in winter, though often needing shelter. The climate is not so favorable to cultivated grasses, as that just mentioned. Wheat is at home in this region; the persimon and the pawpaw flourish throughout its whole extent. The apple, the pear, and the peach tree exist here in perfection. The third climate extends from the thirty-seventh to the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Below the thirty-fifth degree, in this region, the apple tree fails to bring its fruit to perfection. Cotton is raised for home consumption, between this parallel and the thirty-third degree; below the thirty-third degree, it is the staple article of cultivation. The fig tree ripens its fruit in this climate. From the thirty-first degree downward to the gulf of Mexico is the climate of the sugar cane and the sweet orange tree. The olive would probably thrive in this climate. The streams are never frozen. The forests are in blossom early in March. There is a thunder-storm almost every night.

On the subject of *diseases*, the author remarks, that as a general principle, the most attractive soils, the rich and heavily timbered alluvial tracts, are the least healthy. Some of these, however, as the Scioto lands in Ohio, which proved the graves of the first settlers, have, by the effect of cultivation, become healthy. The remark, which has been made of the old continent, is confirmed by experience in the Valley of the Mississippi; namely, that very considerable degrees of heat, and of moisture, existing separately, are compatible with the healthiness of a climate, but when the two are combined, disease is the result. The *Campagna di Roma* is neither the hottest nor the wettest part of Europe; but the action of an Italian sun on its marshes is strong enough to produce the *malaria*. For this reason, the dryness proceeding from cultivation, removing one of the elements of disease, naturally changes an unhealthy into a salubrious region. The fact asserted in the following extract is one, of which we believe the confirmation is found in all countries subject to *malaria*.

‘ Another fact, in relation to the choice of a residence, with a view to its salubrity, has been abundantly and unanswerably proved by experience. It is, that bluffs on the margins of wide bottoms and alluvial prairies are more unhealthy situations, than those, in

the bottom or prairie, which they overlook. This fact has been amply demonstrated on the Ohio bottoms and bluffs, on the margins of the alluvial prairies of the upper Mississippi, and, in short, wherever a high bluff overlooks a wide bottom. The inhabitants on the airy and beautiful bluffs, that bound the noble prairies of the upper Mississippi, in an atmosphere apparently so pure, as to preclude all causes of disease, are far more subject to fever and ague, than the people that inhabit below them on the level of the prairies. The same has been remarked of the Chickasaw bluffs, Fort Pickering, or Memphis, Fort Adams, Natchez, Baton Rouge, and the bluffs, generally, along the great water courses. Yet, though such is the uniform teaching of experience, so deceptive is the salubrious aspect of these airy hills, that swell above the dun and murky air, that seems to lie, like a mist, over the wide bottoms below them, that most people, in choosing their residence, will be guided by their senses, in opposition to their experience. We know not, whether the theory, by which this fact is explained, is a sound one, or not. It is said, that the miasma, or noxious air from putrid vegetation and stagnant water in the swamps and bottoms, is specifically lighter, than atmospheric air; that, of course, it rises from the plains, and hovers over the summits of the bluffs, here finding its level of specific gravity; and that, were it colored, it would be seen overlaying the purer strata of air beneath it.' Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

Mr Flint next proceeds to the description of the *trees* and *shrubs*. The cypress is a very important tree. It begins to be seen on the wet lands, near the mouth of the Ohio, and is, with the swamp gum, the most common tree in the deep swamps from that point to the gulf of Mexico. It is a tree of a very singular character. Under its shade arises a multitude of curiously shaped knobs, called cypress knees. These are regular cone-like protuberances, in height and circumference not unlike tall and tapering beehives. The tree itself springs from a knob or knee of this kind, of an enlarged size, and, at the surface of the ground, of thrice the circumference of the proper trunk. This conical foundation of the tree rises to the height of from six to ten feet, and from its apex towers the main trunk of the tree, with scarce any diminution in its circumference for a length of sixty or eighty feet. But we must leave Mr Flint to pursue the account in his own words.

‘Very near its top, it begins to throw out multitudes of horizontal branches, which interlace with those of the adjoining trees, and when bare of leaves, have an air of desolation and death, more easily felt, than described. In the season of vegetation, the

leaves are short, fine, and of a verdure so deep, as almost to seem brown, giving an indescribable air of funereal solemnity to this singular tree. A cypress forest, when viewed from the adjacent hills, with its numberless interlaced arms, covered with this dark brown foliage, has the aspect of a scaffolding of verdure in the air. It grows, too, in deep and sickly swamps, the haunts of fever, musquitos, moccasin snakes, alligators, and all loathsome and ferocious animals, that congregate far from the abodes of man, and seem to make common cause with nature against him. The cypress loves the deepest, most gloomy, inaccessible, and inundated swamps; and south of thirty-three degrees, is generally found covered with the sable festoons of long moss, hanging, as it seems, a shroud of mourning wreaths almost to the ground. It seems to flourish best, where water covers its roots for half the year. When it rises from eight or ten feet water of the overflow of rivers, the apex of its buttress is just on a level with the surface of the water. It is then, in many places, that they cut it. The negroes surround the tree in *periogues*, and thus get at the trunk above the huge and hard buttress, and fell it with comparative ease. They cut off the straight shaft, as suits their purpose, and float it to a raft, or the nearest high grounds. Unpromising as are the places and the circumstances of its growth, no tree of the country, where it is found, is so extensively useful. It is free from knots, is easily wrought, and makes excellent planks, shingles, and timber of all sorts. It is very durable, and incomparably the most valuable tree in the southern country of this valley. It is a fortunate circumstance, that it inhabits the most gloomy and inaccessible regions, which will not come into cultivation for ages. It will of course have a better chance, not to share the fate of the most useful timber on the valuable uplands. The improvident axe soon renders timber difficult to be procured, in a country in the centre of forests. All the cypress forests, however, that are easily accessible, on the lower Mississippi and its tributaries, have been stripped of their timber by the Mississippi lumberers, who have floated to New Orleans millions of feet of this timber, from the lands of the United States, and who have already created a scarcity of this species on the margin of the Mississippi. There are, however, in the vast swamps of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red river, and Florida, inexhaustible supplies of cypress still remaining.' Vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

South of the thirty-first degree of latitude, in the lower country of Florida, along the coast, and from sixty to a hundred miles into the interior; and above the shores of Louisiana, to half that depth, the *live oak* is at home. It is not found west of the Sabine. It is not a very tall tree; but spreads its

branches widely. It is, as is well known, when green, heavier than water. The islands along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico furnish this tree in abundance. It is so difficult to cut down, burn, or in any way remove from the soil, that in these islands, which have lately been in request for the cultivation of sugar, this precious tree is regarded as an incumbrance.

The great value of this timber, in a national point of view, and the circumstance that it has frequently, and especially of late, engaged the attention of the national legislature, have led us to think, that some farther information on the subject would be acceptable to our readers. We derive most of the following facts from a very interesting letter of Mr Southard, secretary of the navy, to the chairman of the naval committee of the House of Representatives, dated the twenty-ninth of January, 1827.

The importance of the live oak timber to the navy of the United States, very early attracted the attention of the government. The navy department was first established in 1798, and the year following, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated by law, to enable the President to direct 'the purchase of growing or other timber, or of lands on which timber was growing, suitable for the navy, and to cause the proper measures to be taken to have the same preserved for the future uses of the navy.' At this time, almost the only live oak timber, within the undisputed boundary of the United States, was contained in the states of Georgia and South Carolina. By the subsequent acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, the United States have become possessed of large tracts of land covered with this timber. Under the authority of the law just alluded to, the President of the United States, on the nineteenth of December, 1779, purchased Grover's Island, containing three hundred and fifty acres for seven thousand five hundred dollars; and in April, 1800, Blackbeard's Island, containing about sixteen hundred acres, for fifteen thousand dollars. Both of these islands are situated on the coast of Georgia. They still belong to the United States, and have generally been under the care of an agent; but the most valuable part of the timber has been removed, and the islands are now of little value, in reference to live oak, except as affording spots, where plantations of it might be established.

By a law of the first of March, 1817, the secretary of the navy, under the direction of the President, was authorized to

appoint agents and a surveyor to explore the public lands, and select so much of such portions as produced live oak and red cedar, as would be sufficient for the service of the navy. The land so selected was to be reserved from sale, and penalties were enacted against such as should cut or carry away these or other kinds of timber from the public lands. Subsequent laws were passed for carrying this system more effectually into execution. Two agents and a surveyor were appointed, under the law of 1817. They explored the coasts of Alabama and Louisiana, and made voluminous reports of their proceedings to the navy department. In consequence of the information which they contained, the President, on the twenty-ninth of February, 1820, directed the reservation of several islands in lake Chitimaches, Louisiana, containing in all about seventeen thousand acres, and estimated, at that time, to have upon them about thirty-seven thousand live oak trees of various sizes, fit for the naval service, a part of which, however, were difficult of approach, and some, perhaps, inaccessible. In May, 1821, an agent was appointed, with a small salary, to protect these reservations against intruders. No timber has as yet been cut from these islands, for the navy.

By the acquisition of Florida, vast quantities of live oak timber, as we have said, came into the possession of the United States. But the perplexity of the land titles, in this territory, threw great difficulties in the way of the government in obtaining it. A very great quantity of the public lands was instantly covered by fabricated claims; and while the commissioners were sifting them, the land was stripped of its live oak. A law was passed in February, 1822, authorizing the employment of the land and naval force of the United States to protect the timber on the public lands. Under this law, orders were immediately given to Captain Elton, in the brig *Spark*, to proceed to the St John's river in Florida, and prevent the cutting of timber on the public lands, or transporting it out of the territory. Similar orders have, from time to time, been renewed; and the commanders of our West India squadron, and of the revenue cutters in this part of our waters, have been instructed to the same effect.

The peculiar character of the Florida coasts, abounding with inlets, and the uncertainty of the land titles, went far to obviate the effect of these wholesome measures. An agent sent with Captain Elton reported, that he doubted, if there

were a timbered acre in the territory not claimed. The establishment of a commission for ascertaining the land titles in Florida, did something to remedy this evil ; and in 1825, the subject was again brought before the attention of the President ; but for want of an appropriation nothing could be done. Early in the fall of 1826, an agent was again sent into Florida, with full instructions on the subject. His reports to the department confirm the information, that the best of the live oak timber had been removed from the coast, as far as he had examined it. From Jacksonville, on the St John's, he writes, that ' the St John's, up to that point, together with its tributary creeks, fifteen miles up, is entirely cleared. Live-oak has, in fact, been a staple product. The collector at the bluff informed me, that for the last six or eight years, the number of vessels that had cleared, loaded with it, has averaged one hundred and fifty, not carrying each less than two thousand feet.' As this would amount in eight years to more than two millions of feet, it is probably an exaggeration. But it is well known that great quantities of it have been exported, and, it is supposed, purchased by foreign governments.

In 1827, this subject was brought before the House of Representatives, by one of its most able members, Colonel White, the delegate from Florida, who moved a resolution which led to the communication from the department, abovementioned, and to provisions by law to effect the preservation of the timber. Colonel White stated, in introducing his resolution, that he was well informed that the British government had its agents in the Southern States and Florida, engaged in purchasing and shipping live oak to England, cut by moulds, in the shape of knees, heart-hooks, and stern-posts, &c. He also stated, that he had been informed, that the Emperor of Russia had ordered two barrels of the acorns of the live oak to be sent to Russia, for the purpose of experiment in the southern portions of his empire. Colonel White recommended the establishment of a plantation of live oak, near the navy yard at Pensacola, where the government possesses a tract of land already covered with the young trees.

We presume that these agencies in Florida, for supplying the British government with our oak, were established while that territory was a Spanish province, and have been continued from the difficulty of detecting and breaking them up. In consequence of the representations of Colonel White and of the

secretary of the navy, provision was made in one of the sections of a law of the third of March, 1827, for the preservation of the live oak timber on the lands of the United States, and the reservation of those lands from sale.

Before quitting this subject entirely, we cannot but commend the attention paid, by the present Executive of the United States, to the introduction into this country of the vegetable productions of other regions. The circular, issued for that purpose, and addressed to the consuls, naval commanders, and others in the foreign service of the United States, is fresh in the recollection of the public, having been extensively circulated in the newspapers. When it is considered that cotton and rice are foreign products of comparatively recent introduction into the United States, the strongest encouragement suggests itself for multiplying experiments on all the subjects of the vegetable kingdom, from climates corresponding with any of those in this country. The teak-tree would undoubtedly grow in any climate adapted to the live oak.

We return to Mr Flint's work. The following description of a *cane-brake* (a swamp filled with *arundo gigantea* or *miegia macrosperma*) presents a scene which must be new to many of our readers.

' Every one has seen this reed in the form in which it is used for angling-rods. It grows on the lower courses of the Mississippi, Arkansas, and Red river, from fifteen to thirty feet in height. We have seen some, in these rich soils, that would almost vie in size with the bamboo. The leaves are of a beautiful green—long, narrow, and dagger-shaped, not unlike those of Egyptian millet. It grows in equidistant joints, perfectly straight, almost a compact mass; and to us, in winter especially, is the richest looking vegetation that we have ever seen. The smallest sparrow would find it difficult to fly among it; and to see its ten thousand stems, rising almost contiguous to each other, and to look at the impervious roof of verdure which it forms at its top, it has the aspect of being a solid layer of vegetation. A man could not make three miles in a day through a thick cane-brake. It is the chosen resort of bears and panthers, which break it down, and make their way into it, as a retreat from man. It indicates a dry soil, above the inundation, and of the richest character. The ground is never in better preparation for maize, than after this prodigious mass of vegetation is first cut down and burned. When the cane has been cut, and is so dried, as that it will burn, it is an amusement of high holiday to the negroes, to set fire to a cane-brake thus prepared,

The rarefied air in the hollow compartments of the cane bursts them with a report, not much inferior to a discharge of musketry; and the burning of a cane-brake makes the noise of a conflicting army, in which thousands of muskets are continually discharging. This beautiful vegetable is generally asserted to have a life of five years, at the end of which period, if it has grown undisturbed, it produces an abundant crop of seed, with heads very like those of broom-corn. The seeds are farinaceous, and said to be not much inferior to wheat. for which the Indians, and occasionally the first settlers, have substituted it. No prospect so impressively shows the exuberant prodigality of nature, as a thick cane-brake. Nothing affords such a rich and perennial range for cattle, sheep, and horses. The butter that is made from the cane pastures of this region, is of the finest kind. The seed easily vegetates in any rich soil. It rises from the ground, like the richest asparagus, with a large, succulent stem; and it grows six feet high, before the body hardens from this succulency and tenderness. No other vegetable could furnish a fodder so rich or abundant; nor, in our view, does any other agricultural project so strongly call for a trial as the annual sowing of cane, in regions too northern for it to survive the winter. We suppose this would be in latitude 39°.' Vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

The account of *zizania aquatica* or *folles avoines*, (p. 84.) is very interesting. It is, says Mr Flint, the great resource of the Northern Savages and Canadian traders and hunters. It springs up in waters six or seven feet in depth, where the bottom is soft and muddy, and is, of all the *cerealia*, except maize, in the opinion of our author, the most prolific. We join him in the expression of surprise, that,

'Amidst all our eager and multiplied agricultural researches, little attention has been paid to this interesting and valuable grain. It has scarcely been known except by Canadian hunters and savages, that such a grain, the resource of a vast extent of country, exists. It surely ought to be ascertained, if the drowned lands of the Atlantic country, and the immense marshes and stagnant lakes of the South, will grow it. It is a mistake, that it is found only in the northern regions of this valley. It grows in perfection on the lakes about Natchitoches, south of 32°, and might, probably, be cultivated in all climates of the valley.' Vol. i. p. 85.

The *stramonium* is represented by Mr Flint as a great pest of the Western country. On the richest bottoms it grows fifteen feet in height, and of a size and compactness to turn cattle. In some places, no inconsiderable part of the labor on the highways is to cut up this weed. Its popular name is *Jimson*, a

corruption of *Jamestown*, from which place in Virginia, it is supposed to have spread through the country.

The following is a description of a splendid species of *nymphæa*;

‘ Among the flowering aquatic plants, there is one, that for magnificence and beauty stands unrivalled and alone. We have seen it on the middle and southern waters; but of the greatest size and splendor on the bayous and lakes of the Arkansas. It has different popular names. The upper Indians call it *panocco*. We have seen it designated by botanists by the name *nymphæa nelumbo*. It rises from a root, resembling the large stump of a cabbage, and from depths in the water, from two or three to ten feet. It has an elliptical, smooth, and verdant leaf, some of the largest being of the size of a parasol. These muddy bayous and stagnant waters are often so covered with these leaves, that the sandpiper walks abroad on the surface of the leaves, without dipping her feet in the water. The flowers are enlarged copies of the *nymphæa odorata*, or New-England pond-lily. They have a cup of the same elegant conformation, and all the brilliant white and yellow of that flower. They want the ambrosial fragrance of the pond-lily; and resemble in this respect, as they do in their size, the flowers of the laurel magnolia. On the whole, they are the largest and most beautiful flowers, that we have seen. They have their home in dead lakes, in the centre of cypress swamps. Mosquitoes swarm above. Obscene fowls wheel their flight over them. Alligators swim among their roots; and moccasin snakes bask on their leaves. In such lonely and repulsive situations, under such circumstances, and for such spectators, is arrayed the most gaudy and brilliant display of flowers in the creation. In the capsule are embedded from four to six acorn-shaped seeds, which the Indians roast, and eat, when green; or they are dried and eaten as nuts, or are pulverized into meal and form a kind of bread.’ Vol. i. pp. 89, 90.

We would gladly, also, extract the description of the long moss, which is used, in a prepared state, for many of the purposes of horse-hair; but we must hasten onward to other matter.

Our limits do not allow us to make any extracts from the chapter on *animals*. But we must refer the reader to the article of *Buffalo*, page 94, of *Beaver*, page 97, and of *Grizzly Bear*, page 98. Mr Flint (page 102) observes, that it is a fact to which he can bear ocular testimony, that the squirrels cross rivers, sometimes swimming, and at other times, on a chip or piece of bark, raising and spreading their tails by way of sail. It is related, adds he, that in the year 1811, they em-

igrated from the north towards the south by thousands, and with a front of some regularity, along the lower part of the state of Ohio, and the whole boundary of Indiana. Great numbers of them were drowned in attempting to cross the Ohio. The same thing took place the last year.

The chapter on *serpents* contains matter which will be found interesting to the general reader. The following narrative, though not sufficiently vouched to be received as true in its detail, is probably quite as authentic as the *mythus*, to which Mr Flint compares it; and serves to show us some of the terrors, whether of the imagination or of real life (and the former are perhaps as distressing as the latter), which await the first settlers of the wilderness.

‘We have seen great numbers that have been bitten by rattle-snakes, or copper-heads, or moccasins; and we have never seen a fatal case. We read, indeed, of a most tragical occurrence, more horrible in the relation than the ancient fiction of Laocoon. An immigrant family inadvertently fixed their cabin on the shelving declivity of a ledge, that proved a den of rattle-snakes. Warmed by the first fire on the hearth of the cabin, the terrible reptiles issued in numbers, and of course in rage, by night into the room where the whole family slept. As happens in those cases, some slept on the floor, and some in beds. The reptiles spread in every part of the room, and mounted on every bed. Children were stung in the arms of their parents and in each other’s arms. Imagination dares not dwell on the horrors of such a scene. Most of the family were bitten to death; and those who escaped, finding the whole cabin occupied by these horrid tenants, hissing, and shaking their rattles, fled from the house by beating off the covering of the roof, and escaping in that direction.’ Vol. i. p. 115.

Lizards are called ‘ground-puppies.’ Varieties of small camelions are found in this region. They are considered as harmless animals, though when taken, they show a disposition to bite. Probably their bite is not venomous. They will change, in half an hour, says Mr Flint, to all the colors of the prism. Green seems to be their favorite color, and while they assume it, the under part of the neck is scarlet. The throat swells, and the animal emits a sharp note like that of a grasshopper. ‘We have placed them,’ says Mr Flint, ‘on a handkerchief, and they have gradually assumed all its colors. Placed on a black surface they become brown; but they evidently suffer while under this color, as is manifested by their uneasy movements, and by strong and quick palpitations. They are very active and nimble animals, three or four inches in length.’

‘*Murena siren* is a very singular animal,’ says Mr Flint, ‘and, as far as we know, undescribed by naturalists. It somewhat resembles the lamprey, and is nearly two feet in length. It seems intermediate between the fish and the lizard class. It has two short legs placed near the head. It is amphibious, and penetrates the mud with the facility of a crawfish.’ Vol. i. p. 119.

The crawfish are very troublesome in the waters of the West. Mill-dams are often penetrated and seriously injured by them; and the *levée* of the Mississippi has more than once been so weakened by their perforations, as to be gradually worn through and broken down.

Under the head of *rivers*, Mr Flint has drawn up a general description of the Mississippi and of the tributaries that flow into it, from its source to its mouth, but our space does not allow us to make an extract from it. To this succeeds an interesting chapter on the *Indian population*. Our author appears to us to think a little less highly, than some writers, of the character of the native population of this continent, and hints some doubts as to the nature and extent of their right in the soil of their hunting-grounds. This is too difficult and extensive a topic to be taken up at the present time; and it would, perhaps, be doing injustice to Mr Flint to detach from their connexion, his opinions on matters of controversy. We make the following brief quotation by way of doing justice, on one point, to the course pursued by the general government toward this unfortunate race.

‘All words would be thrown away in attempting to portray, in just colors, the effects of whiskey upon such a race. It is, indeed, the heaviest curse that their intercourse with the whites has entailed upon them. Every obligation of duty, as philanthropists and Christians, imposes upon us all possible efforts to prevent the extirpation of the whole race; the inevitable consequence of their having free access to this liquid poison. We have adverted to the stern and rigorous prohibitions of the general government, and the fidelity with which they are generally carried into effect; and yet, in some way or other, wherever Americans have access, Indians have whiskey. It is understood that the laws of the state governments and of the general government are not in concert upon this subject. It is matter of undoubted fact, that in the states, the Indians find much less difficulty in procuring whiskey, than in the territories; and of course intoxication is far more common. The duties of the states imperiously call upon them to frame laws in unison with those of the general government, and to unite with

that to prevent these unhappy beings from exercising their suicide propensities.' Vol. i. pp. 184, 185.

The chapter of *monuments* is very interesting, but it is not in our power to dwell upon it.

The subject of the *present population* is, perhaps, that which will furnish the most ample matter of reflection to the philosophic mind. Within the distinct memory of those now on the stage, the Valley of the Mississippi might be called a wilderness; and the population which has since poured into it, has had to contend with almost every kind of obstacle. 'Sickness, solitude, mountains, the war-whoop, and the tomahawk, wolves, and panthers,' presented themselves to the first adventurers. In 1790, the population of the Valley of the Mississippi, exclusive of Florida and the country west of the river, was estimated at one hundred thousand. In 1800, it was something short of three hundred and eighty thousand. In 1810, it was short of a million. In 1820, including the population west of the Mississippi, and rating Florida at twenty thousand, and that of the parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, which belong to this Valley, at three hundred thousand, the whole population of this region amounted to two million five hundred thousand. Due allowance must of course be made for the effect of emigration. But there is no doubt that in 1830, Ohio, whose population is the largest and densest in the Western states, will be the double of what it was in 1820; and the emigration out of this state is unquestionably equal to the emigration into it.

The *national character of the Western people* is treated by Mr Flint with a manly spirit. The temper of the British journals on this head is truly atrocious. Even the 'New Monthly Magazine,' we are told, says that the Kentuckians flayed Tecumthe, and made razor-straps of his skin! That some traces of the effect of circumstances should be seen, in the manners of the people, is a matter of course; the only just subject of astonishment is, that a country so settled should exhibit all the essential features of a high stage of civilization. To compare Kentucky and Ohio, each within sixty years a savage wilderness, with Ireland, that has been christianized for fourteen centuries, and is within a day's sail of the very metropolis of civilization, and has had for six hundred years the *benefit* of being governed by its laws, would be doing great injustice to Ohio and Kentucky. We believe, in fact, that it would be possible to gather from the public prints of England a fair set-off,

within the circuit of the English counties, for every fact, that has ever been related with truth, for the purpose of showing the barbarity, violence, and immorality of the Western states.

Mr Flint gives curious details of some points of manners in the Western country, in some of which, as the discipline of the steam-boats, our brethren of the West are, it seems, in advance of the Atlantic coast. We can ourselves vouch for the truth of this comparison, and have seen travellers from the West, (who would be alarmed at the imputation of *aristocracy*) shocked with the promiscuous aspect of a steam-boat's company on the Delaware. There is no doubt, that steam-boat civilization (and it is as important a mechanical engine of civilization, as any that has been devised since the art of printing) is carried farther on the Mississippi, than in any other part of the world. The first steam-boat on these waters was seen in 1811. In the Appendix to his work, Mr Flint gives us the names, tonnage, and places of construction, of one hundred and eighteen steam-boats, which navigate the Western waters !

The observations of our author on *the religious character* of the Western people will reward a perusal. We make no apology for the introduction of the following extract.

‘None, but one who has seen, can imagine the interest, excited in a district of country, perhaps fifty miles in extent, by the awaited approach of the time for a camp-meeting ; and none, but one who has seen, can imagine how profoundly the preachers have understood what produces effect, and how well they have practised upon it. Suppose the scene to be, where the most extensive excitements and the most frequent camp-meetings have been during the two past years, in one of the beautiful and fertile valleys among the mountains of Tennessee. The notice has been circulated two or three months. On the appointed day, coaches, chaises, wagons, carts, people on horseback, and multitudes travelling from a distance on foot, wagons with provisions, mattresses, tents, and arrangements for the stay of a week, are seen hurrying from every point towards the central spot. It is in the midst of a grove of those beautiful and lofty trees, natural to the valleys of Tennessee, in its deepest verdure, and beside a spring branch, for the requisite supply of water.

‘The ambitious and wealthy are there, because in this region opinion is all-powerful ; and they are there, either to extend their influence, or that their absence may not be noted, to diminish it. Aspirants for office are there, to electioneer, and gain popularity.

Vast numbers are there from simple curiosity, and merely to enjoy a spectacle. The young and the beautiful are there, with mixed motives, which it were best not severely to scrutinize. Children are there, their young eyes glistening with the intense interest of eager curiosity. The middle-aged fathers and mothers of families are there, with the sober views of people, whose plans in life are fixed, and waiting calmly to hear. Men and women of hoary hairs are there, with such thoughts, it may be hoped, as their years invite. Such is the congregation, consisting of thousands.

‘A host of preachers of different denominations are there, some in the earnest vigor and aspiring desires of youth, waiting an opportunity for display; others, who have proclaimed the Gospel, as pilgrims of the cross, from the remotest North of our vast country to the shores of the Mexican gulf, and ready to utter the words, the feelings, and the experience, which they have treasured up in a travelling ministry of fifty years, and whose accents, trembling with age, still more impressively than their words, announce, that they will soon travel and preach no more on the earth, are there. Such are the preachers.

‘The line of tents is pitched; and the religious city grows up in a few hours under the trees, beside the stream. Lamps are hung in lines among the branches; and the effect of their glare upon the surrounding forest is, as of magic. The scenery of the most brilliant theatre in the world is a painting only for children, compared with it. Meantime the multitudes, with the highest excitement of social feeling added to the general enthusiasm of expectation, pass from tent to tent, and interchange apostolic greetings and embraces, and talk of the coming solemnities. Their coffee and tea are prepared, and their supper is finished. By this time the moon, for they take thought, to appoint the meeting at the proper time of the moon, begins to show its disk above the dark summits of the mountains; and a few stars are seen glimmering through the intervals of the branches. The whole constitutes a temple worthy of the grandeur of God. An old man, in a dress of the quaintest simplicity, ascends a platform, wipes the dust from his spectacles, and in a voice of suppressed emotion, gives out the hymn, of which the whole assembled multitude can recite the words,—and an air, in which every voice can join. We should deem poorly of the heart, that would not thrill, as the song is heard, like the “sound of many waters,” echoing among the hills and mountains. Such are the scenes, the associations, and such the influence of external things upon a nature so “fearfully and wonderfully” constituted, as ours, that little effort is necessary on such a theme as religion, urged at such a place, under such circumstances, to fill the heart and the eyes. The hoary orator talks of God, of eternity, a judgment to come, and all that is im-

pressive beyond. He speaks of his "experiences," his toils and travels, his persecutions and welcomes, and how many he has seen in hope, in peace and triumph, gathered to their fathers; and when he speaks of the short space that remains to him, his only regret is, that he can no more proclaim, in the silence of death, the mercies of his crucified Redeemer.

'There is no need of the studied trick of oratory, to produce in such a place the deepest movements of the heart. No wonder, as the speaker pauses to dash the gathering moisture from his own eye, that his audience are dissolved in tears, or uttering the exclamations of penitence. Nor is it cause for admiration, that many, who poised themselves on an estimation of higher intellect, and a nobler insensibility, than the crowd, catch the infectious feeling, and become women and children in their turn; and though they "came to scoff, remain to pray."

'Notwithstanding all that has been said in derision of these spectacles, so common in this region, it cannot be denied, that the influence, on the whole, is salutary, and the general bearing upon the great interests of the community, good. It will be long, before a regular ministry can be generally supported, if ever. In place of that, nothing tends so strongly to supply the want of the influence resulting from the constant duties of a stated ministry, as the recurrence of these explosions of feeling, which shake the moral world, and purify its atmosphere, until the accumulating seeds of moral disease require a similar lustration again.' Vol. i. pp. 220-223.

The *pursuits of the people* form the subject of a curious chapter, but we have no room for extracts. The reader must absolutely procure the book itself.

Having gone through these several heads, and in a manner of which we have given some specimens, Mr Flint engages in the *general history* of the Valley of the Mississippi, beginning from the earliest accounts and coming down to the present day. Here it is, of course, impossible for us to follow him. This is the part of the work, which, for its great importance and the variety of matter necessarily embraced in it, Mr Flint will do well, in his second edition, to revise. It will bear a fuller detail in some parts. Authorities ought to be stated more frequently. Our author remarks, in the outset of this part of his work, that in the French and Spanish portion of it, he has mostly relied on the manuscript and untranslated work of M. de la Harpe. Some account of so important a manuscript would form the proper subject of a note.

The portion of the work, which is devoted to an account of

the Valley of the Mississippi collectively, is succeeded by a separate account of the states and territories embraced within its limits, namely, the territory of Florida, the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, the Arkansas territory, the states of Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. The reader perceives the rich distribution of subjects. We shall have discharged our duty, if in the account we have already given of the work, we have shown it to be one, of whose contents the American student ought to possess himself. He must be a very diligent collector of information, who can read any one of these chapters, without being instructed by it. We do not propose to go into this part of the work, but the following, from the history of Tennessee, will serve as a specimen of its contents.

In 1784, North Carolina passed a law, ceding the country, which now forms the state of Tennessee, to the United States, provided congress should accept the cession within two years; the jurisdiction to be retained by North Carolina till congress should take possession. Upon this, the citizens called a convention, by which the laws of North Carolina, as far as applicable, were declared to be in force in the territory, and the aid of congress was invoked, for the formation of a new state. Meanwhile they ordained that the territory should be governed by a convention, and that this convention should send a delegate to congress.

Congress did not accept this cession, and North Carolina repealed her law. Meantime, however, parties were formed in Tennessee; and while, on one side, it was wished to return under the jurisdiction of North Carolina, on the other side, it was resolved to adhere to the separation. A new convention was called, and the territory was declared to be an independent state, under the name of *Frankland*. The convention announced to North Carolina the independence of the new state, and sent a delegate to congress; but it does not appear that any notice was taken, by that body, of these proceedings.

'In 1786, the state of Frankland had two conflicting courts in its limits. The one acted under the authority of their own state, and the other under that of North Carolina. Each court claimed, that its decisions were paramount; and in fact, the only one, that had a right to act in the case. A more fruitful source of collision and quarrel can not be imagined, than such a state. The sheriff of Frankland, with his *posse*, in some instances, went into

the other court, seized the papers, and turned the officers out of doors. The North Carolina party, as soon as it had power, retaliated in the same way. Colonel John Sevier was elected the first governor of the state of Frankland. The governor, soon after his induction into office, met the principal man on the North Carolina side of the question. From the windy and inefficient war of words, it soon proceeded to the more decisive war of blows. The argument was soon settled in the primitive way by the dint of fist. But these leaders of state were separated, before victory declared on either side. Their humbler retainers, as they felt in duty bound, imitated the example of their superiors, and lost an eye, or a piece of flesh of less importance from some other part of the body, without being either cooled, or convinced. It was obvious, that in such a crisis things must soon come to a more serious issue, than a fist-fight, or gouging an eye.

'The county of Washington elected members to represent them in the assembly of North Carolina. Colonel Tipton, who had fought the governor of Frankland, was one of these representatives. A paper containing the names of those, who were willing to accept the terms of North Carolina, and secede from the authority of Frankland, was sent by these members to the assembly. Taxes were imposed by the authority of both legislatures, and, as may be easily foreseen, the people paid neither, with much speciousness, assigning as a reason, that they did not know to which authority they ought to yield their money.

'This year the Cherokees renewed their attacks upon Tennessee. William Cocke, Esq., was delegated to congress. He made, before that body, an eloquent speech, placing in a strong light the helplessness and misery of their condition, engaged in a civil war on the one hand, and assailed by the merciless savages on the other. This time he was heard, and his representations were acted upon. A general amnesty was passed, in regard to all who expressed a readiness to yield themselves to the authorities of North Carolina. It was enacted, too, that the officers, who had held under the state of Frankland, should be displaced, and their places filled by persons appointed by North Carolina. Many, who held under the new state, had been originally appointed by North Carolina, and had been retained in their offices by Frankland. They were considered by congress in the light of persons, who admitted the authority of the new state. The pacific, and yet decisive measures of congress seemed at once to restore things to their former position, before the formation of the state of Frankland. But under the external appearances of tranquillity remained the smothered fire. There still remained a considerable number, staunch for the cause of the fallen state, and disposed, upon the first favorable appearances, to rear it up again. Governor

Sevier offered the services of these men to Georgia, in the prospect of an approaching war of that state with the Creeks. The legislature of that state having deliberated upon the proposition returned a very polite answer, expressing gratitude for the kindness of the offer, and promising a return of their services in any way, which should not be incompatible with the interests of Georgia. They sent a state of their case to Dr Franklin, soliciting advice. He wrote them in reply, that he thought they had better accede to the propositions of North Carolina.

‘Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, Governor Sevier retained the integrity of his faith in the new state. Georgia, as a state, indeed, was only ready to avail herself of their military services, without promising any return of good offices. But several distinguished individuals of that state wrote to him, expressing their own good wishes, and those of many of the people. He was elected a member of the distinguished society of Cincinnati. A copy of the constitutions of the thirteen states, neatly bound, was presented him, with a very flattering address. The common toast in Georgia was, “Success to Frankland, and its virtuous citizens.” But, all these symptoms of convalescence notwithstanding, in 1787, the legislature of Frankland met for the last time. Little was done, and shortly after the state of Frankland fell by natural decease.’ Vol. II. pp. 31–33.

We have seen maps of the United States, published within a few years at London, on which, where *Tennessee* ought to stand, the word *Franklin* is inserted.

The second volume of Mr Flint’s work contains the account of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, the most valuable part, perhaps, of the work. Commencing with page 350 of this volume, will be found a sketch of the general order and circumstances of emigration and settlement in the Western states, and the mode of proceeding adopted by a party bound to that region. But this, with many other curious and instructive details, we are obliged wholly to pass over.

The perusal of this work has suggested to us the desirableness of a complete collection of American historians, or historical works relative to the history of the country, to be undertaken by some of our extensive bookselling houses or an association of them. It ought to contain, in a regular series, both the original works and the subsequent compilations; beginning with such productions as Captain Smith’s History of Virginia, Winthrop’s Journal, and Prince’s Chronology, and coming down through compilations of a later date, like Hutchinson’s Massachusetts and Smith’s New York, to works written since

the declaration of independence and at the present day. A complete collection of charters and patents should form a part of the plan. The want of such a collection is severely felt. Of some of the works, which would enter into it, one or two copies only are known to exist in America ; and even of works of recent publication, many are out of print. We have known unavailing search to be made for years, in all our large cities, for such books as Sullivan's *History of Maine* ; and McCall's *History of Georgia*. A collection like that proposed might be made as voluminous, as the public demand was found on trial to require.

ART. VI.—*A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. By WASHINGTON IRVING. 3 vols. 8vo. New York, and London. 1828.

THIS is one of those works, which are at the same time the delight of readers and the despair of critics. It is as nearly perfect in its kind, as any work well can be ; and there is therefore little or nothing left for the reviewer, but to write at the bottom of every page, as Voltaire said he should be obliged to do, if he published a commentary on Racine, *Pulchrè ! bene ! optimè !* And as the reputation of the author is so well established, that he does not stand in need of our recommendation as a passport to the public favor, it may appear, and in fact is, almost superfluous to pretend to give a formal review of his book. Nevertheless, we cannot refuse ourselves the satisfaction of adding the mite of our poor applause to the ample and well deserved harvest of fame, that has already rewarded the labors of our ingenious, excellent, and amiable fellow citizen ; nor would it, as we conceive, be proper to omit noticing in this journal a work, however well known to the public, which we consider as being, on the whole, more honorable to the literature of the country, than any one that has hitherto appeared among us. Before we proceed to give our opinion in detail of the '*History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus*,' we shall offer a few remarks on the character and merit of Mr Irving's other works, premising that we write under the influ-

ence of the feelings that naturally result from a good deal of friendly personal intercourse with this gentleman. If any reader shall suspect, that we judge Mr Irving too favorably because we know him too well, he is quite at liberty to make any deductions from the sum total of our commendation, that he may on this account deem in candor to be necessary.

Mr Irving shares, in some degree, the merit and the glory that belong to the illustrious hero of his present work, that of leading the way in a previously unexplored and untrodden path of intellectual labor. He is the first writer of purely Cisatlantic origin and education, who succeeded in establishing a high and undisputed reputation, founded entirely on literary talent and success. This was the opinion expressed by a very judicious and discerning writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, upon the first publication of the 'Sketch Book;' and it is, as we conceive, a substantially correct one. In saying this, we are perfectly aware that there have been found among us, at every period during the two centuries of our history, individuals highly distinguished, both at home and abroad, by important and useful labors in various branches of art and science. We mean not to detract, in the least, from their well-earned fame, which we cherish, on the contrary, as the richest treasure that belongs to their posterity, and would do everything in our power to establish and enlarge. We say not that Mr Irving is the first or the greatest man that ever handled a pen in the United States. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*. Our pilgrim fathers were accomplished scholars and powerful writers, according to the taste and learning of the times. One of their immediate successors, the pride and ornament in his day of a highly respectable college, is justly placed on an equality with the most profound and acute metaphysicians of Europe. The state papers of the revolution have been pronounced, by the first orator and statesmen of the mother country, to equal or surpass the noblest efforts of antiquity of the same description. In the exact sciences we have contributed as much or more than our share to the common stock of discovery and improvement, from the time of the first settlement of the colonies up to the present day. But our success in the department of polite literature and poetry (which are essentially one and the same thing) had not, until a very recent period, corresponded with our progress in most others. After all that had been done by the Trum-

bulls, the Hopkinsons, the Dwights, the Barlows, the Humphreyses,—Arcadians all,—all animated with a fine spirit and by no means laboring without effect, but yet rather as amateurs than as artists ;—after all that had been done by these and various others of equal or hardly inferior merit, we still wanted the ‘sacred poet.’ We had no name distinguished by repeated triumphs on the field of polite learning, too brilliant to be overlooked, too generally acknowledged abroad and at home to be gainsaid or controverted, which we could present to friend and foe as a proof of our capacity for these delightful pursuits ; no series of elegant and highly finished works of this class in verse or prose, to exhibit as specimens of what we could accomplish.

The reasons of this deficiency are too obvious in themselves, and have been too often published in good and ill nature, to be now questionable. It was not owing to want of genius. That divine gift has been as liberally imparted in the goodness of Providence to this nation as to any other, that ever flourished on the face of the earth ; and the English race, to which we belong, has always been preëminently distinguished in both the great branches, Saxon and Norman, that combine to form its mingled stock, by the favor of the Muses. Nor yet did the difficulty lie in want of patronage, the presence or absence of which has little or nothing to do with the developement of genuine excellence. The real cause, as has been very generally felt by judicious observers, was the condition of the country, which created an urgent and continual demand for talent in the various walks of active life. A vast continent was to be subdued and cultivated ; all the branches of mechanical industry (as far as the mother country would permit us to exercise them) to be commenced. Here was business enough for the mass of the people. For minds of an elevated stamp, the liberal professions, education, public and private, and the high functions of government, opened fields of action, into which such minds could not hesitate to enter. The desk, the bench, the professor’s chair, the principal political and military offices, were not with us the patrimony of particular families, but the acknowledged property of merit and talent, which, as soon as they showed themselves, were summoned, by the loud and unanimous acclaim of the public, to enter in and take possession. Had our fathers been insensible to this high vocation, they would have shown that they were unworthy of it, and in-

capable of excellence in anything. Our Ovids and Martials were therefore lost in Franklins, Adamses, and Jeffersons, as were those of England in Murrays and Pulteneys; and the loss, we may well add, was exceeding gain.

It was not then the absence of talent or poetical inspiration, but the more imperious and urgent,—let us not be unjust to our ancestors,—the nobler and loftier nature of the call for active labor in the moral and political service of the public, that checked for a time the cultivation of the finer arts. The shepherd in Virgil, who was compelled to abandon at once his country and his favorite amusements, beheld with admiration, if not with envy, his comrade playing on his rustic pipe, under the shade of the accustomed beech tree. Our fathers, if they felt any emotions of regret, at quitting their literary and poetical pursuits, could at least console themselves with the reflection, that they made the sacrifice, not to quit but to serve their country; and in obedience to her sacred voice, sprang with alacrity and pleasure into the walks of active life. We had men enough among us, who were 'smit with the love of sacred song'; who in earlier life exhibited splendid proofs that their love was by no means an unrequited passion; and who, had they devoted themselves exclusively to letters, would have carried off the most brilliant honors in any department which they might have selected. Such were the persons, whose names we mentioned above *honoris causâ*; but they too fell under the general rule, and could not withstand those inducements to engage, in one way or another, in the public service, that wrought with irresistible force upon every generous soul. They were all, as is well known, employed in the highest, the gravest, the most absorbing political, moral, or military affairs; and we possess in their literary effusions either the unripe fruits of their youth, or the hasty and casual recreations, that amused the few leisure hours of their maturer years. Mr Barlow, for example, was originally a poet of great promise. His 'Vision of Columbus,' written at a very early age, and which has not been improved by his subsequent labors upon it, exhibited a talent, which, if properly cultivated by persevering study and assiduous exercise, would have produced works of a very high, if not of the highest order; but he was hurried away, like the rest, by the animating movement of every thing about him, and swept at once into active life, where the serious affairs in which he was engaged, gradually diverted his mind

from his earlier pursuits, and diminished his capacity to excel in them ; so that when he came back to them at a later period, for the purpose of publishing a corrected edition of his poem, he had lost a part of his power, and his verse had not quite the same freshness and vigor, that distinguished it before. It is pleasing, however, to see in these productions, though of somewhat inferior poetical merit, how fondly his thoughts reverted, from amidst the busy scenes in which he was engaged, to the happy period of his youth, and dwelt, in fond recollection, on the rocky hills of New England, and the beautiful valley of the Connecticut, in which he had his birth. Thus we find him, while accompanying the French army as a representative of the Convention on the first invasion of Piedmont, so strongly excited by the view of the maize which grows in abundance in that country, though little cultivated in most parts of Europe, that he wrote, upon the spur of the moment, amid the tumults of the campaign, one of his prettiest and most lively poems. Mr Barlow's case was that of all the rest. General Humphreys was a military officer of high rank, and a foreign minister. He wrote most of his poems in the tent of the commander in chief, which, in the nature of things, could not well in this case have been pitched on the summits of Pindus, or in the classic valley of Aonian Aganippe. Considering the circumstances under which they were written, his poems are far from wanting merit, and are equal to the similar productions of the most celebrated geniuses of Europe. They are quite as good, for instance, as the poems of Frederic the Great, most of which were also written in the camp, and some of them on the eve of the most critical and dangerous battles. The works of both belong to the class of *amateur* productions, which, as such, can never reach the highest degree of excellence ; for this can only be attained, in any department of intellectual labor, by the exclusive and persevering devotion of a whole mind, for a whole life. Dr Dwight, in like manner, who possessed a naturally powerful and highly poetical intellect, with a fund of activity and industry, which would have carried him to the first rank in any profession, as it did in that which he pursued, after offering his youthful vows at the shrine of the Muses in 'Greenfield Hill' and the 'Conquest of Canaan,' gave up his riper years to the serious labors of his sacred calling, and of public instruction ; in which he shone beyond comparison the brightest name of his day ; while he published writings analo-

gous to these occupations, that are justly esteemed as among the most valuable of their class.

Active life, in short, absorbed the whole talent of the country. It is of little importance to the general truth of these remarks, whether there be or be not one or two names, in the course of the two centuries to which our history extends, that can fairly be cited as exceptions. If there be such, the men who bore them were isolated beings, who belonged to another world and a future age. They formed no school, they left no intellectual progeny to perpetuate their fame; the public taste was not prepared to feel and appreciate their merit, and they lived and died almost unknown to their contemporaries. If the Muses did in fact carve the name of *Philenia* upon every laurel in the grove of fame, as one of her admirers assures us, this same grove was at that time so little frequented as a public walk, that the circumstance passed almost without notice. Dr Franklin is entitled to the praise of a first-rate writer; but he has no pretensions to the poetical garland, which he voluntarily relinquished, like the other persons we have mentioned, for the purpose of devoting himself to the public service and the cultivation of science. Charles Brockden Brown has perhaps the best claim to rank as an exception from the general rule, and to assert the character of a really powerful and original writer in the department of polite literature. His works still retain their hold upon the public attention, and have rather risen than declined in reputation since his death. And his case singularly exemplifies the observations made above, in regard to the few persons who might be viewed as exceptions to our remarks. He lived, as it were, unknown to the public. His works were widely circulated and read; but, as we are told, generally received as of foreign origin. Finally when he had at last fought his way into some degree of notoriety at home, and begun of course to partake the feelings of the world around him, he seems like the rest to have been swept away from his original bias towards letters and poetry, into the large stream of active life. The last of his productions was a political journal entitled 'The American Register,' and had his days been prolonged, he probably would have devoted the rest of them to the party controversies of the time. Dennie, another natural poet, published, under the name of a literary journal, only a more refined and elegant political newspaper; and our townsman Paine, singularly gifted

as he was with all the elements necessary to the constitution of a real poet, generally devoted the few intervals, which he could spare from his pleasures for labor of any kind, to the establishment of a new newspaper. Such, up to the close of the last century, was the all-absorbing influence of the attractions of active life upon the whole mass of mind existing among us. The period when the three last writers lived, approached, however, so nearly to the present, that had any one of them possessed the vigorous moral constitution, which is indispensable to the full activity and effect of literary talent under any circumstances, and especially when a new course is to be struck out, he would probably have seized the palm that was reserved for another brow, and marked the opening of our Western school of polite literature. But these three gifted spirits, all of celestial mould, were like the falcon in Shakspeare, hawked at and killed, while towering in their pride of flight, by the devil of sensual indulgence, and thus failed of accomplishing their high vocation. Their immature and unfinished productions, though glowing at times with life and energy, can only be viewed as the first faint streaks of light, that preceded and announced the approach of day.

Finally however, in the rapid progress of our population, wealth, and literary advantages, the period arrived, when the calls of business no longer absorbed all the cultivated intellect existing in the country; when, after these were fully satisfied, there remained a portion of taste, zeal, and talent to be employed in purely literary and scientific pursuits; when the public mind was prepared to acknowledge and appreciate any really superior merit, that might present itself, in those departments; when in fact the nation, having been somewhat galled by the continual sneers of a set of heartless and senseless foreigners upon our want of literary talent, was rather anxious to possess some positive facts, which could be offered as evidence to the contrary, and was prepared of course to hail the appearance of a writer of undoubted talent, with a kind of patriotic enthusiasm; when finally, for all these reasons, the first example of success, that should be given in this way, would naturally be followed by an extensive developement of the same sort of activity, throughout the country, in the persons of a host of literary aspirants, sometimes directly imitating their prototype, and always inspired and encouraged by his good fortune, who would make up together the front rank of what is com-

monly called a school of polite literature. To set this example was the brilliant part reserved, in the course of our literary history, for Mr Washington Irving. His universal popularity among readers of all classes, on both sides of the Atlantic, resting exclusively on the purely literary merit of his productions, wholly independent of extraneous or interested motives, attested by repeated successes, in various forms of composition, and stamped by the concurrence and approbation of the most acute, judicious, and unsparing critics, justifies, beyond a shadow of doubt, his pretension to be viewed as the valorous knight, who was called, in the order of destiny, to break the spell, which appeared, at least to our good natured European brethren, to be thrown over us in this respect; to achieve the great and hitherto unaccomplished adventure of establishing a purely American literary reputation of the first order; and demonstrate the capacity of his countrymen to excel in the elegant, as they had before done in all the useful and solid branches of learning. To have done this is a singular title of honor, and will always remain such, whatever laurels of a different kind may hereafter be won by other pretenders. Thoroughly labored and highly finished as they all are, Mr Irving's works will hardly be surpassed in their way. Other writers may no doubt arise, in the course of time, who will exhibit in verse or prose a more commanding talent, and soar a still loftier flight in the empyrean sky of glory. Some western Homer, Shakspeare, Milton, Corneille, or Calderon, may irradiate our literary world with a flood of splendor, that shall throw all other greatness into the shade. This or something like it may or may not happen; but even if it should, it can never be disputed that the mild and beautiful genius of Mr Irving was the Morning-Star, that led up the march of our heavenly host; and that he has a fair right, much fairer certainly than the great Mantuan, to assume the proud device, *Primus ego in patriam*. To have done this, we repeat, is a singular triumph, far higher than that of merely adding another name to a long list of illustrious predecessors, who flourished in the same country. It implies not merely taste and talent, but *originality*, the quality which forms the real distinction, if there be one, between what we call *genius* and every other degree of intellectual power; the quality, in comparison with which, as Sir Walter Scott justly observes, all other literary accomplishments are as dust in the balance. It implies moreover the possession of high and honorable moral

qualities ; the bold and daring resolution, that plans with vigor and decision ; the unyielding firmness of purpose, that never tires or falters in the task of execution. These qualities, which are obviously necessary to such success as that of Mr Irving, have also, as exemplified in his writings, been carefully kept within bounds, and have not only been prevented from running into their kindred excesses, but, on the contrary, have been judiciously and gracefully veiled from the public eye, by the outward forms that rather belong to a character of an opposite cast ; a modesty, that has never deserted him under all his popularity, and a scrupulous regard for decorum and propriety as well as the higher principles of morals, from which the dazzling success, that has unfortunately attended a different line of conduct in some contemporary writers, has never for a moment induced him to deviate. This combination of estimable and in some respects almost contradictory moral qualities, with a high intellectual power and fine taste, tends to render the influence of Mr Irving's example not less favorable to the country, in a moral point of view, than it is in a purely literary one.

The great effect which it has produced, in this latter respect, is sufficiently evident already, in the number of good writers, in various forms of elegant literature, who have sprung up among us within the few years which have elapsed since the appearance of Mr Irving, and who justify our preceding remark, that he may fairly be considered as the founder of a school. We have already a novelist of extraordinary power and facility, decidedly original, although in form an imitator ; and second only in popularity, among contemporary writers of his class, to his celebrated model. We have a second novelist of gentler mien, as befits her sex, whose rapid and constantly progressive improvement seems to indicate, that she is destined one day to approach, if not to equal or surpass, the merit of her amiable sister of the Emerald Isle. We have several youthful poets, who have already earned, by the best and purest arts, an early reputation, which the labors of their riper age will no doubt extend and enlarge. To these distinguished examples might be added a long list of other aspirants of various, in some instances perhaps, not inferior degrees of excellence ; and when we take into view, at the same time, the remarkable developement of literary taste, the increased demand for books and journals, the improvements in the modes and means of education, and the augmented attention which is given, in every

way, to science and letters, we have a full right to assume that a decided change has taken place, in this respect, in the state of the country within the last fifteen or twenty years. We mean not of course to say, that this change is entirely owing to the example and success of Mr Irving. We have on the contrary already explained, in sufficient detail, that his appearance was in itself one of the results of the same general causes, that produced the other effects to which we have alluded. We only intend to intimate, that he has the peculiar merit and fortune of having taken the lead, under the influence of these causes, in a course, in which he could not but be followed and sustained by numerous successors, who would of necessity be more or less affected by the form and character of his productions. The fact that several of the more distinguished writers, who have since appeared, are from his own state,—while it is partly accounted for by the vast extent, population, wealth, and generally thriving situation of that ‘empire in embryo,’ New York; circumstances which all tend very strongly to stimulate every form of intellectual activity,—must nevertheless be regarded in part, as a proof of the direct operation of the success of Mr Irving.

Having thus noticed the circumstances, that attended the appearance of this writer in the literary career, we shall now offer a few observations on the character and value of his works. We trust that, in treating this subject somewhat fully, we shall not be considered, by our readers, as giving it a disproportionate importance. Independently of the fact, that discussions of a purely literary character form an agreeable variety in a journal intended for readers of various descriptions, and are perhaps (as far as respects the topic) not less acceptable to many than the essays on the graver themes that generally occupy our pages, we may add that their real importance is not to be measured by the extent of their influence on passing events. Science and letters touch the secret springs, that regulate the whole complicated movement of the political machine; while the business of administration, with all its bustle and parade, and in all its different departments of war-making, peace-making, speech-making, tax laying and gathering, office seeking and holding, and so forth, can only terminate at best in winding up the said machine, and keeping it in action. Hence it is, that in civilized periods, the literature of one age determines in a great degree the history of the next. *Voltaire*, said his

friend Condorcet at the hottest epoch of the French revolution, *n'a pas vu tout ce qu'il a fait, mais il a fait tout ce que nous voyons*. The nature of the operation of the writings of one generation on the form and spirit of society in the next, depends very much on the manner, in which they are received as merely literary productions by contemporaries. Literary and critical discussions are not therefore, as some suppose, merely valuable as the elegant recreations of opulent leisure, but are essentially connected with interests of deep and lasting importance.

If we examine the works of Mr Irving, with reference to the usual division of manner and substance, we may remark, in the first place, that his style is undoubtedly one of the most finished and agreeable forms, in which the English language has ever been presented. Lord Byron has somewhere spoken of him, as the second prose writer of the day, considering Sir Walter Scott as the first; but with due deference to his lordship's judgment, which was far from being infallible in criticism or anything else, we cannot but consider Mr Irving, as respects mere style, decidedly superior to Sir Walter. The latter, no doubt, has exhibited a greater vigor and fertility of imagination, which, with his talent for versification, entitle him to a higher rank in the world of letters; but viewing him merely as a prose writer, his style, when not sustained by the interest of a connected narrative, will be found to possess no particular merit, and in some of his later writings is negligent and incorrect to an extent, that places it below mediocrity. That of Mr Irving, on the contrary, is, in all his works, uniformly of the first order. Its peculiar characteristic is a continual and sustained elegance, the result of the union of a naturally fine taste, with conscientious and unwearied industry. His language is not remarkable for energy, nor have we often noticed in it any extraordinary happiness or brilliancy of mere expression. Though generally pure and correct, it is not uniformly so; and there are one or two unauthorized forms, which will be found by a nice observer to recur pretty often. Its attraction lies, as we have said, in the charm of finished elegance, which it never loses. The most harmonious and poetical words are carefully selected. Every period is measured and harmonized with nice precision. The length of the sentences is judiciously varied; and the *tout ensemble* produces on the ear an effect very little, if at all, inferior to that of the finest versification. Indeed such prose,

while it is from the nature of the topics substantially poetry, does not appear to us, when viewed merely as a form of language, to differ essentially from verse. The distinction between verse and prose evidently does not lie in *rhyme*, taking the word in its modern sense, or in any particular species of *rhythm*, as it was understood by the ancients. *Rhyme*, however pleasing to accustomed ears (and we 'own the soft impeachment' of relishing it as much as others), is, we fear, but too evidently a remnant of the false taste of a barbarous age; and of *rhythm* there are a thousand varieties in the poetry of every cultivated language, which agree in nothing, but that they are all harmonious arrangements of words. If then we mean by rhythm or verse merely the form of poetry, and not any particular measure or set of measures to which we are accustomed, it seems to imply nothing but such a disposition of words and sentences, as shall strike the ear with a regular melodious flow; and elegant prose, like that of Mr Irving, for instance, comes clearly within the definition. Nor are we quite sure that this delicate species of rhythm ought to be regarded as inferior in beauty to the more artificial ones. The latter, which are obvious and, as it were, coarse methods of arrangement, are perhaps natural to the ruder periods of language, and are absolutely necessary in poems intended for music; but for every other purpose it would seem, that the most perfect melody is that, which is most completely unfettered, and in which the traces of art are best concealed. There is something more exquisitely sweet in the natural strains of the Eolian harp, as they swell and fall upon the ear, under the inspiration of a gentle breeze, on a fine moonlight evening, than in the measured flow of any artificial music. But we must leave these considerations, which would admit of some developement, and return to our author.

If the elegant prose of Mr Irving be, as we think it is, but little inferior in beauty to the finest verse, and at all events one of the most finished forms of the English language, the character and the substance of his writings is also entirely and exclusively poetical. It is evident enough that 'divine Philosophy' has no part nor lot in his affections. Shakspeare, though he was willing to 'hang up philosophy,' out of compliment to the charming Juliet, when he chose to take it down again, could put the Seven Sages of Greece to the blush. But such is not the taste of Mr Irving. His aim is always to please; and nev-

er to instruct, at least by general truths. If he ever teaches, he confines himself to plain matter of fact. He even goes farther, and with the partiality of a true lover, who can see no beauty except in the eyes of his own mistress, he at times deals rather rudely with philosophy, and more than insinuates that she is a sort of prosing mad-cap, who babbles eternally without ever knowing what she is talking of. Now we hold this doctrine to be clearly heretical. We conceive that the universe is not less worthy of being studied as an expression of the pure and glorious *ideas* or images that dwell eternally in the Supreme mind, than when viewed merely as a pleasing and varied panorama, or moving picture; and that it even acquires, in the former case, a sublimity and beauty, of which it is not susceptible in the latter, and which, in all ages, have exalted and ravished the souls of the best and greatest men, the Platos and Ciceros of the olden time, and the Miltons and Newtons of the modern. But though we think Mr Irving heretical on this head, we can hardly say that we like him the less for it, being always pleased to see a man put his heart and soul into his business; whatever it may be, even though he may, by so doing, (as often happens) generate in himself a sort of hatred and contempt for every other. Within the domain of poetry, taking this word in its large sense, to which he religiously confines himself, Mr Irving's range is somewhat extensive. He does not attempt the sublime, but he is often successful in the tender, and disports himself, at his ease, in the comic. Humor is obviously his *forte*, and his best touches of pathos are those, which are thrown in casually, to break the continuity of a train of melancholy thoughts, when they sparkle in part by the effect of contrast, like diamonds on a black mantle. But it is when employed on humorous subjects, that he puts forth the vigor of a really inventive genius, and proves himself substantially a poet. 'Knickerbocker,' for example, is a true original creation. His purely pathetic essays, though occasionally pleasing, are more generally somewhat tame and spiritless. As a writer of serious biography and history he possesses the merit of plain and elegant narrative, but does not aspire to the higher palm of just and deep thought in the investigation of causes and effects, that constitutes the distinction of the real historian, and supposes the taste for philosophical research, which, as we have said before, is foreign to the temper of our author.

Such, as we conceive, are the general characteristics of the

style and substance of the works of Mr Irving. We notice their deficiencies and beauties with equal freedom, for such is our duty as public critics, and we have too much respect for our friend to suppose, that his appetite for fame requires to be gratified by unqualified praise. This can never, in any case, be merited, and is therefore always worthless; while the favorable effect of just and candid criticism is heightened, by a discriminating notice of the weak points, that are of course to be found in all productions. We shall now proceed to offer a few more particular observations upon the separate works, dividing them, for this purpose, into the two classes of those that were written before and after the author's departure for Europe. Although the general characteristics, which we have pointed out, are common to both these classes, there are some differences of manner between them, that are worth attention. The '*Life of Columbus*,' again, varies materially from any of the preceding publications, and will naturally be considered by itself, as the immediate subject of this article.

The former class comprehends *Salmagundi* and the *History of New York*, besides some smaller and less important productions. These exhibit the talent of the author, in the full perfection of its power, developing itself with a freshness and freedom, that have not perhaps been surpassed, or even equalled, in any of his subsequent writings, but directed, on the other hand, by a somewhat less sure and cultivated taste. There is a good deal of inequality in '*Salmagundi*,' owing probably in part to a mixture of contributions by other hands; but the better pieces are written in Mr Irving's best manner. Take it altogether, it was certainly a production of extraordinary merit, and was instantaneously and universally recognised as such by the public. It wants of course the graver merits of the modern British collections of *Essays*; but for spirit, effect, and actual literary value, we doubt whether any publication of the class since '*The Spectator*,' upon which it is directly modelled, can fairly be put in competition with it. We well remember the eagerness, with which the periodical return of the merry little yellow dwarf was anticipated by all classes of readers, and the hearty good will, with which he was welcomed.

'Sport that wrinkled care derides,
And Laughter holding both his sides,'

uniformly followed in his train. So irresistibly attractive and amusing were the quips and cranks of the odd group of mum-

mers that moved under his management, that our grave, business-loving, and somewhat disputatious citizens were taken, like Silence in the play, ere they were aware ; and when the show was over, were surprised, and in some cases rather chagrined, to find that they had been diverted from their habitual meditations on the Orders in Council and the New England Platform, by the unprofitable fooleries of the Cockloft family and the Little Man in Black, the state of the Tunisian Ambassador's wardrobe, and the tragical fate of poor Aunt Charity, who died of a Frenchman. Mr Irving appears to have had no other object in view, but that of making a sprightly book and laughing at everything laughable ; but the work necessarily assumed, to a certain extent, the shape of a satire on the abuses of popular government ; since the administration of the public affairs is the great scene of action, upon which the attention of the community is always fixed, and which must be treated, in jest or earnest, by all who mean to have an audience. The vices and follies, that most easily beset our practical statesmen, their endless prolixity in debate, their rage for the bloodless glory of heading the militia in a sham fight, their habitual waste of dollars in attempting to economize cents, are hit off in a very happy manner ; but as the satire is always general, and the malice at bottom good-natured and harmless, nobody took offence and we all laughed honestly and heartily ; each, as he supposed, at the expense of his neighbor. Nor are we to conclude that because Mr Irving has made the abuses of popular government, and the weaknesses incident to those who administer such a system, the objects of his satire, that he is a political heretic and a secret foe to liberty. The best human institutions are of course imperfect, and there is quite as much advantage to be derived from a just and good-humored exposition of the weak points of our own government, as from a continued fulsome and exaggerated panegyric on its merits. Mr Irving, we may add, was probably directed in the choice of the subjects on which to exercise his pleasantry, by the mere force of the circumstances under which he wrote, and not by any general views of the theory of government.

The decided success and universal popularity of his first attempt naturally encouraged him to repeat it, and '*Salmagundi*' was pretty soon followed by the *History of New York*. This we consider as equal to the best, and in some respects perhaps superior to any other of our author's productions. It is the

one, which exhibits most distinctly the stamp of real inventive power, the true test, as we have hinted, of genius. The plan, though simple enough, and when hit upon sufficiently obvious, is entirely original. In most other works of the same general class of political satire, such as those of Rabelais and Swift, the object of the work is effected by presenting real events and characters of dignity and importance in low and ludicrous shapes. 'Knickerbocker' reverses this plan, and produces effect by dressing up a mean and trifling fund of real history, in a garb of fictitious and burlesque gravity. The conception is akin, no doubt, to the general notion of the mock heroic, as exemplified, for instance, in Pope's 'Rape of the Lock,' but the particular form, in which it is applied by the learned and ingenious Diedrich, is not only unusually happy, but wholly new; and the work possesses of course a character of complete originality, which does not belong to any of the others. *The Stout Gentleman* is a second application of the same principle, still more exquisitely wrought up and only inferior in the comparative smallness of the canvass. The execution of 'Knickerbocker' corresponds in felicity with the merit of the plan. The graphic distinctness, with which the three Dutch governors, whom nobody ever heard of before, are made to pass before us, each endowed with his appropriate intellectual, moral, and personal habits and qualities, is quite admirable; and the political satire is conveyed with great effect, and at the same time in a very fine and delicate manner, through the medium of these remote characters of the old world. There are some ineffectual attempts at wit in particular passages, and here and there a little indelicacy, which is the more objectionable, as it is inconsistent with the plan of the mock heroic, and in place, if admitted at all, only in the *travestie*. There is also a somewhat uncouth display of commonplace historical learning in the first book, where the author, while in the act of ridiculing pedantry, as he supposes it to be exemplified in the person of the worthy 'Diedrich,' betrays, we fear, a slight shade of the same quality in himself. But notwithstanding these blemishes, which are indeed so trifling, that we are almost ashamed to have mentioned them, the execution of the 'History of New York' is in the main completely successful. If we were called on to give a preference to any one of our author's productions over all the rest, we should with little hesitation assign the palm to this.

These, with some smaller pieces to which we shall briefly advert hereafter, are all the works, which were published by Mr Irving before his departure for Europe, and which belong to what may be called his first manner. Soon after their appearance, he visited England, where, and in other parts of Europe, he has resided ever since ; and we heard nothing of him for several years, until at length he brought out the *Sketch Book*, which first made him known to the literary world abroad. In the long interval which had elapsed, since the appearance of his former productions, a 'change had come over the spirit of his dream.' Advancing years had probably a little moderated the exuberant flow of his youthful spirits, and the natural effect of time had, we fear, been increased by other causes ; if it be true, as we have reason to suppose, that our amiable countryman had in the interim taken some lessons in the school of that 'rugged nurse of virtue,' so beautifully celebrated by Gray, who has in all ages been but too much accustomed to extend the benefit of her tuition to the votaries of polite learning. Whether under the influence of these causes, aided perhaps by the wholesome terror, which an American candidate for European favor might be expected to feel of the iron rod of the ruling critics, or for whatever other reason, certain it is, that the genius of Mr Irving appeared to be a little rebuked at this his second apparition, and spoke in a partially subdued tone. The characteristics of the 'Sketch Book' are essentially the same with those of the preceding works ; but, with somewhat more polish and elegance, it has somewhat less vivacity, freshness, and power. This difference constitutes the distinction between Mr Irving's first and second manner, the latter of which is preserved in all his subsequent publications, excepting the one now immediately before us. Of these two manners the one or the other may perhaps be preferred by different readers, according to their different tastes. We incline ourselves to the former, conceiving that spirit and vigor are the highest qualities of style, and that the loss of any merit of this description is but poorly compensated by a little additional finish. The change would have been however of less importance, had it appeared only in the language, but it is also displayed in the substance of the second series of publications ; and it is here particularly, that we discover what we deem the unpropitious influence of a residence abroad on our author's talent. Not only is his language less free and sparkling, but the reach of his

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inventive power seems to be reduced. The Crayons and Bracebridges, including Master Simon, are Sketches indeed, and in water colors, compared with the living roaring group of Cockloft Hall; and although we find occasional returns of the author's best manner in 'The Stout Gentleman,' 'Rip Van Winkle,' 'Sleepy Hollow,' 'The Money-diggers,' and so forth, the rich material employed in these pieces is not, as before, the staple of the work, but a passing refreshment, that serves excellently well to remind us of what we wanted, but from the smallness of its quantity rather awakens than satisfies the appetite.

As it is difficult or rather impossible to suppose any actual diminution of power in the author, we must take for granted, that the difference in question is owing to the change in the general character of his subject. Humor and satire are, as we said before, evidently his *forte* and these compose the substance of the preceding works. There is but little attempt at the pathos in 'Salmagundi,' and none in 'Knickerbocker.' The subjects of satire are principally the abuses of government and the follies of leading characters and classes; and hence these works, though light in form, have an elevated object, which gives them dignity and solid value. Looking at them in a literary point of view, the circumstance of writing upon subjects actually before his eyes gives his pictures the truth to nature, which is the chief element of all excellence in art. Had the author proceeded on the same plan in his latter publications, he would have taken for his subject the abuses of government and the follies of leading classes and characters, as exemplified in the old countries. This again would have opened a field for the exercise of his peculiar talent, still more rich and various than the former one. Into this, however, whether from a terror of criticism, a wish to conciliate all parties alike, a natural modesty, a want of acquaintance with foreign manners and institutions, or for whatever reason, he did not choose to enter. Indeed the task of satirizing the manners and institutions of a country, in which one is at the time residing as a guest, is so ungracious, that we can neither wonder nor regret, that Mr Irving should have shrunk from it with instinctive disgust. It is nevertheless certain, that the subjects alluded to are the best, indeed almost the only good ones, for lively and pungent satire; and that in voluntarily resigning them, our author was compelled to deprive himself almost wholly of the use of his favorite and most efficient instrument. He still, it is true, ex-

ercises it with no little skill and success, upon subjects afforded by the fund of vice and folly common to all nations, as in the story of the Lambs and the Trotters, but we think with less effect, than when following his original instinct, and laughing *con amore* at the peculiar foibles of his own dear countrymen. Conscious probably that the field for satire, which he felt himself at liberty to explore, was less rich and productive than he could have wished, he calls in the aid of the pathetic and sentimental; in which departments, though, as we have said before, occasionally successful, he is seldom eminently so,—seldom exhibits the bright, sharp, true expression of nature, which we see in his best comic pictures. In other portions of these works, such as the whole description of Bracebridge Hall, as it appears in the ‘Sketch Book,’ and the work of that name, the tone wavers between the sentimental and the comic, and we hardly know whether the author meant to ridicule or eulogize the manners he describes; which, however, are in either case evidently manners of his own creation, having no prototype in this or any other period of English history. Bracebridge Hall with its Christmas sports and its Rookery, its antiquarian Squire, and its Master Simon, is as much a castle of fairy land, as the one in which the Fata Morgana held entranced for six hundred years the redoubtable champion of Denmark. The British country squire is now, as he ever was, and probably ever will be, either a fox-hunter or a politician. Western and Allworthy are the only two varieties of the species; and the squire of Mr Irving, with his indifference to politics, and his taste for black-letter lore, is as completely a fancy-piece, as the Centaurs and Harpies of the ancient poets. These castles in Spain occupy a considerable portion of the second series of works; and we really cannot but wonder how Mr Irving, generally so just and acute an observer of nature, should have failed so completely in seizing the true aspect of rural life in England, or why, if he saw it as it is, he should have given us an unreal mockery of it instead of a correct picture. It is refreshing and delightful to find how, under all the disadvantages of writing on domestic subjects in a foreign land, he recovers his wonted power, and disports himself with his pristine grace and sprightliness, the moment that he lays the scene of his fable at home. No sooner does he catch a glimpse of the venerable Kaatskill, lifting his shaggy head over his white ruff of ambient clouds, and frowning on the glorious Hudson as it rolls

below; no sooner do the antique gable-roofed domes of the Manhattoes, and Albany, and the classic shades of Communi-paw rise upon his fancy, than 'his foot is on his native heath and his name is M'Gregor.' When we think of this, although we rejoice that Mr Irving has been able, as he might not otherwise have been, to levy a large and liberal golden contribution from the superfluity of the mother country, this being, as it were, a spoiling of the Egyptians, we sometimes regret, for his own fame, that he ever left America. There was a fund of truth, as well as ill nature, in the remark of one of the paltry, scandal-mongering novelists of the day, that Mr Irving would have done better to stay at home, and pass his life among the beavers.

We have stated above, that the sentiment, which probably induced Mr Irving to refrain from exercising his satirical talent upon the institutions and public characters of Great Britain, was a natural and highly laudable one; but we cannot conscientiously speak with the same approbation of his apparent disposition to represent the British aristocracy under a favorable point of view, as compared with the other classes of the people. If this representation were true, we should not object to it, although the sort of complacency, with which it is put forward, would still, in a foreigner and a republican, be somewhat ungraceful. But the worst of it is, that it is obviously and notoriously the reverse of the truth. Let us take as an example the account given in the 'Sketch Book' of the author's attendance on public worship at a village church, where he met with the family of a nobleman and that of a wealthy merchant. The former, especially the young men and women, were all attention, candor, simplicity, and true moral dignity; the latter all bad taste, affectation, and vulgarity. Now every one, who has seen anything of Europe, knows perfectly well, and Mr Irving certainly by this time, whatever he may have done when he wrote the 'Sketch Book,' better than any body, that if there be a class of persons in that part of the world, who as a class may be said to be more deficient than any other in simplicity, candor, and a correct notion of true moral dignity, it is precisely this very British aristocracy, especially in its younger branches, to which our author attributes these virtues. We should say no more than might be inferred from that portion of the popular literature of the day in England, which illustrates the manners and morals of fashionable life, did we assert, that,

if there be, in the known world, an animal, who by the general consent of all who are acquainted with his habits, realizes the idea of complete *puppyism* and is in the strict sense of the term *insupportable*, it is the young Englishman of rank and fortune. His candor, simplicity, and notion of moral dignity are exhibited in a drawling, affected pronunciation; a foppish dress; manners at once awkward and impertinent; the habitual use of the grossest and most profane language; an ignorant and contemptuous disregard for religion and morality, for the noble pursuits of philosophy, literature, science, and the elegant arts, even for politics, the regular occupation of his order; and an exclusive devotion to coarse and rude sports, gaming, and licentious indulgence of the lowest and foulest kind, for he has not even elevation enough to be refined in his vices. We know that there are honorable exceptions to this remark. Such was the late amiable and excellent Earl of Guildford, the founder of the University of Corfu. Such were the four young gentlemen, members of parliament, who lately honored this country with their presence. Such have been and are several others of those, who have visited this country on official errands, being naturally gentlemen selected for their talent, industry, and capacity for business. But such as we have stated, is the character of the class. It was lately held up, in bold relief, to the horror and disgust of the world, by Lord Byron, who combined a genius of his own with some of the moral qualities of his order. Such is the generation which Mr Irving represents as models of simplicity, candor, and moral dignity. On the other hand, the wealthy merchants of England and other parts of Europe, with their families, afford perhaps on the whole the most favorable specimen that could be selected from the educated classes, of those very virtues, with which our author compliments the aristocracy at their expense. They are distinguished by intelligence, information, activity, application to business, and as a natural consequence, correct and decorous habits; and if not a deep sense of the importance of religion and morality, an external regard at least for their practical injunctions. These valuable qualities are often united with a love for polite literature and the fine arts, as in the case of Mr Roscoe, or a successful cultivation of the more solid branches of science, as in the honorable example of the late Mr Ricardo. The vulgar, purse-proud, ignorant merchant of Mr Irving, is an exception or a fancy-piece, probably in him a reminis-

cence of the false tone, on this subject, that pervaded the polite literature of England a century or two ago; and his candid young nobleman is merely a little Sir Charles Grandison in a blue frock and white pantaloons, at whose formal manners, and patriarchal ignorance of the world, the real dandy of the present day would be the first to shrug up his shoulders with ineffable contempt, and a perfect conviction of own superiority.

While we have felt it a duty to point out this error in the tone and spirit of Mr Irving's later works, we must add, that we do not, as some have done, attribute it to any hankering in him after the aristocratic institutions and habits of Europe. We acquit him entirely, as we have said before, of political heresy; and without supposing him to be deeply versed in the theory of government, we have no doubt that he is strongly and sincerely attached to the republican institutions and forms established in his country. Neither do we believe, that he was influenced in making this representation, by an interested wish to conciliate the British aristocracy, for the purpose of obtaining their patronage as a writer, or admission into their circles as a gentleman. We have too high an opinion of Mr Irving's independence, delicacy, and elevation of mind, to suspect him for a moment of such baseness. We think it probable, that he wrote the parts of his work to which we now allude, under the influence of an illusion, resulting naturally from his former situation and literary habits. Without having studied the subject of government very deeply in the abstract, or possessing probably any very precise general notions respecting it, he was led by the original bent of his mind and his local and social position, to employ himself, for several years, in ridiculing the abuses of popular institutions, and the peculiar follies and weaknesses of republican statesmen. Thus far he kept himself within the line of truth and nature; for popular governments, however valuable, certainly have their defects, and republican statesmen, like all other mortals, their besetting sins and characteristic foibles. Now, although it does by no means follow from this, that monarchy is a perfect system, or an established aristocracy *ex officio* a corps of Lord Orvilles and Sir Charles Grandisons, it was perhaps not unnatural, that Mr Irving, habitually gathering his impressions more from impulse and feeling than argument, should, by constantly looking at the ridiculous features of one form, be led to take up a too flattering idea

of the other. Some such mental operation as this appears to have been the source of the illusion under which, as we conceive, he was at one time laboring; and when he wrote the 'Sketch Book,' where the error in question is most apparent, he probably had not had much opportunity to bring his ideal picture to the test of comparison with real life, for it was not, we believe, until he had acquired a high reputation in England, by the publication of this work, that he frequented very intimately the circles of the British aristocracy. We have reason to suppose that he has since reformed his theory on this subject, and we mention the fact with pleasure, as a proof that the opportunities he has had for actual observation, have not been lost upon his naturally acute and sagacious, as well as sensitive mind.

Having thus cleared our consciences (we trust without doing injustice to our author) by pointing out certain particulars, in which we consider his European manner inferior to his American one, we return with pleasure to the remark we made before, that the former has somewhat more of elegance and polish than the latter; that the characteristics of both are (with the deductions we have specified) substantially the same; that all his productions are among the most agreeable and attractive, as they certainly have been among the most popular of the time; that they do the highest honor to himself and through him to his country; and that he has already secured and will permanently maintain, in our literary annals, the brilliant position of the harbinger and founder of the American school of polite learning.

We come now to the 'History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus,' which has furnished the immediate subject and occasion of the present article. This work differs essentially in manner, as we have already said, from any of the preceding. It exemplifies on a larger scale, and in a more complete and finished way, the plan of the short biographical sketches, which the author published before his departure for Europe, principally of contemporary officers of the navy. We shall first endeavor to ascertain the class of historical writing to which it belongs, and then make a few remarks upon the merit of the execution and the general value of the work.

The great division of this department of literature, is into the two classes of philosophical and purely narrative history. They are not, it is true, separated by a very strict line, but on

the contrary run into each other, each possessing to a certain extent the peculiar characteristics of both ; but the distinction is nevertheless real, and whenever a writer has talent enough to give his work a marked character, it is evident at once, to which of the two classes it belongs. The object of philosophical history is to set forth, by a record of real events, the general principles, which regulate the march of political affairs ; that of purely narrative history, to give a correct and lively picture of the same events, as they pass before the eye of the world, but with little or no reference to their causes or effects. It is obvious, that these two sorts of history are not only essentially different, but that they belong respectively to two very different and in some respects opposite departments of literature. The distinction between them is the same as that between Laplace's 'Exposition of the System of the Universe,' and a description in words of the various constellations and planets that are laid down in the charts of the celestial sphere, as they appear in the blue vault of heaven to the ordinary observer. The same facts undoubtedly form the groundwork of both, but the object, the mode of execution, the peculiar capacity and disposition respectively supposed in the authors of each, and the pleasure afforded by each, when the plan is executed with talent and success, are very different ; and that to such a degree, that the two works appertain to the adverse domains of philosophy and poetry. History, therefore, which Lord Bacon describes as a third department of learning, entirely separate from the two just mentioned, seems to be in fact a divided empire, situated between the others, and acknowledging, in the part bordering upon each, the jurisdiction of its more independent neighbor. Philosophical history is properly a branch of philosophy, since its purpose is to teach general truths in the form of narrative ; while purely narrative history, which merely offers a picture of the outside of passing or past events, is, when properly written, substantially poetry. To inquire which of these two sorts of history has the superior rank, would be in one respect to compare things which admit of no comparison. Who can pretend to say whether a brilliant thought is more beautiful than a bright eye, or whether Newton's 'Principia' is a greater work than the *Iliad* ? Nevertheless, as history occupies a middle region between the two great adverse realms of learning, and partakes, in some degree, of the characters of both, we may, in this instance, institute such a comparison with less

impropriety, and the palm would perhaps be assigned, without much hesitation, to the philosophical over the merely narrative historian; for the poet, by restricting himself within the limits of real facts, loses for the time the use of his highest attribute, and that which properly gives him his name, original creation or invention, and thus voluntarily places himself on a secondary line, in the scale of his own art; while philosophy, when 'teaching by example,' without abandoning any of her peculiar advantages, borrows, for the occasion, the airs and graces of her more attractive sister, since the facts which she relates, with whatever purpose of instruction, may and must be told with elegance and spirit. In other words, a first-rate philosophical history can only be written by a person, who combines most of the essential talents and accomplishments of the philosopher and the poet; while a purely narrative history of corresponding merit in its way, might be produced by a poet of a secondary order who had no tincture of philosophy. The former, taken in the abstract, must therefore be considered, on the whole, as the decidedly superior form of writing.

Mr Irving's present work, if technically classed according to the general principles just stated, belongs to the lower species of history, and is so described by himself in his preface. 'In the execution of this work,' he remarks, 'I have avoided indulging in mere speculations or general reflections, excepting such as naturally arose out of the subject, preferring to give a minute and circumstantial narrative, omitting no particular that appeared characteristic of the persons, the events, or the times; and endeavoring to place every fact under such a point of view, that the reader might perceive its merits, and draw his own maxims and conclusions.' The omission of all general speculation is indeed a good deal more complete than this preliminary declaration would have necessarily led us to suppose it, since the exception of 'such reflections as naturally arise out of the subject' would admit almost any degree of latitude in this respect. In point of fact, there is no political speculation whatever, the very few reflections that are interspersed being on matters of ordinary private morality. In giving this color to his work, Mr Irving doubtless followed instinctively the natural bent of his genius, which does not incline him, as we have repeatedly observed, to philosophical researches; but he has thereby produced a much more valua-

ble literary monument, than with his peculiar taste and talent, he could have done in a different way. In estimating the positive worth of particular works, we must take into view the merit of the execution, as well as the dignity of the class to which they belong ; and if the latter be, in the present instance, of a secondary order (though still secondary only as compared with the very highest and most glorious exercises of intellect), yet such have been the good taste and felicity of our author, in the selection of his subject ; such his diligence, research, and perseverance in collecting and employing his materials ; and such his care in giving the highest finish and perfection to the style ; that he has been able to bring out a work, which will rank with the very best histories of any age or nation, which will take a permanent place in the classical literature of the language, which is, in fact, one of the most agreeable, instructive, and really valuable productions to be met with any where, and one that, as we remarked above, does, on the whole, more honor to the learning of our country, than any previous work written on this side of the Atlantic.

For the particular kind of historical writing, in which Mr Irving is fitted to labor and to excel, the 'Life of Columbus' is undoubtedly one of the best, perhaps we might say without the fear of mistake, the very best subject afforded by the annals of the world. While his discoveries possess the importance belonging to political events of the first magnitude, the generous elevation of his mind, the various fortunes that chequered his course, and the singularity, the *uniquity* rather, if we may be allowed to coin a word, of his achievements, throw a sort of poetical and romantic coloring over his adventures, and render him of all others the fittest hero for a work of this description, which, as we have shown above, is essentially a poem. The only objection, that could possibly be made to the choice of the subject, would be, that it was before exhausted ; and this has in fact been said, by some of the newspaper critics of the mother country. The assertion is however quite groundless. Before the publication of the work before us, there was no satisfactory account of Columbus in any language. The one given by his son is, as is well known, merely a brief and imperfect sketch ; and the portion of Robertson's 'America' which is devoted to him, though as large as it could be with propriety, considering the author's plan, did not allow a detailed and accurate investigation of the events of his life. Into this

and other general histories, Columbus enters partially as one of the leading personages of the age, and is treated in connexion with the rest; but the singular splendor and prodigious permanent importance of his actions, as well as the moral grandeur and sublimity of his character, entitled him fully to the honor of a separate and detailed biography. How much finer and loftier a subject is he, than his contemporary Charles the Fifth, who has yet furnished a theme for one of the best histories in the language! The materials, printed and manuscript, were ample, but not accessible in their full extent, excepting to a person resident, for the time, in the capital of Spain. We consider it therefore as a singularly fortunate circumstance, that Mr Irving should have been led, in the course of his pilgrimage abroad, to visit this, on some accounts, unattractive part of Europe. Thus favorably situated, and possessed of all the talent and industry necessary for the purpose, he has at length filled up the void, that before existed, in this respect, in the literature of the world, and produced a work, which will fully satisfy the public, and supersede the necessity of any future labors in the same field. While we venture to predict that the adventures of Columbus will hereafter be read only in the work of Mr Irving, we cannot but think it a beautiful coincidence, that the task of duly celebrating the achievements of the discoverer of our continent, should have been reserved for one of its inhabitants; and that the earliest professed author of first-rate talent, who appeared among us, should have devoted one of his most important and finished works to this pious purpose.

‘Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector’s shade.’

In treating this happy and splendid subject, Mr Irving has brought out the full force of his genius as far as a just regard for the principles of historical writing would admit. This kind of history, although it belongs essentially to the department of poetry, does not of course afford any room for the display of the creative power in the invention of facts or characters; but, in this case, the real facts and characters far surpass in brilliancy any possible creation of mere fancy, and in the other requisites of fine poetry, a judicious selection and disposition of the materials, a correct, striking, and discriminating picture of the different personages, a just and elevated tone of moral feeling, and above all, the charm of an elegant, perspicuous, and flowing style, Mr Irving leaves us nothing to desire, and with all, who

can look beyond mere forms and names into the substance of things, sustains his right, which he had before established, to the fame of a real poet. To say that this work is superior to any professed poem, that has yet been published, on the life of Columbus, would be giving it but poor praise; since the subject, although attempted by bards of no slight pretensions, has not yet been treated in verse with eminent success. We would go farther than this, and express the opinion, that Mr Irving's production may be justly ranked with the fine narrative or epic poems of the highest reputation. A polished and civilized age may well be supposed to prefer, especially in a long composition, the delicate melody of flowing prose, setting forth a spirited and elegant picture of actual life, to the 'specious wonders' of Olympus or fairy land, expressed in artificial measures, strains and subjects that seem more naturally adapted to a yet unformed, than to a mature and perfect taste. Hence a fine history and a fine novel may perhaps with propriety be viewed as the greater and lesser epic (to use the technical terms) of a cultivated period, when verse is better reserved for short poems accompanied by music. But however this may be, and with whatever class of compositions we may rank the work before us, its execution entirely corresponds, as we have said before, with the beauty of the subject, and leaves of course but little room for the labor of the critic. The interest of the narrative is completely sustained from the beginning to the conclusion, and is equal throughout, for any mature mind, to that of the best romance. Instinctively pursuing the bent of his genius, the author has everywhere brought out into full relief the most poetical features of the story. He dwells, for instance, with peculiar pleasure on the golden age of innocence and happiness, that reigned among the natives of Haiti before the arrival of the Spaniards. The careless and luxurious indulgence, in which they passed their peaceful hours beneath 'the odorous shade of their boundless forests,' under the amiable sway of a beautiful Queen, who is represented as charming their leisure with her own sweet poetry, seems to realize the notion of an earthly elysium; and if there be, as there probably is, some little exaggeration in the coloring of the picture, it must be viewed as a natural effect of the just indignation and horror, with which we contemplate the devilish malice which afterwards carried death and destruction through these bowers of simple bliss. The two leading personages are happily con-

trasted, not by labored parallels, but indirectly by the mere progress of the story. The towering sublimity and bold creative genius of the Admiral ; the sagacity, activity, and dauntless courage of the Adelantado ; the faithful and tender attachment with which they stood by each other, through a long life of labor, danger, and suffering ; these are moral traits, that furnish out another picture, not less beautiful and even more edifying, than that of the Indian Paradise.

We are grateful to Mr Irving, for bringing particularly into view the high religious feeling, which uniformly governed the mind of Columbus, which led him to consider himself as an agent, expressly selected by Providence for the accomplishment of great and glorious objects,—and how, but by a poor quibble upon words, can we refuse him that character?—which induced him finally to look forward to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, as the last labor of his life, to be undertaken after the complete accomplishment of all his projects in the New World. If there be any error in the passages, which treat of this particular, it consists in underrating the merit of this conception of Columbus, which appears to be viewed by Mr Irving as the effect of an amiable, but somewhat visionary and mistaken enthusiasm. The plan was no doubt, as entertained by Columbus, the result of a high religious enthusiasm, and so was that of his grand discovery ; but this feeling acted, in both cases, under the direction of an extraordinarily sound and acute judgment, and with the aid of all the learning of the age. The recovery of Palestine was a project not only dear to every Christian heart as such, but recommended by the strongest motives of state policy, at a time when the Ottoman Power was developing itself in the plenitude of life and vigor ; already overshadowing Christian Europe, and from year to year menacing its whole commonwealth of nations, with complete subjugation. Let it be remembered, that it was not till half a century after the death of Columbus, that the sea-fight of Lepanto broke the naval power of the Turks ; that as lately as the year 1688, their armies invested Vienna, which would undoubtedly have fallen and left the road open to Paris, had not the siege been raised by the timely arrival of the king of Poland ; let these facts, we say, be remembered, and we shall not probably consider the scheme of the Admiral so visionary, as it might be thought upon a merely superficial view of the present state of the world. The religious enthusiasm, which has more or less inspired the Europe-

ans in their wars against the Turks, has in fact, from the commencement of these wars up to the present day, coincided with the suggestions, not so much of good policy, as of strict self-defence. The Mahometans have been throughout the aggressors. They subdued the whole of Christian Asia and Africa (which they still retain in brutal oppression and debasement), subdued some of the fairest portions of Christian Europe, such as Spain, Greece, and parts of Italy, and had pushed their arms into the very heart of France, when they received the first check, from Charles Martel, at the battle of Tours. All these aggressions on the Christians were entirely unprovoked. When the tide of invasion was once checked, the only skilful and scientific plan of conducting the war was, of course, to carry it back into the enemy's territory, in which Palestine, from its central position, was the proper point of attack. Such was the principle of the long series of wars denominated Crusades, which occupy two or three centuries of the history of Europe; nor, although the danger of any farther progress on the part of the Turks has for some time past disappeared, will they ever cease to be regarded as public and permanent enemies, until the present or some future generation shall have completely recovered from them the lost domains of Christendom, and planted the standard of our religion on every fortress from the Indus to the Senegal.

It would give us pleasure to expatiate at greater length upon the merit of the beautiful and valuable work before us; but we perceive that we have reached the proper limit of an article, and must here close our remarks. We cannot however refrain from expressing our satisfaction, at the very favorable manner with which Mr Irving's '*Life of Columbus*' compares with one or two works of a similar kind, that were published about the same time by the best writers of the mother country. The '*Life of Napoleon*' by Sir Walter Scott, and the '*Life of Sheridan*' by Moore, particularly the former, resemble it so nearly in plan and form, that, coming out, as they all did, about the same time, they exhibit in a manner a trial of skill between three of the most elegant writers of the day. We feel a good deal of pride as Americans in adding, that our countryman appears to have retired from this dangerous contest with a very decided advantage, we think we might say a complete victory, over both his competitors. We mean not to deprive these illustrious transatlantic bards of any fame, to which they may be justly entitled,

by the productions in question ; nor do we mean to represent Mr Irving's general reputation as at present superior or equal to theirs. We simply state the fact as it is, considering it to be one highly honorable to our countryman and our country. We shall even go farther, being in a patriotic vein, and while we freely admit that Mr Irving's fame is and ought to be at present inferior to that of the two British poets abovementioned, we shall take the liberty of adding, that we are not quite sure whether it will always remain so. Moore and Scott have already done their best, and from the character of their productions for some years past, as compared with those of earlier date, it is evident that they will not hereafter excel or perhaps equal their past efforts. Mr Irving's talent seems to us, on the contrary, to be in a state of progress ; for although his second manner be, as we think, inferior, on the whole, to his first, the difference is not, as we have already expressly stated, owing to any decay of genius, but to an unfavorable change of scene and subject ; and in this first specimen of a *third* series of publications, we recognise, though under a somewhat graver form, a developement of power superior to that which is displayed by any of the preceding ones, even should the 'History of New York' as a bold original creation, be considered as belonging to a higher class of writings. We also recognise in the selection of the subject, the persevering industry with which the work has been executed, and the high tone of moral feeling that runs through the whole of it, the symptoms of a noble spirit, on which the intoxicating cup of public applause acts as a stimulant rather than an opiate. Mr Irving is still in the vigor of life and health ; and when we see him advancing in his course in this way, with renovated courage and redoubled talent at an age when too many hearts begin to wax prematurely faint, we are induced to anticipate the happiest results from his future labors ; and are far from being certain, as we said above, that he may not in the end eclipse the most illustrious of his present contemporaries and rivals. We rejoice to find, from the selection of the subject of the work now before us, that though long a wanderer, his thoughts are still bent on the land of his birth. Although we wish not to hasten his return before the period when he shall himself deem it expedient, we indulge the hope that he will sooner or later fix his residence among us, and can assure him that whenever he may think proper to do so, he will be welcomed by his countrymen as a well deserving

citizen and a public benefactor. When he shall be seated again upon his native soil, among his beavers, if Mr D'Israeli pleases, when he shall again apply to those subjects of strictly native origin, in which his genius seems to take most delight, the force of his mature talent, and the lights of his long and varied experience, we think we may expect with reason a *fourth* series of publications, that shall surpass in value all the preceding ones, including even that, which he has now so honorably opened with the work before us.

ART. VII.—*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* In Two Volumes. By MOSES STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 288. Andover. Mark Newman. 1827.

THE volume before us is an elaborate and luminous critical Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is intended to prepare the way for the Commentary, contained in the second volume. The subject, even to the general reader, we have considered of sufficient importance, to devote a portion of our pages to its consideration.

Who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews? this is one of the inquiries on which Professor Stuart enters, with his usual ardor and diligence. He takes no superficial or partial view of the subject; and after a most laborious examination of all the evidence in the case, he comes to the conclusion that the writer was the Apostle Paul. He exhibits the various points of ancient testimony, and internal evidence; and he meets the objections of opponents with fairness and christian dignity. We hesitate not to pronounce his work the best defence of the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that can be found in the English, or in any other language. Hereafter, no one, we hope, who makes any pretensions to candor or to scholarship, will venture to reject the apostolic authority of this Epistle, without having read with care the profound discussion of it which is contained in the present volume. It is a light against which one cannot, with a good conscience, close his eyes.

The work indeed is adapted, not so much to popular use, as to the instruction and assistance of the learned. The nature of the investigations compelled the author to address those chiefly who are extensively versed in sacred literature and the principles of sacred criticism. But though such readers will the most easily feel the full force of the whole, yet others that are zealously seeking for the truth, need not be appalled. They will, without much difficulty, be able to follow him in the general scope of his arguments. And they will be willing, for the satisfaction of the more learned, to let the witnesses, that are summoned from distant ages and countries, appear in their own antique dress, and speak in their own language; the rather, as a faithful interpretation of their testimony is also, for the most part, given in English.

We proceed to lay before our readers a statement, as concise and simple as we can make it, of some of the principal facts and considerations which regard the authorship of this epistle.

Pantænus, who flourished about A. D. 180, and was the principal of the Christian school at Alexandria in Egypt, is the first writer, whose testimony on this subject has descended to us; and he speaks of the epistle as being certainly Paul's, and endeavors to account for that apostle's not having prefixed to it his name. The remarks of Pantænus were inserted in a work entitled *Sketches*, by his disciple and successor, Clement of Alexandria. The work, as a whole, is now lost; but an extract, embracing what was cited by Clement, from Pantænus, is preserved by Eusebius, in his '*Ecclesiastical History*,' (b. vi. ch. 14.) This fragment, which has so narrowly escaped the ravages of time, shows unequivocally, that Pantænus regarded it as an established point, that the epistle proceeded from Paul.

Clement of Alexandria became the successor of Pantænus, near the close of the second century. He had travelled in Greece, in Italy, in the East, and in Egypt; and he speaks most highly of Pantænus. He says, 'he was, indeed, a Sicilian bee, that had gathered flowers from the prophetic and apostolic meadows; and he filled the minds of his hearers with pure knowledge.'*

Clement, with his extensive reading, and his personal know-

* See his '*Stromata*,' p. 274, or Lardner's '*Credibility*,' vol. I. p. 393.

ledge of the state of opinions in various countries, could not well have been ignorant of the general usages and sentiments of the churches, respecting the books that were received as of apostolical authority. His testimony, like that of Pantænus, is preserved by Eusebius. This writer, in his ‘Ecclesiastical History’ (b. vi. ch. 14.), says; ‘In his book, Clement affirms that Paul is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.’

Origen, who was the successor of Clement at Alexandria, and distinguished as a critic and as a man of much general learning, about A. D. 220, is the next witness to be examined. His most explicit testimony is preserved by Eusebius, who says, (*Eccles. Hist.* b. vi. ch. 25.) ‘In respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Origen decides thus in his Homilies upon it; “The character of the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not the unpolished cast of the apostle’s language, who professes himself to be a man unlearned in speech, that is, in phraseology. Besides, this epistle, in the texture of its style, is more conformed to the Greek idiom; as every one must confess, who is able to distinguish differences of style. Moreover, the ideas in this epistle are admirable, and not inferior to those which are confessedly apostolic; and this every one must concede is true, who has attentively read the writings of the apostles.” A little farther on he adds, “If I were to give my opinion, I should say, the phraseology and the texture belong to some one relating the apostle’s sentiments, and, as it were, commenting on the words of his master. *If any [or whatever] church therefore hold this to be an epistle of Paul, let it receive commendation on account of this; for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as being of Paul.* But who committed the epistle to writing, God only knows with certainty; the report, however, which has reached us, is, that some affirm it to be written by Clement, bishop of Rome; and some, by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts.”’

With this important passage our readers will be pleased to connect the following reflections.

‘(1) It is plain, that Origen felt the force of objections against the authorship of Paul, drawn from the style and manner of the epistle; and, to meet them, he supposes it to have been for substance delivered, dictated, or spoken by the apostle, and penned down by some one who used his own diction, commenting, as it were, on the words of his master. In this way, the *sentiments* are regarded as apostolic and authoritative; while the *diction* is con-

sidered as arising from one not an apostle; and thus the full *credit* of the epistle is maintained, while the objection to this credit, drawn from the diversity of style, is apparently removed.

‘(2.) It should be noted, that Origen does not say whether the objections against the Epistle to the Hebrews, being the production of Paul, arose from his own mind, or from the allegations of others. Most probably from both sources. He appears to have had a full conviction, that there was a diversity of style in it; and to remove the difficulty about the credit of the epistle, which arose in his mind from this circumstance, he resorted to the supposition just mentioned. We can have no reasonable doubt, that, at this time, there were some who alleged that this epistle did not come from the hand of Paul; as Pantænus and Clement had, before this, made an effort to remove objections against it.

‘(3.) The very manner in which Origen attempts to remove objections, shows that he gave full credit to the *apostolic origin* of the epistle. “The *thoughts*,” he avers, “are apostolic, and worthy of an apostle; but the *diction* is derived from another.” And when he says, “*It is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as belonging to Paul*;” and then adds, “but who wrote it, God only knows with certainty, some attributing it to Luke, and some to Clement;” nothing can be plainer than that he means here to suggest, that he considers it to be uncertain, who *penned* it, i. e. *reduced it to writing*; for he had just asserted that the *thoughts* were suggested by an *apostle*, while the *diction* arose from him who reduced them to writing. To suppose (as has been supposed), that Origen means to assert that God only knows from whom the *sentiments* of the epistle sprung, or who the author was in this sense, is to suppose that Origen has directly contradicted himself, in the same paragraph. Therefore,

‘(4.) When Origen says, that some attribute it to Luke, and some to Clement; the probability clearly is (from the connexion in which this stands), that he means to say, “Some attribute the penning or writing of it down to the one or the other of these persons.” If this be so (and it appears to be plain that it is), it only serves to show that Origen did not consider the tradition about Luke and Clement as well established; and especially so, as the traditionary reports were not agreed respecting the amanuensis or recorder of the epistle.’ pp. 105, 106.

That the interpretation here given is correct, and that Origen regarded Paul as, in reality, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is evident from other passages in his writings.

‘In his commentary on John (ii. p. 18. ed. Huet.) he remarks, “According to this the apostle says,” and then quotes Heb. v. 12. That by this apostle he meant Paul, other passages in the same

commentary clearly show. For example, "In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the same Paul says," p. 56; again, "Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews," p. 162. In his book against Celsus, he says, "For it is written by Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians, and the *same apostle* says;" and then he quotes Heb. v. 12.* In his treatise on prayer, he quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews, as an epistle of the same apostle who wrote the Epistle to the Ephesians.† In a homily preserved in a Latin translation, he says, "Paul himself, the greatest of the apostles, writing to the Hebrews, says;" and then he quotes Heb. xii. 18, 22, 23.' p. 109.

The opinion at Alexandria concerning this epistle, continued always substantially the same, as we have seen it in the foregoing authorities.

Leaving Egypt, we next inquire what is the testimony of the Eastern churches. Justin Martyr, who was a native of Samaria, and who, in the meridian of life, came to Rome, and afterwards distinguished himself by his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, and by his Apologies or Defences of the Christians, alludes manifestly to this epistle; and he alludes to it as he would to an authoritative book, about A. D. 140. ‡

Methodius, who presided over the church at Olympus, in Lycia, and afterwards at Tyre, about A. D. 290, very clearly alludes to this epistle, when he speaks of *a race set before us*, 'according to the teacher Paul,' and of the Jewish law as *figurative of things to come*, 'according to the apostle.' §

Pamphilus, about A. D. 294, a learned presbyter or elder of the church at Cesarea, doubtless regarded the epistle as Paul's; for in a manuscript which he wrote with his own hand, and deposited in the library of Cesarea, he places the Epistle to the Hebrews in the midst of the other epistles of Paul. The order is this; to the Romans; the first and the second to the Corinthians; to the Galatians; to the Ephesians; to the Philippians; to the Colossians; the first and the second to the Thessalonians; *to the Hebrews*; the first and the second to Timothy; to Titus; to Philemon. ||

Eusebius of Cesarea, about A. D. 315, the well known ecclesiastical historian, was unwearied in his investigations con-

* Contra Cels. p. 482. ed. Bened.

† De Oratione. I. p. 250. ed. Bened.

‡ See Lardner's 'Credibility,' 4to. vol. I. p. 347.

§ See Heb. xii. 1, x. 1, and Lardner's remarks; 'Credibility,' vol. II. p. 106.

|| See Lardner's 'Credibility,' vol. II. p. 121.

cerning the canon of sacred Scripture. He asserts (b. iii. ch. 3.) 'Fourteen epistles are clearly and certainly Paul's; although it is proper to be known that some have rejected that which was written to the Hebrews, alleging, with the church at Rome, that it is spoken against, as not belonging to Paul.' In ch. 25, he reckons among the books acknowledged, (that is, by general consent), *the epistles of Paul*. Among these he must have included the Epistle to the Hebrews; for when he particularizes the books that were *contradicted* or *called in question*, he says nothing of this epistle. In ch. 38, after speaking of Clement of Rome, as having made free use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he proceeds; 'Wherefore, not without reason this epistle is reckoned among the writings of Paul. For when Paul had written to the Hebrews,' &c.

Eusebius was conducted to the firm conviction that the Epistle to the Hebrews belongs to Paul, though he knew well what was said against it in the western part of the Roman empire. For (b. vi. ch. 20.) he himself states, that 'Caius, in a dispute against Proclus, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus,' about A. D. 212, 'blames the temerity and audacity of his opponents in composing new writings, and mentions only thirteen epistles of Paul, not numbering that which is inscribed to the Hebrews. Moreover, even to the present time, this epistle is reckoned by some of the Romans, as not belonging to Paul.'

The opinion embraced by Eusebius is found to have been, and to have continued to be, altogether the prevalent one throughout all the East. Among all the distinguished writers in that vast region, not one has denied the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It remains to examine the testimony of the Western churches. In the latter part, and near the close of the apostolic age, the Epistle to the Hebrews, like the other sacred writings, was quoted by Clement of Rome. It was comprised, along with the other authoritative writings of the New Testament, in the old Latin version, which, doubtless, was made as early as the first half of the second century. But it seems probable that Irenæus, who was bishop of Lyons in France, and who wrote about A. D. 178, did not admit this epistle to be Paul's; and Hippolytus, a disciple of his, about A. D. 220, is said to have expressed the same opinion, in a work which he compiled from a work of Irenæus against Heresies.

In the fragments, published by Muratori, of an anonymous

author, who probably wrote near the close of the second century, a catalogue of sacred books is given. This catalogue does not contain the Epistle to the Hebrews; nor does it contain those of Peter and James, and the third of John; but it does contain some which are known to be apocryphal. Its testimony, therefore, cannot be of much weight.

The assertion of Caius has been mentioned in connexion with the statement of Eusebius.

Tertullian, about A. D. 200, says; 'There is an epistle of Barnabas, inscribed to the Hebrews; therefore by a man of such authority, that Paul placed him next to himself in respect to abstinence; "Am I and Barnabas only without power to do this?"'

Cyprian of Carthage, A. D. 248, speaking of the number *seven*, says; 'The apostle Paul, who was mindful of this authorized and well known number, writes to seven churches.' But, manifestly, it cannot be inferred from this, with certainty, that Cyprian did not consider Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; for this epistle has in it no such address at the beginning, as is found in his epistles to seven of the churches; and therefore it might well be omitted in this fanciful illustration. The fact, however, that he has never quoted this epistle may be considered as making it probable that he was either ignorant of its existence, or not favorably impressed in regard to its authority.

Novatus, a presbyter of Rome, A. D. 251, does not quote this epistle in support of his peculiar sentiments in regard to such as had fallen away; but his followers, the Novatians, about thirty years afterwards, are known to have admitted the epistle as canonical. It was received as Paul's by Hilary of Poitiers, about A. D. 351; by Lucifer at Cagliari, 354; by Victorinus, the rhetorician, at Rome, 360; by Ambrose, at Milan, 374; by Philaster at Brescia in Italy, 380, though he states that some were not of the same opinion; by his successor Gaudentius, 387; by Jerome, 392; by Rufinus, and by the council at Carthage, 397. *

Jerome says, 'This is to be maintained, that this epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is not only received by the churches of the East as the apostle Paul's, but has been in past times,

* *Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ Pauli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una. Can. 47.*

by all ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language ; although most [Latins] think that Barnabas or Clement was the author.* In another place he says, ' Which Epistle to the Hebrews all the Greeks receive, and some of the Latins.'† With this corresponds the testimony of Augustine, A. D. 400 ; ' The greater part say that it is Paul's ; but some deny it.'‡

The substance of the various testimonies of the ancient churches and writers we have now laid before our readers ; and we see not how any can deny the correctness of the conclusion to which Professor Stuart has come, that, so far as this kind of evidence is concerned, it preponderates decidedly and greatly in favor of ascribing the epistle to Paul.

' In the Egyptian and Eastern churches,' he remarks, ' there were, it is probable, at a pretty early period, some who had doubts whether Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews ; but no *considerable* person or party is definitely known to us, who entertained these doubts ; and it is manifest, from Origen and Eusebius, that there was not, in that quarter, any important opposition to the general and constant tradition of the church, that Paul did write it. . . . What Jerome avers, appears to be strictly true, namely, that *by the churches of the East, and by all the ecclesiastical writers in the Greek language, it was received as the apostle Paul's*.

' In the Western churches, a diversity of opinion prevailed ; although the actual quantity of negative testimony, that can be adduced, is not great. Yet the confessions of Jerome and Augustine leave no room to doubt the fact, that the *predominant* opinion of the western churches, in their time, was in the negative. In early times, we have seen that the case was different, when Clement of Rome wrote his epistle, and when the old Latin version was brought into circulation. What produced a change of opinion in the West, we are left to conjecture. The scanty critical and literary records of those times afford us no means for tracing the history of it. But this is far from being a singular case. Many other changes in the opinions of the churches have taken place, which we are, for a similar reason, as little able to trace with any certainty or satisfaction.' pp. 129, 130.

As illustrations of this remark, we might mention the change, which occurred extensively, at an early period, in regard to admission into the church, and the application of ordinances ; the multiplying of ceremonies ; and other departures from the

* Epist. ad Dardanum.

† Epist. ad Evagrium.

‡ De Civitate Dei. xvi. 22.

manifest usages of the apostolic age. It may be impossible, at this late day, to tell how an error in respect to some of these subjects came to be introduced and cherished. To abandon it, we need only to know that it is an error. But in regard to many of the changes now alluded to, as well as to the one concerning the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we think that an account may be given which will go far towards satisfying the curiosity of the inquirer. Professor Stuart has himself mentioned *the zealous disputes at Rome against the Montanists*, as being probably a cause of this change.

'The Montanists strenuously opposed receiving again into the bosom of the church, those persons who had so lapsed as to make defection from the christian faith. The passages in Heb. vi. 4-8, and x. 26-31, at least seem strongly to favor the views which they maintained. The church at Rome carried the dispute against the Montanists very high; and Ernesti and many other critics have been led to believe that the Epistle to the Hebrews was ultimately rejected by them, because the Montanists relied on it as their main support. As a matter of fact, this cannot be supported by direct historical evidence. But in the absence of all testimony in respect to this subject, it must be allowed as not improbable, that the Epistle to the Hebrews may have, in this way, become obnoxious to the Romish church. Many such instances might be produced from the history of the church. The Ebionites, the Manicheans, the Alogi, and many ancient and modern sects, have rejected some part of the canon of Scripture, because it stood opposed to their party views. The Apocalypse was rejected by many of the ancient churches, on account of their opposition to the Chiliasts, who made so much use of it. And who does not know that Luther himself rejected the Epistle of James, because he viewed it as thwarting his favorite notions of *justification*? It cannot be at all strange, then, that the Romish church, exceedingly embittered by the dispute with the Montanists, should have gradually come to call in question the apostolic origin of our epistle; because it was, to their adversaries, a favorite source of appeal, and because (unlike Paul's other epistles) it was anonymous.' pp. 130, 131.

The more we have examined the subject, the more have we been convinced, that if 'this cannot be established by direct historical evidence,' it will, nevertheless, be found to be probable in the very highest degree.

Philaster, bishop of Brescia in Italy, A. D. 380, acknowledges in his work concerning Heresies, that one of the reasons of this epistle's not being generally read in public as Paul's,

was its being considered as favorable to the opinions of the Novatians, or successors of the Montanists. He says, 'There are others also, who do not allow the Epistle to the Hebrews to be his; but say it is either an epistle of Barnabas the apostle, or of Clement, bishop of Rome; but others say it is an epistle of Luke the evangelist But in the church are read to the people his thirteen epistles only, and that to the Hebrews sometimes; and because in this [the author] has written in a rhetorical manner, with a persuasive style, they think it not to be that apostle's; and it is not read, because also he says in it that Christ was *made*; moreover, this is equally *on account of the Novatians concerning repentance.*'*

This frank acknowledgment of Philaster makes it cease to be a wonder, that Cyprian, who contended for receiving again such as had fallen away, should be so silent in regard to this epistle.

There was extant in the time of Eusebius, † a little work of Irenæus, entitled, *Concerning Various Discourses*, 'in which he makes mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' and quotes some passages. But whether he named the author or not, and whether he quoted it as authoritative or not, we are uninformed. It is remarkable, however, that in his books against Heresies, he has avoided the use of it, so that scarcely a trace of his having read it can be found. How shall this be accounted for?

Irenæus was closely connected, in various ways, with the Western or Romish church; and this church was warmly engaged in a contest with the Montanists. His work against Heresies was written partly in the latter years of Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, who died A. D. 192, and partly in the time of his successor Victor. The Montanists, for their principle that none who had apostatized should be received again into the church, relied greatly on the passages that have been referred to in the Epistle to the Hebrews. That here was one of their main proofs, is evident from the manner in which Jerome speaks of Montanus and Novatus in connexion with Heb. vi. 4, 5. ‡ And Epiphanius, speaking of substantially the same people, under the sarcastic name of *the Pure*, represents a mis-

* Phil. de Hær. cap. 89.

† See his Eccles. Hist. b. V. ch. 27.

‡ Heb. vi. 4, 5. Lib. II. adv. Jovinian. n. 3.

taken view of the same passage as the source of their error. * Theodoret also censures them for perverting this passage. He says, they employ these words as weapons against the truth. † And he, like the other writers of the East, disarms them of these weapons, by explaining the passage, and showing that in fact it does not support the doctrine which it has been employed to support.

But in the West, at Rome, the opposers of the Montanists seem not to have relied on this resort to interpretation. They were not so well skilled in the original Greek as the eastern writers ; but they generally used a Latin translation ; and, in any case, it is evident that the most obvious import of the words must have given them great difficulty. They knew not well how to avoid the force of the argument, if they admitted the epistle to be Paul's. We have already adverted to the vehement language of Caius relative to this subject, about A. D. 212. On what occasion was it that he so indignantly denied the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews ? It was in a theological controversy. With whom ? With Proclus, a patron of the Montanist heresy.

Tertullian did not become a Montanist till just after the close of the second century. He lived at least twenty or thirty years after this event. And there is no proof that it was till after the dispute of Caius with Proclus that he wrote the work in which he defends the Montanist doctrine, with great zeal and ingenuity, from the passage which has so often been named, Heb. vi. 1-8. But, as we have already mentioned, he speaks of it as having been written by Barnabas. Why, it may be asked, did he not ascribe it directly to Paul ? Obviously because he knew that they, against whom he was arguing, would not admit it to be Paul's. They had for many years been pressed and harassed with the argument, till, as the epistle had no name prefixed to it, and the sentiment, in this instance, seemed to them inadmissible, they had concluded it could not be Paul's ; and in the heat and rancor of dispute, they were unwilling to concede to an opponent what they were not clearly obliged to concede. In reasoning with them, Tertullian, if he meant to produce conviction, must argue from premises which they admitted. Besides, he had continued in the cath-

* Hæres. LIX. de Cathar.

† Comment. in Epist. ad Heb. c. vi.

olic church till he was more than forty years of age ; and his earliest opinion, in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, was doubtless formed amidst the representations, unfavorable to the acknowledging of Paul as the author, which had grown out of the contest with the Montanists. And now, without altering his preconceived opinion on this point, he might come to adopt their leading sentiments.

In the work alluded to, he says ; ‘ Yet I am willing, over and above, to superadd [to all the other arguments] the testimony also of a companion of the apostles, adapted to confirm with the next highest authority, the discipline established by the masters. For there is Barnabas’s epistle inscribed to the Hebrews ; therefore by a man of such authority that Paul placed him next to himself in respect to abstinence ; “ Am I and Barnabas only without power to do this ? ” ’ He proceeds to remark, that this epistle is certainly more received among the churches than the apocryphal work called the ‘ Shepherd of Hermas,’ which he considers as too lenient to such as fall into gross sins. And, after quoting Heb. vi. 1–8, he adds, ‘ He who learnt this from the apostles, and taught this with the apostles, never knew of a second repentance promised to the unchaste offender.’ *

Such was the state of the controversy. The Montanists urged the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Latins, pressed and vexed by the argument, refused to admit the authority of the epistle, as it had not the signature of Paul. And then the Montanists still urged it as certainly of the very next authority to that of the apostle. The Greeks were at a happy distance from the field of theological contest ; and, in every respect, they were better qualified than either of the Western parties, to form an impartial judgment. What now *was* their judgment ? It was, that *the epistle is Paul’s* ; but that *the Montanists and their successors did not rightly interpret the passage*. And at length, after the pressure of circumstances had ceased, after the storm of controversy had passed away, this judgment was acquiesced in and adopted by the Western churches themselves ; and they, in the council at Carthage, in the year 397, as we have already mentioned, restored the epistle to the rank which had been constantly claimed for it by the great body of the Greek or Oriental Christians.

* De Pudicitia, c. 20.

Here it ought to be borne in mind, that not one who rejected this epistle, so far as we know, produced any historical witnesses or attestations against its being Paul's, or in favor of its being any other author's. Instead of making reference to the testimony of the early churches, as was usual and requisite in settling questions of this nature, the impugnors of the epistle opposed it only on the ground of its form and character. It exhibited not the name of the writer, contrary to the custom of Paul. It was, they said, written with more elegance of diction than belonged to him; or it was only a translation; or it contained sentiments that must not be admitted; or it referred to sayings of the prophets that cannot be found.

Such were the principal objections. None were drawn from the documents left by the ancient writers; and no appeal was made to the earliest testimony of the churches; sources of information, which would not have been omitted, had they been unfavorable to the reception of the epistle as Paul's. The historical evidence, then, which has been mentioned in its favor, remains unaffected. It was not met and counterbalanced by opposing historical evidence, but only by critical considerations. And, obviously, we at the present day possess more ample means of judging correctly in regard to these, than were possessed by the opposers of the Montanists in the Latin church. We have the epistle itself, and all the other writings of the apostle with which it was ever brought into comparison.

Near the close of the epistle, the author has mentioned circumstances, which must have presented him as the apostle Paul to the minds of those who had any acquaintance with his situation. He promises to come with Timothy, his well known pupil and helper, and one who had been with him in his confinement at Rome. He speaks of him as set at liberty, or rather, as *sent away*, doubtless on some service such as Timothy was in the habit of performing for the apostle. He says, 'They of Italy salute you'; and so Paul, writing at Ephesus, the capital of another country, says to the Corinthians, 'The churches of Asia salute you.' They who had known his circumstances would readily recognise the communication as coming from Paul; and, besides, they could easily ascertain any desirable additional facts from the messenger by whom it was borne.

Still it may be asked, *Whence did the Epistle to the Hebrews derive the character of its diction?* alleged to be different from that of Paul's epistles by those who deny that it was written by him.

In the writings of Paul there prevails indeed the same spirit, but not entirely the same tone. In the communications addressed to the Corinthians, we hear the injured teacher, in the consciousness of his worth and his services, with a circum-spective glance, and with benevolence, earnestness, and promptitude ; in the Epistle to the Romans, the learned and dignified counsellor ; in that to the Galatians, the language of paternal superiority addressed to an unpolished people. How different is the tone of the apostle to the Romans from that which he uses to the Galatians upon a very similar subject. His Epistle to the Ephesians has a peculiarly solemn air of deep-toned piety ; that to the Philippians is distinguished for affection and friendly dignity ; that to the Hebrews, for elegance, and for elevation of spirit. The circumstances in which he was, especially the relations in which he stood to the churches, clearly exhibit themselves in each of his communications.

Do we contemplate him in his relation to the Christians of Palestine ? He was no teacher nor father of their societies. He could not, therefore, adopt that tone which it was natural for him to use in addressing the churches, which he himself had planted, and cherished, and reared.

Do we look at his own situation ? We can perceive why his letter to the Hebrews is distinguished by a pleasing and courteous style ; why it begins in an oratorical manner, and throughout has the structure of a work of eloquence. At this time joyful in possessing anew, or in the near anticipation of possessing anew, his life and his liberty, he reflects not a little of the buoyant feeling upon the composition of the epistle. He had, during his long confinement, as well as previously, been brought into the company of persons of taste and high station, and he was obliged to be his own pleader. On these occasions, so far as they are recorded, we see him acquitting himself in such a manner as shows how easily he could adapt his style to his circumstances ; and, for aught we know, he might, by frequent practice, have increased the facility with which he could make a neat and persuasive appeal.

Do we view the object which engaged him, namely, to weaken the impression of the pompous temple service in Palestine, of the solemn offerings, and splendid feasts, by showing that Christianity contains all this, not in an outward and perishing form, but in spirit and in the highest perfection, and thus to prevent apostacy ? The elevated nature of the subject leads him to the tone of the treatise or address.

If we extend our view to the whole of the contents, they required a higher tone than usual. The author, in the beginning, speaks of Jesus as the shining forth of Deity ; of his height above angels, and above the whole creation. Then he proceeds to speak of the founder of Judaism, of Moses and his institutes for the founding of a religious state ; then of the high-priesthood, and of all that makes religion splendid externally, and dear for the consolation it brings to the heart. He speaks of everything that was regarded by the Jew as most elevated ; and he shows that, for each object of this kind, there was something still more elevated in Christianity.

Paul could not, in the choice of his manner, have exercised the sound judgment for which he is so much distinguished, if he had adopted any other than an elevated mode of representation ; a mode which, manifestly, demands some special attention to the language. And what is there to prevent the supposition that he availed himself of the skill of Luke, or of some other literary friend, in preparing the epistle ? He often employed an amanuensis ; and Luke was at this time so high in the confidence of the apostle, that we can easily conceive of his being invited to assist in polishing the style, had Paul needed any such assistance.

The language is Paul's ; but it is his more elevated language, to which he was led by his situation, and his subject, and the nature of the human mind.

From his labors abroad he went to Jerusalem, at a time when the teachers of Christianity had to bear long and struggle hard with Jewish prejudices. The thousands even of believing Jews in that city, and, it is probable, in Palestine generally, were 'all zealous of the law.' Report had represented him as a decided innovator and the opposer of Moses, and had excited general displeasure. He was seized in a riot, conveyed to Cesarea, and kept in custody, till he was brought to Rome, in order there to receive his trial. At length he was acquitted. His character in civil life was no longer doubtful ; and it was a fruit of his acquittal that now he might speak of his doctrine again to those who had before viewed it as presumptuous and meriting punishment. Christianity in Palestine had before it a perilous crisis. He assumed his former energy, and sought to meet the increasing evil, to strengthen the wavering, and to encourage the faithful.

It was a most difficult task that he undertook. He might

easily have stirred up the old complaints against himself, had he in the very outset, and in a direct manner, asserted the uselessness of the Jewish rites. And then, considering the impressions of his readers, it was necessary to take care lest he should bring upon himself their disgust for ever, and hasten the step which he wished to prevent. He departed not a moment from his convictions and his former doctrine; and yet he yielded to the Jewish Christians everything that they demanded. They might desire offerings and days of atonement, sacrifices, and altars, and high-priests. He so little questioned the rightfulness of their demands, that he seemed to consent to every thing; but, on the other hand, he showed that they already possessed all in the religion of Christ; that Christianity, indeed, was the consummation of all that was excellent and glorious in Judaism.

Here can we fail to recognise the discreet manner, as well as the sentiments of Paul, who, with a conscientious regard to truth, it is well known, was accustomed to adapt his addresses most skilfully to the characters of all men?*

The *internal evidence* that the epistle is Paul's, is very naturally divided into two kinds, that which arises from *the circumstances which it mentions or adverts to*, and that which arises from *its style and manner*. But our limits do not permit us to touch this most important and satisfactory part of the discussion. We have only to request that our readers look at the evidence which Professor Stuart has presented, and that they examine and judge for themselves before they reject his conclusion. After dismissing this topic, he next proceeds to a minute and laborious examination of objections by Bertholdt, Schulz, and others. These he meets fairly and fully; and he proves them to be groundless. We cannot now enter this field of controversy. But we may be permitted to mention, as specially deserving the thanks of all the friends of patient investigation, his comparison of the objections made against the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with those which may be made against the First Epistle to the Corinthians, one of the well known and acknowledged writings of Paul; a comparison which exhibits, in the clearest manner, the utter insufficiency

* See Hug's *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Zweyter Theil. § 135. u. s. w., where a similar representation may be found.

of objections, which have been urged most confidently by critics, whose opinions we have been accustomed to respect.

The subject of this article we must now dismiss. It is one in which every considerate reader of the Scriptures and of literary history must feel a lively interest; and the work which we have been reviewing, is no ordinary production. It will stand a monument of distinguished industry, and of honest and successful inquiry after truth, when the author shall have ceased from his labors, and when critics who are now unborn shall look back upon the controversies of the present generation. We hope, indeed, we doubt not, that the work of Professor Stuart will be translated into the language of Germany, and will have in that country, as well as in ours, and in England, a wide and salutary influence.

Since the foregoing remarks were written, Professor Stuart has published a second volume, containing a new version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a Commentary upon the same, and a series of essays, under the name of 'Excursuses,' on the more difficult and important passages. Our limits forbid the extension of our remarks to this second volume; which also, as covering ground, in some degree, controverted among the different schools of interpreters, does not properly fall within the province of this journal.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Present State of Hayti, with Remarks on its Agriculture, Commerce, Laws, Religion, Finances, and Population.* By JAMES FRANKLIN. London. 1828.

2. *Histoire d'Hayti, depuis sa Découverte, jusqu'en 1824.* Par M. CHARLES MALO. Nouvelle Edition. Paris. 1825.

WE place at the head of our article two late publications on the subject of Hayti, which are essentially different from each other in character and plan. M. Malo's work is an enlarged edition of a book first published several years ago, and professes to give a summary history of the island from the time of its discovery, down to the temporary suspension, in 1824, of the negotiations undertaken by Boyer for obtaining a recognition of its independence. It is compiled with much appearance of

candor and impartiality, being free at any rate from the influence of those strong prejudices which the ex-colonists have been too prone to indulge ; and contains internal evidence of having been prepared from authentic materials. But it is purely a political history of the country. Mr Franklin takes a wider range. His work contains not only a sketch of the revolution, but a great body of statistical details upon the present condition of the island, as compared with what it was previous to the insurrection of the blacks. His statements concerning the productions, commerce, resources, population, and government of Hayti, are minute and particular, and were obtained by personal inquiry during a residence in the West Indies. Many of his individual facts, and the general conclusion to which he arrives, being such as other sources of information afford, we feel inclined to repose a great degree of confidence in his representations of matters of fact within his own knowledge. But Mr Franklin has a theory to support ; and we are disposed to think his main object, in composing the book, was to maintain this theory, which is, the necessity of some coercion to procure the proper cultivation of lands in the West Indies. In short, although such a purpose is not expressly declared in his work, yet it is evidently written throughout, so as to have a bearing upon the questions now in agitation between Great Britain and her West India colonies. Making all the abatement from Mr Franklin's credit, which such a consideration may require, and setting off his national prejudices against those of M. Malo, we may gather, from both publications together, a pretty correct idea of the state of the island under President Boyer's administration.

Before entering upon this topic, we will premise a brief account of General Boyer's career, previous to his succeeding to the presidency. Jean Pierre Boyer is a native of Port au Prince, and about fifty years of age. His father was a French trader and tailor of that city, of good character, and possessed of some property ; and his mother a Congo negress, and a slave ; so that Boyer himself is a mulatto, although somewhat darker than the generality of his class. When the commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, arrived, he joined their standard, with the rest of the free people of color ; and after they retired from the island, he attached himself to the mulatto general Rigaud. In the sequel, Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the negroes, having acquired a complete ascendancy over the

whole island, and being acknowledged in his authority by the successive French governments of the period, Rigaud resolved to withdraw to France, and Boyer still followed his fortunes. On his voyage to Europe, Boyer was captured by the Americans, between whom and the French republic a state of hostilities at this time existed ; but was soon released, and continued his voyage. He resided in France, until the expedition under Le Clerc was organized. He returned to St Domingo in the train of Le Clerc, lending himself to an armament destined for the subjugation of his country, and for once again reducing the men of his race to servitude. Upon the death of Le Clerc, he united with the other mulattoes, first under Clervaux, and subsequently under Petion, who, after the assassination of Des-salines, secured the southern part of the island, as Christophe did the northern districts. Petion appointed him successively to be his aid-de-camp, private secretary, and chief of his staff; and at the time of his patron's death, Boyer was general of the *arrondissement* of Port au Prince.

Petion is universally characterized as an amiable man, of a sensible and humane character, with a mind enlarged by European education, and a polished, affable address, that would have distinguished him in the most refined courts. Although brave, enterprising, and active, when the exigencies of the occasion required it, he was of a temper too easy and lenient for the duties which devolved upon him, and wanted that vigor of character which was requisite for governing the half civilized inhabitants of Hayti. The circumstances of his death, which happened March 29th, 1818, are so peculiar and singular, that we extract the account as given by each of our authors.

‘La mort du président de la République fut, dit on, volontaire ; sa maladie ne dura que huit jours, pendant lesquels il refusa constamment tout remède, tout aliment, et jusqu’à de l’eau même ; en un mot, il mourut d’inanition. C’est ce que déclarèrent les médecins après avoir ouvert son corps, qu’ils trouvèrent très-sain et sans aucune trace de maladie. Le bruit courut d’ailleurs qu’on lui avait souvent entendu dire qu’il était las de vivre.’

Malo, p. 347.

‘It was generally admitted that the state of his country had produced an extraordinary depression of spirits, which no exertions of his most intimate friends could remove. Medical aid became unavailing ; he lingered, but without, it appears, enduring any pain, and at last sunk under the weight of accumulated dis-

treass of mind, brought on by the deranged state of his finances, and the impoverished condition of his country.'

Franklin, p. 227.

Dessalines, it is to be remembered, was assassinated on account of his tyrannical conduct in 1806; and upon his decease, a desperate and bloody contest ensued between Christophe and Petion, the former occupying Cap Français and the North, and the latter Port au Prince and the South, and each contending for the sovereignty of the island. Christophe's followers consisted chiefly of the negroes, Petion's of the mulattoes. In this long struggle, Christophe gained some advantages over his rival, but none sufficiently decided to promise a speedy termination of their quarrel. At length the contending parties began to consider, that by prolonging the war, they should only produce a mutual prostration of strength, and finally become the common victims of their ancient masters. Hostilities were suspended, therefore, as by common consent; and without the conclusion of any treaty of peace, or any armistice, perfect tranquillity was restored throughout the island. Commencing with the year 1811, improvement made a rapid progress among the Haytians. Christophe and Petion both exerted themselves to encourage industry, morals, and intelligence in their respective states, without neglecting the means of defending their own independence.

But the policy adopted by Christophe, was radically different from that of Petion. The former possessing more energy of character, and less disposition to regard the wishes and inclinations of his people, took measures to concentrate all the powers of government in his own person, established a rigorous system of subordination and responsibility among his agents, put in force the most decisive measures to counteract and break up the indolent habits of the laboring population, and with characteristic determination of spirit, subjected everything to his individual inspection. The immediate consequence of all this was a great and striking melioration in the condition of his dominions, accompanied with a flourishing commerce and overflowing public coffers. But these effects could not be produced without the exercise of a grinding despotism, which sacrificed all the comforts of individuals to the successful march of a system; and at length came to exceed all bounds of reasonable endurance, and to create symptoms of discontent

among the oppressed people and harassed troops, which gave sure presage of an approaching storm.

Petion erred in the opposite extreme. Although possessed of admirable talents, accomplished by an European education, and incomparably superior to Christophe in every noble and estimable quality of the human character, yet he was wanting in determination and energy of temper. His disposition was thoroughly amiable, and this notwithstanding he was brave, enterprising, and bold. Mildness, indulgence, and humanity, formed as prominent a trait in the character of Petion, as relentless and uncompromising decision did in that of Christophe. Hence it followed that Petion, with the best possible intentions, and the sincerest desire to promote the welfare of his country, had not sufficient nerve, and was too sensible to the finer feelings of our nature, to adopt forcible measures to raise it to opulence.

Such was the state of things in Hayti, when Boyer succeeded to the government of the republican part of the island. Christophe had pushed his despotism to a point, at which patience in the minds of an oppressed people terminates, and resistance begins, for the reason, that the uncertain evils of change and revolution are then more welcome to them than the absolute wretchedness of their actual condition. And Petion had held the reins of government with so slack a hand, that his sensibility could not endure the prospect of public penury, which stared him in the face, and sought refuge from his embarrassments in voluntary death. Petion had in his last illness designated Boyer for his successor; and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the legislative body, no other chief showing any desire to dispute with him the supremacy, or oppose any obstacles whatever to his elevation. Christophe proposed to the citizens of the republic to submit to his rule, and constitute but one people as in the days of Dessalines; but his offers were promptly rejected. On the contrary, Boyer, by the advice of his friends, lost no time in freeing himself from the constant inquietude, which the intrigues of Christophe in the district of Grande-Anse occasioned, where Gomar, an insurgent chief, continued in arms, and formed a *point d'appui* for the enemy in the very heart of the republic. Competent forces under the command of Generals Lys, Fracisque, and Borgella, by means of active and spirited movements, and a sufficient show of strength, finally succeeded in the winter of 1819-20,

in dispersing the bands of Gomar, and restoring tranquillity to the territory of Grande-Anse. While he was thus consolidating his power in the South, the tyranny of Christophe was preparing for him additional triumphs in the North.

Since the death of Petion, both parties had maintained, with respect to each other, a purely defensive attitude; but many months elapsed, during which a definitive declaration of war between the two rivals was daily to be expected. But Christophe's system of government growing more and more tyrannical, discontent went on augmenting among his subjects, who could not fail to contrast the oppressiveness of his rule, with the gentle and scarcely sensible sway of Petion and Boyer. His soldiers, finding themselves treated with extreme rigor for the slightest fault, and weary of a master who no longer consulted their feelings, or testified any sense of his obligations to them, conspired at length to throw off the yoke which weighed them to the earth. With the military, therefore, as in so many of the revolutions in those countries which maintain a large standing army, the movement commenced.

On the evening of the sixth of October, 1820, the inhabitants of the Cape were alarmed by the beat of drums sounding the call to arms. They soon learned that a whole division of the army, cantoned at St Mark, consisting of six thousand men, had raised the standard of revolt, killed their general, and sent a deputation to Boyer to announce this event, and assure him of the universal desire of the people of St Mark to place themselves under the government of the republic whose protection they claimed. This intelligence produced the greatest agitation among the inhabitants, and especially the soldiers of the garrison. At length, all the military took arms, and a large portion of the citizens followed their example; and the insurgents in spite of the efforts of the officers of government, set out for Sans-Souci in quest of the king. They were met and joined by the royal guard. Satisfied by the defection of the latter that resistance was impossible, Christophe desperately resolved to anticipate the blow intended for him, and shot himself with his own hand. Not satisfied merely with the death of the despot, the soldiers slaughtered his two sons, with several of his officers of state, who were obnoxious to the people, and completely sacked and dismantled the splendid palace of Sans-Souci. Meanwhile Boyer had entered St Mark with a powerful force of eighteen thousand men, and was received with

the unanimous acclamations of the people and the army. Some negotiations followed between him and a portion of the officers at the Cape, who, unable to lay aside at once their animosity against the mulattoes of the South, proposed to establish an independent republic in the North, with General Paul Romain for president. Boyer turned a deaf ear to every proposition of this kind; and the imposing force which he had under his orders rendered opposition to his will unavailing. Romain and his associates, therefore, submitted with a good grace to necessity, and issued a proclamation, in concert with the principal persons at the Cape, signifying their unqualified submission to Boyer, who entered the city on the twenty-second of October, and reunited the kingdom and republic of Hayti into a single government. Anxious to stifle all symptoms of jealousy among the blacks, he protected the widow and daughter of Christophe from the fury of the people, and confirmed the former general officers in their military rank, abolishing, of course, the titles of nobility which they bore, with the other appendages of the fallen monarchy.

Thus by singular good fortune, and by the demerits of his rival rather than by any remarkable address or conduct on his own part, Boyer was placed at the head of the entire population, which Christophe and Petion, with all their superiority of talents, had vainly endeavored to unite. This event was soon followed by another equally signal instance of good fortune. In the Spanish part of St Domingo, which covered more than half of the island, there were, at this time, many Haytians, who had established themselves as cultivators; and these, with the mulattoes, composed a majority of the population. Most of the clergy and men of property and influence had emigrated from the island in 1795, with their slaves and moveable effects, when the Spanish territory of Hispaniola was ceded to the French republic by the treaty of Basle. This emigration is said to have embraced one third of the whole population, who chose to abandon their possessions, and seek new homes in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Spanish Main, rather than pass under a strange system of laws and a government foreign to their education, habits, and feelings. In 1809 the French held but two ports in the Spanish part, Samana, and St Domingo. Christophe furnished the inhabitants with assistance in arms and munitions of war; and aided by an English fleet from Jamaica, they succeeded, in the course of 1810, in obliging the French

to capitulate, and abandon the island. Thus affairs remained until after the death of Christophe. When Boyer had united the whole of the French part of the island into one republic, the blacks and people of color, who predominated in the Spanish territory, began to testify a willingness to place themselves under his government. They found no difficulty in prevailing upon the principal persons in the city of St Domingo to acquiesce in their views ; and in December, 1821, they sent a deputation to Boyer, soliciting his consent that the eastern part of the island might also be incorporated into the republic. Of course, Boyer received the submission of the inhabitants with great satisfaction, and immediately proceeded in person, accompanied with a sufficient force to put down any opposition which might chance to occur, and peaceably took possession of the country. Leaving general Borgella in command at St Domingo, he returned to Port au Prince, highly elated at this unprecedented success, which left him without any competitor to thwart his views, or disturb the internal repose of the island, now wholly independent in fact, of any foreign power, and placed under a ruler in a certain sense of its own voluntary appointment.

Being undisputed master of the whole of Hayti, with nothing to interrupt the peaceful avocations of his people, or divert their attention from the pursuits of industry, Boyer had an opportunity of enforcing such necessary and judicious measures for the prosperity of the commerce and agriculture of the country, as its condition demanded. By stimulating the exertions of the cultivators so as to restore the agricultural prosperity of the island, once the garden of the West Indies ; by adopting a system of regularity and economy in his financial affairs ; by maintaining such an army merely, as the defence of the country against foreign aggression made requisite ; by encouraging the intercourse of the Americans with his dominions, and forming those intimate commercial relations with the English, to which the latter invited, and thus securing a permanent demand and profitable exchange for the great staples of Hayti ; —by pursuing such a course, indifferent to the hostility, but not averse to the friendship of France, he might before long have placed the island in such a state as to be universally respected abroad, and prosperous and contented at home. France would, in the end, have submitted to the force of events, and the example of Great Britain and Portugal, by giving the seal of re-

cognition to the independence of a colony, which for twenty years had enjoyed all the benefits of independence in fact. The interested friendship and protection of England would have had the same effect upon the external politics of Hayti, which it has exercised upon the Spanish American states. France and the other nations of Europe, would eventually have sacrificed the scruples of legitimacy, for the sake of participating with Great Britain in the advantages held out by free commercial intercourse with Hayti. Unfortunately for himself, and the country under his control, Boyer was blinded to the obvious maxims of good sense and public policy, either by reason of narrowness and want of comprehensive views in himself and his advisers, or by the force of the prejudices of birth and education, which created in his mind an exaggerated idea of the importance of instantly concluding a treaty with France.

On the first restoration of the Bourbons, Louis the Eighteenth was prevailed on by the ex-colonists of St Domingo to undertake measures for regaining the colony. Accordingly in June, 1814, Messrs Dauxion-Lavaysse, Medina, and Draverman, were commissioned to investigate the state of things in Hayti, and feel the pulse of the two chiefs. Medina repaired to Cap Haytien to conduct the negotiation with Christophe; but his mission came to a speedy termination. Christophe finding that Medina was born and had served in the island, and had betrayed the blacks, proceeded, with his accustomed decision, to arrest the unfortunate commissioner. His papers contained evidence that he intended to tamper with the blacks; he was ordered to be tried by a military commission, and summarily condemned as a spy. Petion, however, civilly received the communications of Lavaysse at Port au Prince, having for their object the immediate acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Louis the Eighteenth. This of course Petion refused; declaring that the Haytians would never resign their independence, but that, actuated by motives of justice, he was disposed to enter into friendly relations with France on the basis of a pecuniary indemnity to be paid by him for the benefit of the ex-colonists. This naturally put an end to the commission of Lavaysse; and the French government thought it necessary to declare, officially, that he had exceeded his authority, and to disavow the propositions he had submitted to the Haytians. Afterwards, in 1816, a new effort was made by the French to attain their object; and new commissioners, MM. Esmangart

and de Fontanges, endeavored, without any useful result, to persuade the Haytians to resume their chains.

Here the negotiations were suspended, until after those events, which produced a revolution so complete in the internal politics of Hayti. At this epoch, Boyer appears to have taken pains to intimate his desire of coming to an arrangement with France, which the latter saw could be more easily accomplished, than during the life of Petion and Christophe, especially of Christophe, whose summary mode of dealing she now understood too well, and whose forecast and sagacity she had been taught to respect. Negotiations were therefore again opened, in 1821, under the auspices of M. Esmangart. His agent, M. Aubert du Petit-Thouars, repairing to Hayti, proposed to Boyer to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, subject to the *simple suzeraineté* of Louis, or admitting a right of protection, such as England exercises in the Ionian isles. Boyer promptly informed M. Aubert that he should not treat on the basis of admitting any *suzeraineté* direct or indirect, on the least shadow of a protectorate in any shape whatever; and renewed at the same time the offer of a reasonable indemnity.

This *ultimatum* of Boyer's remained without reply on the part of the French. At length, he himself renewed the negotiation in May, 1823, appointing general Boyé his plenipotentiary, with instructions to confer with persons properly authorized, in France, or in some neutral country, for the purpose of terminating the difference between the two governments. M. Esmangart and general Boyé held repeated interviews at Brussels accordingly, in August, 1823; but the parties could not agree on the nature of the indemnity to be made; the French negotiator demanding the payment of a positive sum, the Haytian proposing only certain commercial privileges, deemed by him equivalent to an indemnity. In consequence of this, MM. Esmangart and Boyé parted without effecting anything; and M. Esmangart immediately despatched M. Laujon to Port au Prince to solicit a renewal of the intercourse. Yielding to his representations, Boyer commissioned Larose, a senator, and Rouanez, a government notary, to repair to Paris, with very full instructions for their guidance in their important mission. They reached Havre in June, 1824, and soon afterwards entered into conference with M. Esmangart at Paris. Their instructions were to require a royal ordinance, recognis-

ing the independence of Hayti; in return for which they were authorized to offer a pecuniary indemnity and certain commercial privileges, in favor of France. They soon discovered that a new difficulty was to be made by M. Esmangart concerning the eastern part of the island, as to which France declared she had no authority to treat, it being legally subject to Spain. In addition to this, they were given to understand that the king would not issue the royal ordinance required, without a clause reserving to himself the *exterior sovereignty* of Hayti. These intimations brought the conferences to a close abruptly, and the Haytian commissioners returned to Port au Prince.

The rupture of the negotiations at this point very naturally produced great disappointment in France, as well among the ex-colonists as the mercantile and manufacturing classes, who were counting upon the advantages of an extensive and favored trade with Hayti. The uneasiness of the latter was increased, by the prevalence of a rumor, whether well or ill founded we know not, that an English company had set on foot a scheme for interposing between the Haytian government and the ex-colonists, by purchasing of them a renunciation of their rights for a specific payment in the nature of an indemnity, and thus quieting their claim on Boyer. Certain it is, that England made overtures to Boyer towards the arrangement of a commercial treaty upon a fair basis of reciprocity; for of these overtures Mr Franklin says he himself was the bearer. Urged to the adoption of some decisive measures by these indications, and by the knowledge also that Boyer had granted to an English company the privilege of working the mines in the eastern part of the island, the French government despatched the Baron de Mackau, an intelligent officer in the navy, to bring the negotiations with Hayti to a termination favorable to France. The whole transaction was a masterly movement in diplomacy, wherein the unwary Boyer was taken by surprise, and completely outwitted.

The Baron de Mackau sailed from Rochfort in May, 1825, in the frigate *Circe*, it being arranged that he should join Admiral Jurien, who commanded a powerful fleet on the West India station, and enter Port au Prince, without giving Boyer any previous intimation of his intention, at the head of such a force that the Haytians should be intimidated into accepting the terms of recognition to be proposed. M. Mackau arrived off Port au Prince, on the third of July, and caused the French squad-

ron to be moored abreast of the harbor in a state of preparation to strike a decisive blow at the city in case of need, well knowing that its fortifications were in no condition to resist an attack, and that Boyer possessed no naval force capable of coping with Admiral Jurien. Boyer and his people were filled with consternation at the appearance of the French ships, whose arrival was a most unlooked for event, and their precise object entirely unknown to them. Boyer immediately sent two officers of his staff on board the flag ship to the commander in chief, to ascertain his purpose; and was greatly relieved on learning that the nature of his mission was professedly pacific, notwithstanding its formidable and hostile aspect. Baron Mackau landed the next day under a salute from the forts, and was received in state at the government-house by Boyer, who proceeded the same evening to enter upon the business of the mission.

It appears that the French minister came provided with *ordonnances*, adapted to propositions of different degrees, any of which he could employ as occasion might require. Boyer must have perceived many objections to the arrangement finally adopted; and it is alleged that he acceded to the conditions offered, from want of firmness to break with the French, and take the hazard of hostilities. At all events, his conduct was that of one submitting to conditions from a victorious enemy, rather than of a sovereign power treating with another in time of peace. Under such conditions, the business was brought to a close in a few days, and he accepted an ordinance so artfully worded, that, if he did not punctually comply with its provisions, Hayti was admitted to be still a colony of France. It is of the following tenor, dated April 17th, 1825.

‘ Charles; by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c.

‘ We have ordained and do ordain as follows.

‘ ART. 1. The ports of the French part of the island of St Domingo are open to the commerce of all nations. The duties levied in the ports, whether upon vessels or merchandise, whether entering or going out, shall be equal and uniform for all flags, except for the French flag, in favor of which those duties shall be reduced one half.

‘ 2. The present inhabitants of the French part of St Domingo, shall pay into the *caisse*, &c. of France, in five equal instalments, from year to year, the first of which will become due December 31st, 1825, the sum of one hundred and fifty millions of francs,

destined to indemnify the ancient colonists who shall claim an indemnity.

'3. We grant, on these conditions, by the present ordinance, to the actual inhabitants of the French part of the island of St Domingo, the full and entire independence of this government.'

This, it will be perceived, is no treaty. There is no party to the instrument but the king of France, who grants terms of indulgence to Boyer and his people in the same form that he would to any other rebellious subjects. All the stipulations of a treaty containing reciprocal guarantees were left for future negotiations, Boyer placing himself entirely at the mercy of his more sagacious antagonists. Nevertheless, the senate confirmed his doings; and great rejoicings took place at Port au Prince, on occasion of proclaiming the independence of Hayti, the citizens exerting themselves to entertain Baron Mackau, Admiral Jurien, and the officers of the squadron, with splendid *fêtes*, during their short stay in the island. It was necessary, however, that commissioners should immediately proceed to France, to conclude a definitive treaty, and provide means for paying the first instalment of the indemnity. This mission was confided to MM. Daumee, Rouanez, and Frémont. Daumee, the most capable of the commissioners, died soon after his arrival in France; and the business devolved upon his associates, who negotiated a loan for paying the first instalment upon terms extremely unfavorable to Boyer, but were unable to conclude a satisfactory treaty. They returned, therefore, bearing only the articles of a proposed convention, which, if received, would have compromised the honor and independence of the republic still more deeply.

Aware of the dissatisfaction which the arrangement with France would produce among the inhabitants of Hayti, Boyer had been careful not to allow the ordinance to be circulated or discussed in print, among the cultivators in the interior of the island. They had no distinct knowledge of the terms of the recognition of independence, until the members of the chamber of *communes* returned to their respective parishes, and explained the nature of the transaction. Everywhere murmurs of indignation were heard, at the foolish, the infatuated conduct of Boyer. The cultivators foresaw that new burdens must be imposed upon their labor, to raise means to pay off the enormous pecuniary obligations he had contracted. They reflected that their lands, their industry, themselves in fact, were

mortgaged to France, for more than the whole island could pay. The military, and the retired soldiers, who for more than twenty years had witnessed the growth of independence, which they had fought for and actually possessed to every intent, were indignant at the dishonor implied in the payment of an enormous price for the empty, unreal boon of a recognition of it on the part of France. This feeling was particularly strong in the North, where Dessalines and Christophe had nourished among their subjects a spirit of distrust and hatred of their ancient masters, and where the black chiefs saw, in the present step, the realization of the prophecies of Christophe, who always accused Boyer of being more or less subservient to the views of the French. Nor was less indignation expressed in the eastern part of the island, whose inhabitants remonstrated against being called upon to contribute for the payment of an indemnity, when they themselves were expressly excluded from the beneficial operation of the arrangement. In short, the population throughout the island, exasperated alike at the exclusive commercial privileges promised the French, and at the magnitude of the indemnity to be paid, signified their determination to resist any attempt to obtain money to discharge it by means of a levy, which they were neither willing nor able to raise.

We may add that, in other countries, Boyer's conduct was very severely condemned, and the view taken of the subject in France implied the strongest censure on his pusillanimity and want of discernment. It was said, with great justice, that the king had not in fact parted with his claims of sovereignty over the island. The grant of independence was, not to the *country* but to the *government*; nor to the government perpetually, but only to the government of the *actual inhabitants*. How much or how little these extraordinary phrases comprehended, might become a fruitful subject of future dispute. For the rest, France had made sale of the soil for as much as it was worth, and had obtained highly valuable commercial privileges besides. The amount of the latter consideration may be estimated from the following facts. When Esmangart treated with General Boyé at Brussels, the latter offered, in lieu of an indemnity, the free admission of French goods into Hayti, for five years, and the exaction of only half duties (six per cent.) afterwards. Boyé stated the total exemption as equivalent to three millions of francs annually, and the half duties to a mil-

lion and a half annually.* If so, the condition of the ordinance was worth the latter sum, in the advantage it gave to the commerce of France. Of course, the Americans, English, and others, by means of whose trade chiefly, the Haytians had disposed of their crops and procured their foreign supplies, complained loudly of an arrangement, which, in respect of all the operations of commerce, was likely to place Hayti precisely in the condition of any other French colony in the West Indies.

It is easy to see the unhappy dilemma into which Boyer has thrown his country, without any safe means of extricating himself from the difficulties in which he is involved. Mr Franklin minutely describes the present state of the island, deriving his knowledge from personal inspection of the plantations and settlements in the interior, as well as of the towns on the coast. The result of his examination is expressed in the following passage.

‘Oppressed with the weight of an overwhelming debt, contracted without an equivalent ; with an empty treasury, and destitute of ways and means for supplying it ; the soil almost neglected, or at least but very partially tilled ; without commerce and credit ;—such is the present state of the republic, and it seems almost impossible that, under the system which is now pursued, there should be any melioration of its condition, or that it can arrive at any very high state of improvement. Any change from the present, would in all probability, be worth the experiment ; but the existing inefficiency of the government precludes the chance of a beneficial alteration being effected. Hence there appears every reason to apprehend that it will recede into irrecoverable insignificance, poverty, and disorder.’ *Franklin*, p. 265.

We cannot follow Mr Franklin through the instructive details which he has collected, respecting the internal economy of Hayti. Instead thereof, we have prepared, from the documents he furnishes, a tabular view of the exports of the island, at several successive periods. The periods selected are 1791, 1802, 1804, and 1822, answering respectively to the best years of the Colony, of Toussaint, of Dessalines, and of Boyer ; it being observed that the three first years give the returns for the French part of the island only, while the last comprises both the French and Spanish, and therefore ought to be proportionably larger. We add, also, the amount of the black and colored population of the several years, employed in cultivation.

* Malo, p. 391.

Government.	France.	Toussaint.	Dessalines.
	1791.	1802.	1804.
Sugar	163,405,220 lbs.	53,400,000 lbs.	47,600,000 lbs.
Coffee	68,151,180 lbs.	34,370,000 lbs.	31,000,000 lbs.
Cotton	6,286,126 lbs.	4,050,000 lbs.	3,000,000 lbs.
Cocoa	not stated	234,600 lbs.	201,800 lbs.
Indigo	930,016 lbs.	37,600 lbs.	35,400 lbs.
Molasses	29,502 hhds.	9,128 hhds.	10,655 hhds.
Rum	303 pnch.	not stated	not stated
Lab. Pop.	455,000	290,000	290,000

In 1822, the first year after the union of the island under Boyer, the exports stood thus ;

Coffee	35,117,834 lbs.
Sugar	652,541 lbs.
Cotton	891,950 lbs.
Cocoa	322,145 lbs.
Logwood	3,816,583 lbs.
Mahogany	20,100 feet.
Estimated value	9,030,397 dollars.
Export duty	1,365,402 do.

In order to appreciate the great falling off in the produce of the island since the time of Toussaint, we should compare the population of the two periods, as collected from the best authorities.

	1802.	1822.
French part	375,000	661,500
Spanish part	95,000	54,000
Total	470,000	715,500

There has been a gradual diminution in the amount of the products of Hayti since 1822. It is estimated that in 1825, the whole value of the exports was about 8,000,000 of dollars ; the revenue from customs on imports and exports 2,200,000, and from other sources about as much more, making in all about 4,400,000, which fell short of the estimated public expenditure.

- ART. IX.—1. *Report of the Engineers on the Reconnoissance and Surveys made in reference to the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road.* Baltimore, William Woody. pp. 189.
2. *Second Annual Report of the President and Directors, to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company; and First Annual Report of the Board of Engineers to the Board of Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company.* Baltimore. William Woody.

IN the fifty-sixth number of this journal, we took some notice of a project then recently set on foot, for constructing a Railway from the city of Baltimore to some point on the Ohio river. Besides the importance of such an enterprise to the Union at large, more especially to the flourishing states of the West, the bold design of constructing a rail road of such extent, and through a region apparently so difficult, at a time when the experiment of this mode of transportation had been made only for small distances, led us to expect with some interest, the farther proceedings of the projectors. Since the period of our first notice, the examinations of the country, originally commenced with a view to the construction of a canal between the same points, have been continued, and their results exhibited in the publications named at the head of this article; the last of which more particularly draws our attention, as it announces the actual commencement of the work, and holds out a flattering promise of its eventual completion. As various projects of the same or a like character are agitated in several parts of the Union, and especially in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, some farther particulars may be acceptable to our readers, relative to the enterprise in question; certainly one of the greatest ever projected in this,—we may add, in any country.

Indeed, the impulse lately given to schemes of this nature in the United States, and the rapid increase of the capital embarked in interior transportation, are among the most signal manifestations of the augmenting force and wealth of the nation. A glance at the map of the country discovers the greatest facilities for multiplying the channels of internal trade. Not only do our great rivers and lakes already afford to the vast surface which they drain, an extensive carriage of their products to some one market or other, but it is found that, by means of

the frequent connexion of their head streams, this advantage may be very greatly increased and diffused. As the Erie canal may be said to have turned the northern lakes into the Hudson and the bay of New York, rendering us thus far independent of the navigation of the St Lawrence, so the Ohio canals will open the same outlet to the interior of that state, and to the districts bordering on the Ohio river. Meanwhile, this magnificent tributary of the Mississippi, together with the Mississippi itself, wafts the products of their two wide and fertile basins to New Orleans, whence a great inner coastwise navigation may be continued, at a cost comparatively small, through the sounds, bays, and inlets of the coast of the Floridas, of Georgia, and the Carolinas, and through the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, and across Jersey, to New York. The lines thus described, encircle, with the exception of New England, the whole of the inhabited parts of the United States ; an immense extent of inland navigation, destined, together with the numerous works in progress or contemplated in various parts of the interior, to confer the greatest benefits on the most important branch of the commerce of all countries, the home trade. The route of the intended Baltimore and Ohio rail road is a line bisecting, from east to west, the area inclosed within the limits above described ; and, when completed, will possess the advantage of being the shortest line by which it can ever be bisected. The geographical circumstances which thus approximate Baltimore to the country watered by the Ohio, have been described by us, on a former occasion ; the advantages to be derived from this proximity are sufficiently obvious.

The statesman cannot be indifferent to these multiplying facilities of communication, which ensure the union of the members of the confederacy, by identifying their respective interests with each other. This, in free communities at least, is the true bond of empire ; and those who remember the irritations excited in the Western states on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi, will be disposed to attach more weight to this opinion. Nor are these avenues of transportation less important in another aspect. A country so extensive as ours, so various in climate and soil, and so rapidly increasing its population, grows necessarily less dependent, every year, on foreign markets and manufactures, and must eventually be itself the great mart of its own products, and the great workshop of its own raw materials. But this result can in no way be so effect-

ually hastened, as by the improvement of roads and canals. The early civilization of most maritime countries shows, how necessary to commerce this facility of communication and transportation is ; nor is it to be doubted, that it is among the most efficient of the causes, which have given to the manufactures of Great Britain the market of the world. If many branches of manufacture, to which we seem otherwise entirely competent, have hitherto made small progress among us, it must be imputed in no small part to the want of quick and easy transportation, since the other elements of success are possessed by us in a preëminent degree ; abundant genius and activity in the people, a vast amount of water power, inexhaustible supplies of fuel, cheap and plentiful subsistence, and light taxes. Perhaps the roads and canals now in progress, will more efficiently foster our manufactures, than any bounties or protections ever could ; and thus the great question which divides the country, be settled by a policy equally acceptable to both parties.

If any one part of the Union can be said to be more interested in this policy than another, it is the Western states, both on account of their distance from a market, and of the vast amount of their disposable produce. From various causes, their exports, with equal facilities of carriage, would also more naturally seek an Atlantic port than that of New Orleans. The communication about to be opened to these states with New York, through the Ohio canal, lake Erie, and the Erie canal, and perhaps with Philadelphia, through the Pennsylvania canals, will doubtless be a most important acquisition to them, as an avenue both for their downward and their return trade. But during a considerable portion of the year, the rigor of the climate must close these canals, and that at a season, at which the farmer might prefer to take his produce to market. A transportation exempt from this obstruction, by a rail road, for example, on which neither drought nor frost can cause any delay, and conducting them, at the same time, to a port considerably nearer than either of the others, seems to promise such important advantages as to justify some labor and expense in procuring it, and has led the citizens of Maryland, of Baltimore principally, to the scheme of connecting their emporium with the West by a road of that sort. We could hardly give a stronger evidence of the progress of the nation, than by mentioning in connexion with such a scheme, that within the mem-

ory of many inhabitants of the West, all their salt, brandy, and many other articles, used to be brought across the mountains packed on horses.

The aspect of the country to be traversed by the railway, seems at first view little favorable to such an enterprise. The great range of the Allegany, rising to a height of twenty-five hundred and three thousand feet above tide, and the various subordinate ridges parallel to it, all lying in a transverse direction to the general course of the road, are so many barriers to be surmounted by it in its progress westward. The control, so to speak, of this principal range over the subordinate ridges, appears not only in the more important of them, as the Catoc-tin, the South Mountain, and the Blue Ridge on the east of it, and the Laurel Hills and others on the west, but in the lesser hills and collections of rocks occurring in the same region. The ridges interposed between Baltimore and the Potomac, which are found to be much higher than was commonly supposed (having an elevation of eight or nine hundred feet), preserve, with the same obstinacy, this direction transverse to the intended route. Even where these mountain barriers have been worn away, or broken through by the large rivers, the Potomac on this side of the mountains, the Cheat river, the Youghagany, and Casselman's river on the other, the change has been wrought with such violence, as to leave the surface extremely rough and broken and to render much labor necessary, to accommodate it to the road. It may be remarked, however, that in the event of completing the railway across these ridges, the intermediate valleys will offer great facilities for the construction of lateral roads, leading into the main trunk, and swelling its trade, by the products of a proportional extent of country.

But, though such is the general character of this region, a more particular examination demonstrates it to be penetrable to a railway, through its whole extent. Indeed, as far as Cumberland, a town on the Potomac, near the foot of the Allegany, (a point of great importance from the exhaustless quantities of the best coal which are found in its vicinity) there may even be selected a route of extraordinary facility. An avenue being thus found to the base of the great ridge, dividing the eastern and western waters; and the country westward of that ridge towards the Ohio, either presenting a surface of gentle undulations, or having its rocky ridges penetrated by the action of

the rivers ; it is on the Allegany alone that serious difficulties may be expected to occur. But, as this region, after a minute survey by the United States' Board of Internal Improvements, has been pronounced by them to be practicable for a canal, 'we may,' say the Engineers, in their Report, 'conclude *a fortiori* that a rail road may be made over the same ground.' But that our readers may estimate for themselves the probability of this bold enterprise being brought to a successful issue, we shall, from the materials furnished in the Reports named at the head of this article, give a description somewhat more particular of the proposed route of the road, and of the country which it traverses, beginning at Baltimore.

The construction of the road was commenced, at the western limit of that city, on the fourth of July last, with a pomp indicative of the general confidence of that community in the practicableness of a scheme, in which its prosperity is very deeply concerned. The venerable Mr Carroll, the only signer of the Declaration of Independence now alive, laid the first stone. Its whole route may be considered in three divisions, including the country between Baltimore and the base of the Allegany, that comprehended in the Allegany and the two great ridges parallel to it on the west, and that lying beyond the foot of the latter to the Ohio, respectively.

The distance between Baltimore and Cumberland, the extreme points of the first of these divisions, is, by the present turnpike road, one hundred and thirty-seven miles. The character of this extensive district is broken, hilly, and sometimes mountainous, being crossed by a number of those elevated ridges, which we have described as subordinate and parallel to the Allegany. But it has been ascertained that, by following the direction of the tributaries of the Patapsco and of the Potomac, and then the Potomac itself, these may either be entirely avoided, or, at least, gradually surmounted, without any great deflection from a straight line. The only one which must unavoidably be crossed, is the 'Parr's Spring Ridge,' dividing the waters of the Patapsco and the Monocacy, the former of which streams empties, as is well known, into the harbor of Baltimore ; the latter is a tributary of the Potomac. The eastern foot of this ridge may be approached along the western branches of the Patapsco, and from its western base run the tributaries of the Monocacy, by means of which the Potomac may be reached at the 'Point of Rocks,' a promontory, which ter-

minates the Catoctin mountain on that river. By passing round this promontory by the margin of the stream, the Catoctin ridge is avoided, and the road enters the valley of the Potomac, at a point, distant from Baltimore, by the ordinary route, fifty-five miles. Hence to Harper's Ferry, is found either a *flat* sufficiently wide for a road, or a moderate slope to the river; and like facilities occur from Harper's Ferry to Antietam, a distance of eight miles, there being everywhere sufficient space between the hills and the river except in one or two places, where cliffs of limestone, nearly perpendicular, rise fifty and seventy feet from the water. Within four or five miles of Antietam, wide and beautiful bottoms offer every facility for the cheap and easy construction of the road. Beyond that point, the sinuosities of the Potomac become so numerous, that a departure from its course is necessary in order to diminish the distance; but fortunately the face of the country allows this abandonment of the stream, and the road may be carried with no difficulty to the Conococheague at Williamsport, in a line nearly direct, and not exceeding sixteen miles, little more than half the distance by the river. To attain, however, the general level of the country beyond the Antietam, where the road thus diverges from the Potomac, an elevation of one hundred and fifty feet must be overcome, though this may be effected pretty gradually through some one of the numerous ravines which occur at that point. The elevation thus reached may be sustained by moderate cuts and embankments till the road descends again to the valley of the Conococheague, at Williamsport. This point is about seventy miles from Baltimore, by the ordinary road.

Proceeding beyond Williamsport, we begin to encounter the more considerable of the subordinate ridges parallel to the Allegany, and consequently to find the surface more rough and broken. The road, therefore, will conform pretty generally to the immediate bank of the Potomac, the great objection to which is the sinuosity of the stream, while the ground intervening between the bends is generally too high to be crossed. For several miles, however, before approaching Hancock, twenty-four miles beyond Williamsport, the river pursues a very straight course, presenting banks, at the same time, remarkably favorable for the work. West of Hancock, the valley of the river must of necessity be pursued, as the numerous mountain ridges crossing the route, of which Sideling Hill is the princi-

pal, are unbroken by any gaps, or even depressions, but such as have been made by the Potomac. Supposing this plan to be pursued, the distance from Williamsport to Cumberland, may be estimated at eighty-four miles, with an ascent of two hundred and seventeen feet.

Cumberland, we have said, is one hundred and thirty-seven miles from Baltimore. In the whole of this distance, which conducts us to the base of the Allegany, over a country so unpropitious at first view, there occurs no obstacle of serious magnitude, to the construction of the contemplated road, on principles too, the most convenient to the passage of the downward and upward trade respectively. At one place only, we believe, will it be necessary to employ stationary power; at the point where the road will cross the Parr's Spring Ridge.

We have now to consider the second division of the route, namely, the region of the Allegany, and its parallel ridges, as the Briery and Laurel Hills, westward of which last, as we have already mentioned, the country presents a much more practicable aspect, indeed a character altogether opposite. Commencing then, at Cumberland, two routes present themselves by which to traverse the Allegany region, and reach the western waters. The first, which was examined before the rail road company had obtained permission of Pennsylvania to enter her territory, continues up the valley of the Potomac as far as the mouth of Savage river, a tributary of that stream, and thence, by means of the ravines of the Savage, and of one of its tributaries, Crabtree creek, ascends the Allegany mountain, and so passes over to the tributaries of Cheat river. The stream last named is a principal branch of the Monongahela, which, as the reader knows, enters the Ohio at Pittsburg. From the Cheat and the Monongahela, this route would have passed to the Ohio by means of the valley of some one of the several tributaries of that river, which it would have struck at some point, between the little Kenahwa and the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania. The second route from Cumberland, which would immediately enter that state, proceeds up the valley of Will's creek (also a tributary of the Potomac), to some point where the ascent of the Allegany may be made to advantage, and then strikes over to the valley of Casselman's river, a stream flowing into the Youghagany, which itself runs into the Monongahela, a few miles above Pittsburg. The valleys of Casselman's river and the Youghagany open a passage

through the Briery Hill and the Laurel Ridge ; and it is believed, that the superior facilities of this route to the Ohio will cause it (now that the company may enter Pennsylvania) to be selected for the extension of their road. We return, however, to the description of the first route we have mentioned across the Allegany region, that our readers may perceive what difficulties it was designed and deemed practicable to surmount.

From Cumberland to the mouth of the Savage, the rapidity of the Potomac is very considerably increased, there being a fall of not less than three hundred feet in twenty-nine miles. The valleys of the Savage and of Crabtree creek are extremely rough and wild, and the ascent very great, exceeding sixteen hundred and eighty feet in sixteen and a half miles. This ascent overcome, and the summit of the Allegany and the Glades attained, the next difficulty is to descend into the valley of Cheat river, a stream buried in high mountains, throwing their steep slopes close to the water's edge, and hardly accessible to human foot. These precipices rise from the brink of the stream at an angle of forty or fifty degrees, to the height of seven or eight hundred feet. Such is the wildness of this tract, that the Engineers were three days industriously employed, in making a distance of sixteen miles. Our limits will not allow us to describe the various routes by which the descent to the valley of the Cheat, down these rugged precipices, was proposed to be accomplished. The most precipitous of them, which was in other respects, however, the most favorable, would have presented a declivity of one thousand one hundred and ninety-six feet in four miles and a half. The Cheat, as we have said, is a tributary of the Monongahela. In order to reach the latter, the alternative was presented of either crossing the peninsula which divides them, or of pursuing the Cheat to its confluence with the principal stream. The most favorable route across the peninsula presented an aggregate ascent of one thousand one hundred and thirty feet, and a descent of one thousand two hundred and sixty, in a distance of thirty-three miles and a quarter. These obstacles surmounted (which, though by no means invincible, appear, it must be confessed, sufficiently formidable), we have traversed the Allegany, with its parallel ridges, the Briery and Laurel Hills, the second of the divisions under which we purposed to consider the route of the railway. Fortunately, the direction of Will's creek, Casselman's

river, and the Youghagany, presents the means of doing this with much less labor and expense. The distance from Cumberland to the junction of the Cheat with the Monongahela, just beyond the western foot of the Laurel Hill, may be estimated at ninety-eight miles.

Having cleared the defiles of the great Back-bone of the United States, the passage of the road to the Ohio, along the valleys of its tributary waters, is easy enough. Of the route through Pennsylvania, by the Youghagany, the Engineers speak thus. 'After passing the Laurel Ridge by the valley of the Youghagany, we may,' say they, 'from the favorable direction of the different tributaries of the Monongahela and the Ohio, prolong the rail road to a point on the latter as far south as the Pennsylvania line, or even to the mouth of the Little Kenhawa; or we may continue down the valleys of the Youghagany and Monongahela, to the city of Pittsburg.' This route has been shown, on surveys made by them on a former occasion, to be practicable for a canal. We need not enter into a particular description of it, as a more minute survey will be made hereafter. So, too, the prolongation of the road from the Monongahela to the Ohio, by the more southern route of the valleys of Buffalo and Fishing creeks, forms a strong contrast with its passage across the summit level, by the Savage, the Crabtree and the Cheat, to the Monongahela. Buffalo and Fishing creeks, the former of which runs into the Monongahela, and the latter into the Ohio, are divided from each other by a narrow ridge only a quarter of a mile wide at its base, and only eighty or ninety feet high; an elevation so moderate that it is a little singular that the Monongahela did not break through it to join the Ohio, instead of being thrown so far north, through much greater obstacles, to meet that river at Pittsburg. The probability of the road's entering Pennsylvania, renders it unnecessary to describe minutely the route by Buffalo and Fishing creeks, or another by the valley of the Cheat and the Monongahela, to the Ohio. Nor shall we notice the examinations detailed in the Engineers' Report, of the country in the direction of the Great Kenhawa, by the way of the Shenandoah, and the South Branch of the Potomac, to the Greenbrier, farther than to mention the practicability of rail roads through these extensive districts, rich in agricultural and mineral products, that naturally tend towards the valley of the Potomac in search of a market.

The general direction of the route of the railway, as thus described, is, from Baltimore to the 'Point of Rocks,' a little south of west; thence to Hancock, approaching north-west. From Hancock to Cumberland, the general direction is very little south of west, though there is a great circuit in consequence of the direction of the river. Beyond Cumberland, by way of the Cheat, to the western base of the Laurel Ridge, the course, though winding, is included between south-west and west. Thence to the Ohio, the direction is nearly west. Should the route by Casselman's river and the Youghagany be adopted, the general direction from Cumberland to the mouth of Casselman's river, and thence by the Youghagany to Pittsburgh, would be north-west.

From this necessarily brief description of the three regions through which the rail road is to pass, our readers will have perceived, however, that in its whole extent, its practicableness is beyond doubt. In the western division, extending from the base of the Laurel Hill to the Ohio, there is, on any of the routes, so little serious difficulty to be apprehended, that the ground, on the contrary, is in a high degree favorable. The character of the Allegany, and the other ridges forming with it the height of land between the eastern and western waters, is certainly very different. But of the two principal routes across it, one is by no means impracticable; the other is expected to afford much greater advantages. Of the eastern division, the examinations are already so accurate as to evince the perfect facility of its construction. We shall here add some particulars of this last section of the route, embraced between Cumberland and Baltimore, as it has received a more minute examination than the others, and as an actual commencement has been made on a part of it, the twenty-four miles between Baltimore and the fork of the Patapsco above Ellicott's Mills.

The definitive *location* of these twenty-four miles was begun on the south-west boundary of the city, on the seventh of July last. At the very edge of the town runs a primitive ridge, which though narrow, extends through several of the middle states, in a direction from south-west to north-east, upholding, as it were, the country beyond it, and giving to the streams which cross it that very rapid fall, which forms a great part of the water-power in the neighborhood of Baltimore. This topographical circumstance, besides the consideration of introducing the road into that part of the town already built on (em-

bracing some considerable eminences), rendered expedient the adoption of a great elevation through the first twelve miles, no less than sixty-six feet above tide. This elevation, though it is so much gained, in reference to the subsequent part of the route, involved an extraordinary expenditure in the outset of the work, two sections alone, not exceeding one thousand three hundred yards in length, and including the 'deep cut' of seventy-eight feet depth, costing one-third of the total expense of the first twelve miles, which however, notwithstanding this accumulation of expense on a particular point, will not average for graduation and bridging, more than seventeen thousand dollars a mile, though they include a viaduct of two hundred feet across the Patapsco. It was never anticipated by the Engineers that the graduation and bridging of this portion of the route could be executed for less than double the cost of any other equal distance of the whole route, so far as it has been examined, or indeed, as they confidently assert, throughout the whole extent between Baltimore and the Ohio. On the twelve miles next above Ellicotts' Mills, the graduating and bridging may be effected for one-fifth of the average cost per mile of the portion between these mills and Baltimore; and it is added that the entire cost of the twenty miles along the Patapsco above the mills, will not exceed that of half a mile at the deep cut already mentioned. The Engineers allege that the extraordinary cost of the few sections nearest to Baltimore, has arisen from circumstances wholly unlikely to recur on any future parts of the route.

Besides the great elevation adopted, it was determined, in order to avoid any inclined plane on this part of the route, to maintain a *level* from the city to the valley of the Patapsco; to which must be added the distance of the materials from some part of this section of the road (stone not being at hand, and timber procurable only through importation by water); and also the inexperience of the workmen, and the general want, and even ignorance, of the machinery and tools best adapted to road-making. In fine, however, the average cost of preparing the first forty miles for the reception of the rails, will not exceed eight thousand dollars a mile; and with the most liberal allowance for laying the road with double tracks, and completely fitting the rails for the reception of carriages, and the application of the moving power, the total cost per mile throughout that distance, is not expected to exceed seventeen thou-

sand dollars. The computed cost, we believe, at the inception of the enterprise, was twenty thousand dollars.

The contractors have commenced work on the section between Baltimore and Ellicotts' Mills, and are rapidly advancing. A part is already finished for the reception of the rails, and there is every reason to expect that the graduation and masonry of the whole of it, together with some farther portions, will be completed by the first of June next. The contracts, notwithstanding the shortness of the notice, were readily taken, at fair prices; and the improvements already introduced in the performance of the work, such as temporary railways for the removal of the earth, with others, will not only reduce the cost to the contractors, but will be beneficially felt in future contracts. Meanwhile, surveys are in progress, in order to a final location of the road. These have already been made on the principal points, as far up the valley of the Potomac as Cumberlandland.

The localities, through which the above surveys have been conducted, are found, so far as the surveys are complete, highly favorable to the structure of the road. The natural surface in the immediate vicinity of the route, is generally firm, and well adapted to its support. Quicksands never occur; the hills are never so abrupt as to require tunneling; and though the course of the road, in order to preserve a level, is necessarily serpentine, the distance on the most favorable routes is far less augmented than might be supposed. Cliffs and precipices sometimes present themselves; but none of such extent or difficulty as not to be overcome at an expense comparatively moderate. The necessary timber is found in most parts beyond the immediate vicinity of Baltimore; but locust, though it abounds in some places, is not generally near at hand. The valley of the Potomac, frequently bounded indeed by rugged precipices, passable only by means of artificial road-ways, cut into the cliffs, or supported by walls reared from the bed of the river, is for the most part, nevertheless, easy of passage. The rocky *débris* at the base of the river hills not only afford a foundation, but supply the materials for constructing the bed of the road at a cheap rate, as also for the numerous small bridges and culverts that will be required. Good building stone is found almost universally. Stone rails can be delivered on the route at the moderate price of eight cents the running foot; locust sleepers for the same purpose, at twenty-five cents each;

white or rock oak for much less; and yellow pine for three cents the running foot. The timber for the wooden bridges, necessary in a few places, may be procured for eight dollars the thousand feet. Brick clay of uncommon excellence is obtainable in every part of the country. It deserves a particular mention, that between Baltimore and Cumberland, a distance by the rail road of one hundred and eighty miles, there occurs but one point, namely, Parr's Spring Ridge, where resort to an inclined plane, with stationary power, is absolutely necessary; for though it may be found convenient to employ a small stationary power on entering the valley of the Potomac, and near Williamsport, it is by no means inevitable. A like instance is wholly unparalleled in the history of works of this nature. The elevation to be thus overcome at Parr's Spring Ridge, is about five hundred and fifty feet. We may add another circumstance of no small moment; that, as the downward trade between Baltimore and Cumberland is so vastly more bulky than the upward, the acclivity towards the west is not an obstacle, but so much actual power gained. It is, indeed, not only an advantage fully countervailing the partial use of stationary power, but is more propitious to the exchange of commodities between these two points, than a perfect level through the whole distance.

A very important point of construction, is the proper graduation of the road. If the trade on it travelled all one way, this would be simple enough. But as this is not the case, and as the bulk and weight of the commodities are very different in the downward and in the return trade, it is necessary, in order to the just employment of the moving power, to adapt the graduation, as nearly as may be, to the relative amount of transportation from Baltimore westward, and from the Ohio to Baltimore, respectively. The route which connects them may, as regards this view of the subject, be divided into two sections, of which the point of division is the extensive coal region near Cumberland, whence a great amount of that article may be expected to travel eastward, and very little westward. At the same time, large quantities of iron and marble will probably be carried westward, thus counterbalancing in a great degree the heavy produce conveyed eastward, and contributing to render the reciprocal traffic more equal on the western than the eastern section, on which last the principal articles carried upward, will be groceries, dry goods, and other commodities,

light in proportion to their value. To adjust the relative weight of the commodities thus exchanged, involves, it is manifest, some nice calculation. The Engineers have assumed, however, that every ton conveyed from Baltimore to Cumberland, will be equal in value to five tons in the opposite direction; and every ton from Cumberland to the Ohio, worth two tons the other way. Hence, were it possible, such a uniform inclination should be given to the road that a given power should be sufficient to propel on the eastern section, in addition to the carriage, an amount of tonnage in the direction of the heaviest trade, five times as great as in that of the lightest; and on the western section, double the amount. This indeed, from the varieties of surface, is impossible; and a more complicated system of graduation, having reference to the different localities, must be resorted to, on the basis, however, of the principle just described. There are three elements that enter into a calculation of this sort; the proportion spoken of between the outward and return transportation; the proportion of the weight of the carriage to that of its full load, which is estimated as one to three, that is, that a carriage weighing one ton may be made strong enough to convey three tons; and the ratio of the load to the propelling power, assumed to be one hundred and fifty to one, that is, that a traction of one pound will draw on a level rail road one hundred and fifty pounds. The result deduced from these *data* is, that the inclination of the road, ascending from Baltimore towards Cumberland, should be at the rate of 15.086 feet per mile; and of 8.12 feet per mile, ascending from Cumberland towards the Ohio. Tables accompany the Report, exhibiting the graduations conformable to these principles, and to the various localities occurring.

The road will be constructed in the following manner. The usual width of rail-tracks in England is about five feet *from out to out* of the rails, or four feet six inches between the rails, with the addition of one inch for play between the flanges of the wheels and the rails. The width of the Quincy railway is about five feet between the rails; that of the Mauch Chunk three feet and seven inches. On the present road, four feet six inches and a half are suggested for the width between the rails, half an inch of which is allowed for play between the rails and flanges. The width of each rail is proposed to be two inches and a quarter, making the aggregate width of the rail-track four feet and eleven inches. A double railway, of

course, requires double the width just mentioned, together with a space of at least two feet between the inner rails of the two tracks ; making the width of the double railway twelve feet. The road-way, besides, should be formed outward from the tracks about three feet on each side, in order to give a firm support to the road. Thus, the entire width of the road will be eighteen feet, which will admit loads occupying a width of seven feet, to pass each other on the rail-tracks ; and there must be added six feet and a half for every additional track, turn-out, or *viaduct* ; which may be made at intervals not exceeding a mile. Two modes of construction are proposed ; one applicable to situations affording a solid foundation ; the other, where, embankments being necessary to form the bed of the road, much time will be required for its settling and consolidating.

The former consists in forming the bed on the natural surface, or excavating so as not to disturb its solidity ; or by constructing the bed of stone, so as to make at once a stable foundation. The bed being prepared, trenches eighteen inches or two feet wide are to be formed for the reception of stone rails, resting on broken stone. The rubble stone is to be laid in the trenches to the depth of six or eight inches, and stone rails, three, six, or eight feet long, and twelve, fifteen, or eighteen inches broad, with a thickness of six or eight inches, (undressed except at the ends, which must be made to form a square juncture, at least at their upper edges,) are then to be laid edgewise in the trenches, and so adjusted as to bear fully and equably on the rubble stone. Paving stone, of the size proper for a *McAdamized* road, is then to be thrown into the trenches on both sides of the rails, and on the road-bed, to the entire width mentioned above, raising it nearly to the level of the upper edge of the rails. This pavement, by ramming and rolling, is then not only to be made solid, but impervious to water, which last is to be effected by the detrition of stone to fill the interstices ; and the stone rails are then to be dressed on their upper surface, to the width of about two inches and a half, in exact conformity to the plane of the road. To these are to be applied plate rails of wrought iron, from eight to twelve feet long, two inches and a quarter wide, and half an inch thick, confined by iron rivets. To obviate the effects of the expansion and contraction of the metal, the rivet holes are to have an elliptical form. Scuppers for draining the water will

be formed at intervals of three or four hundred yards, and bridged by iron plates. In situations where a temporary structure is advisable, wooden sleepers will be substituted for the trenches. These will be laid transversely to the road, at distances corresponding to the length of the rails, and furnished with notches for wooden rails of oak, hard pine or chestnut, faced with iron plates as before, and connected by ties extending across the road. The spaces between the sleepers are to be filled with rubble stone or gravel, so as to form a road-bed. When the embankments settle, and the wood shall have decayed, stone rails will be substituted, after the mode first described.

Some particulars taken from the Engineers' Report, will show the various impediments occurring in the construction of a rail road, and in what manner it is designed to overcome them. The first are the undulations of the surface. It is a principle, that horizontal flexures are admissible, but that vertical ones are to be avoided; that is, that a serpentine road is better than one of alternate ascents and descents. But to preserve the same plane, the inequalities of surface must be avoided either by making a circuit round them, or by deep cuts, embankments, or bridges leading across them. Several obvious considerations render the first of these preferable at this time, and it is accordingly recommended by the Engineers, more especially on account of the facility which railways afford of making improvements in both their location and construction at any subsequent period. The subject of curvatures in these roads seems seldom, say the Engineers, to have attracted the notice of writers upon them. Any curvature whatever must necessarily be a defect, because, in addition to the increase of distance, there arises, from the difference of the length of curve in the interior and exterior rails, a sort of longitudinal sliding, or friction equal to that of dragging half the load without wheels through a distance equal to the difference spoken of. It is believed, however, that this difficulty may be almost entirely obviated by a different construction of carriages from that now in use. In Great Britain curvatures are frequently met with, of a radius not exceeding three hundred, or even two hundred and fifty feet. The former is the least radius of curvature at Quincy; the least at Mauch Chunk is four hundred and thirty-seven feet. The surveys of the experimental lines on the present road have been conducted on the assumption that no curvature with a radius of less than four hundred feet is

admissible. Another impediment in construction is the passage of ravines and water-courses, which must be effected either by culverts or bridges. Here the culverts are to be of stone, with a span not exceeding ten feet; those of six feet and upwards, to be formed of abutments and arches constructed in the usual manner; and those of less span, like the Gothic culverts on the national road west of Wheeling. The bridges will be built of yellow pine, resting on stone abutments; the mode of construction that of Burr. Wooden bridges are preferred, their first cost being so much less than that of stone bridges, that the interest on the additional capital required for the latter is sufficient to keep those of wood in complete repair. Stone bridges are more liable to injury from frost, the dilapidating effects of which are unavoidable in the climate of the country to be traversed by the railway. Derangements in the line of the road, occasioned by the settling of the abutments and piers, can be more easily rectified when the bridges are of wood; and the necessary repairs more readily made, and with less obstruction to the transportation.

That the Allegany ridge can be crossed by any road of this nature without serious impediments from the abrupt slopes and precipices of that region, is of course not to be expected. The most formidable of these are the steep and rocky river-banks, which often present perpendicular fronts of great height, while their bases are washed by copious streams, occasionally swelling into torrents. To the difficulty of forming the road-bed in such situations, must be added that of securing it from avalanches of earth and stones, which can be effected by hardly any other means than by increasing its width. Side walls, of greater or less height, must be erected for the support of the road, and a broad drain formed between it and the hill-side, for the reception of the earth and stones that may be detached from the latter. A yet greater difficulty is to raise the road above the reach of freshets, and secure it from violent currents of water. Over low grounds, often inundated, it must be conducted at a considerable elevation; and along precipitous slopes, against which the currents, in high water, impinge with violence, strong walls of heavy stones must be built on the bed of the stream, and raised beyond the utmost height of freshets ranging often from ten to forty feet.

But the greatest impediments of all are such hills and mountains as are of too great extent and elevation either to be trav-

ersed by a deep cut, or perforated by a tunnel. In ascents where part of the gravity of the load must be overcome in addition to the friction, the power required for locomotion must be increased in proportion to the angle of ascent ; in descents, again, where there is an excess of gravitation beyond the friction, the too rapid descent of the load must be prevented by suitable *brakes* or *convoys*. In respect, also, to the former, the advantage of a railway over an ordinary turnpike road decreases with the increase of the angle of ascent ; and when the descent exceeds an angle of three degrees, brakes attached to the carriage will not adequately retard the descent, and stationary brakes and convoys must be resorted to. The expense of overcoming ascents will of course vary with their height, except where adequate water-power is attainable ; that of descending involves only the cost of suitable convoys, and of conveying down the motive power. That cost would be considerable if horses were employed ; but could be avoided by stationary machines, whether moved by water, steam, or horses.

In regard to the latter power, the Engineers' Report contains the following estimates. The force or traction of a horse, moving at the rate of two miles an hour during ten hours of the day, is commonly computed to be equal to one hundred and twelve pounds. When the daily duration of his labor is less than ten hours, the degree of traction will be proportionably greater, till it amounts to about two hundred pounds ; and so, when his movements are accelerated beyond two miles an hour, it will be proportionably diminished. A horse therefore, moving two miles an hour, will communicate a force twice as great as when he moves four miles ; or the number of horses requisite to propel a given load, must be doubled when the speed is doubled. This rule, however, is applicable only to velocities beyond that at which a horse can exercise his full strength to the greatest advantage, namely, two miles an hour. A somewhat analogous reasoning, it is added, is applicable to ascents where a portion of the horse's gravity forms a part of his load ; and when the angle of ascent equals eight degrees, his power, over and above what is necessary to his own progress, vanishes altogether. However seemingly discordant these conclusions with common experience, they must, says the Report, be taken into account in every question as to the application of animal power. Again, if steam power be employed, its effect on the load will be in direct proportion to the velocity, and, in contrast with

animal labor, affords the following results. A steam power equivalent to that of one horse *actually hitched*, or a traction of one hundred and twelve pounds, and moving at the rate of four miles an hour, will be equal to that of two horses moving at the same rate ; and the same steam power, with a velocity of eight miles an hour, will be equivalent to that of four horses laboring in a manner to produce the greatest useful effect.

It appears, when steam is employed, that the quantity of coal requisite for surmounting heights, is at the rate of one pound per ton for every 35·2 feet of elevation, in addition to what may be required for any given distance forward. It is not doubted that water power may often be advantageously substituted for stationary steam power on the route of the intended road. Coal will be abundant, as the road itself passes through districts where it is inexhaustible, and of the best quality. The use of locomotive engines is likely, we believe, to be recommended by considerations of both rapidity and economy in the carriage. The engineers who, as will be seen, have recently been sent out to England, will collect everything new on this subject ; and, in the mean time, the road is so constructed as to allow of the employment of either horse or steam power. But we must quit these details, concluding with the remark of the Engineers, that while they have no reason to question the justness of the views they have given on these various subjects, they cannot pretend that their opinions are fully matured, and will be wholly sustained by future experience. A wide, and comparatively new field of investigation is to be explored. The Board of Directors, under this conviction, despatched, in October last, to England, Captain McNeill, of the United States' Engineers, Mr Knight, civil engineer, and Lieutenant Whistler, also of the United States' Engineers, to possess themselves of accurate information respecting all recent improvements in the construction of rail roads, and the application of moving power upon them, so as to complete their work in a manner the most economical and efficient. It is their purpose, on the return of these gentlemen, to prosecute their enterprise on a still more enlarged scale.

We have incidentally mentioned some of the productions of the country which is to be traversed by the road, when speaking of the materials of its construction. These must also become articles of trade, in the event of its completion. Nature seems to pursue a kind of compensatory system in depositing

her greatest mineral wealth where the surface is most rugged. The marble, the lime, the slate, the lumber, &c. of this region, only want convenient access to market in order to become highly valuable. Inexhaustible beds of iron ore, already worked to a considerable extent, have been found on all the routes examined for the road; and when there shall be a facility of transportation both for the coal used in its preparation, and the commodity when manufactured, this branch of industry must be greatly augmented. So abundant is the coal, and so easily procurable, in the vicinity of Cumberland, that it is used for fuel in places where the timber lies rotting on the soil. Its fitness for the manufacture of iron has been tried with success. To the point where this most important mineral is found so abundantly, there seems no reason to doubt the quick and easy construction of the road; and the results to Baltimore must necessarily be important. On this part of the subject it must be added, that the region on and contiguous to the Potomac and its waters, is highly agricultural, and already abundant in the wealth of the soil. Ellicotts' Mills, so often mentioned in describing the course of the road, is a flourishing village, on the Patapsco, which affords a large water power. Important manufactures exist at this spot, which contains a population of one thousand five hundred souls. But the road once opened to the Ohio, the products of that vast and fertile region must inevitably swell the trade of the rail road to a vast amount. A sense of their interest in the present undertaking has awakened the attention of the whole country along the route, and caused the actual or promised donation of the land necessary for the road, through the greater part of its course. An actual cession, without charge, of the necessary quantity has been made on that part of the line under contract, as also the right of quarrying for stone. The Company are assured that a similar disposition generally prevails on the route between Ellicotts' Mills and the Potomac. From the point where the road intersects that river, as far as Cumberland, they already hold deeds or full relinquishments at nearly all the important points.

The present stock of the Company is four millions of dollars, of which the state of Maryland and the Corporation of Baltimore hold each half a million. The talent and experience which have been employed, give assurance that this fund is not likely to be thrown away in an idle and fruitless scheme. The Company possess, in Philip E. Thomas, Esq. of Balti-

more, a very active and efficient president. Their board of Engineers consists of Colonel Long, J. Knight, Esq., and Captain McNeill. Dr Howard, of the United States' Engineers was engaged in the *reconnaissance* and preliminary surveys on which the first report of the Engineers is founded; and the Engineer Department liberally gave the assistance of a number of the officers of the army. The Superintendent is Casper Weaver, Esq. Arrangements are making to complete forthwith the construction of the first twelve miles of the road, and place carriages on them, that there may be a return to the Company on its expended stock with the least possible delay. There are at present about two thousand laborers engaged on the road. The Directors assure the stockholders of their unabated confidence of success; and that, with a judicious application of their funds, they shall achieve the timely completion of a road that will secure the utmost facility of intercourse between Baltimore and the Ohio.

ART. X.—1. *History of the States of Antiquity*. From the German of A. H. L. HEEREN, Professor of History in Göttingen, and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions. 1 vol. 8vo. Northampton, Mass., and New York. 1828.

2. *History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from the Discovery of America to the Independence of the American Continent*. From the German of A. H. L. HEEREN, Professor of History in Göttingen, and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions. 2 vols. 8vo. Northampton, Mass., and New York. 1828.

ALTHOUGH the name of the translator of these works does not appear upon the titlepage, and accordingly is not placed at the head of this article, yet we do not scruple to make use of it here, in order that our readers may be assured, from the first, that the work is executed by an accomplished hand. Besides, the translation does not claim to be anonymous, and we are justified in the license we take, if it be a license, by the fact that the name of Mr Bancroft is affixed to the Preface; a gen-

tleman to whom the lovers of learning have long felt under obligations, for the various exertions he has made to introduce the knowledge of German literature among us. Of this literature we have never entertained but one opinion, and that is, that the hours, which the scholar devotes to it, are among the most delightful and profitable of his life. We rejoice, therefore, that the necessity of translations is every day growing less, by increased facilities for acquiring the language. Among these, one which deserves especially to be mentioned, is an admirable German Grammar, lately prepared by Dr Charles Follen, of Harvard University, of which we regret that it would here be out of place to speak more at large.

If the work before us were a translation from any other department of literature than history, we should admit the objections commonly urged against translations, in their utmost extent. The works of imagination come to us, through the medium of a foreign tongue, disrobed of half their native attractions. They wither under the influence of the translator's pen, like plants transferred from their proper soil, or beauties carried to an ungenial clime. But history feels this blighting influence slightly, if at all. The historian does not address our fancy, but our reason, and reason has little regard to the outward appearance. If the language be correct and perspicuous, truth, which is the historian's single aim, requires no more. The style of narrative is nearly the same in every language, and Heeren speaks through the medium of a translation, in nearly the same manner as in his native dialect. The only reason, therefore, why we should have preferred an original work of equal merit with the one before us, instead of a translation, is that our national pride would have been gratified, in claiming the author of such a performance for our countryman.

It is certainly a subject of regret that, in a country which has furnished such ample and interesting materials for history as ours, so little should have been done by our countrymen to illustrate them. The thought is indeed humiliating, that the best history which has yet appeared of our glorious Revolution, should have been the production of a foreigner. But we deem it a subject of still deeper regret, that so little provision is made in our systems of education, for the study of history. Our public seminaries have almost totally neglected it. The oldest and the most amply endowed institution in the land, has no professorship of history. Under these circumstances, we

cannot wonder, however much we may regret, that the United States have produced no distinguished historians. Our Humes and our Gibbons must be self-taught geniuses, or a radical change must be made in systems of instruction.

It is not our intention to enter into an elaborate argument in favor of the study of history. It would seem that few men could require any other motive, provided external circumstances throw no obstacle in the way, than that which their own bosoms furnish, in the strong and universal feeling of curiosity implanted there. In the complete abstraction of all views of utility, one might suppose that the mere thirst for knowledge would bring men to the sweet fountains of history, and that the more copiously they drank, the more earnestly they would long to come and drink again. And if ever this intellectual spur should cease to prove sufficient, we should look with confidence to the aid of that all-pervading sympathy, which men feel in the interests of their race. This would bring them to search in history, as the great biography and obituary of nations, for the records of what man has already done and suffered. And as the light of the past sends its rays into the future, the same expansive feeling, running forward, as well as backward, would once more bring them to history, for the means of predicting the lot of succeeding ages.

But another motive, of a higher character than any we have mentioned, is a love of truth. What Lord Bacon has said of this most exalted attribute of intellectual beings, will not be deemed extravagant. 'Truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it; is the sovereign good of human nature.' This is the language of one who was as competent to judge concerning truth, as ever mortal was; and none will question his sincerity, who thinks of the labyrinths of subtilty and sophistry, through which *he* was compelled to seek this 'sovereign good.'

But here perhaps we shall be charged with taking for granted what requires to be proved; namely, that truth is to be found in history. We should dislike to incur the imputation of credulity, but, though it be at the hazard of this, we must confess that we do not belong to that class of skeptics, who from Horace Walpole downward, have taken delight in assailing the credibility of historians. The author of '*Historic*

Doubts ' may have been sincere in his unbelief, and not less so his renowned father, Sir Robert Walpole ; of whom it is somewhere related, that when, in his last illness, he was asked if he would have some book of history read to him, he answered, ' No ; it was now too late to be amused with works of fiction.' But such sneers as these never prove anything. If they did, where would our belief in Christianity now be ? No doubt they exercise an influence upon the opinions of many men ; but if they do, it is only because a sneer cannot be refuted, otherwise than by a sneer ; and the advocates of truth disdain such means of defence.

The whole tribe of skeptics in history seem to have acted upon the maxim, that every historian should be deemed a liar, until it is proved that he tells the truth. Now this, to say the least, is very disingenuous dealing. For it is easier to doubt the truth of a hundred narratives, than to establish, by proof, independent of the testimony of the historian, the truth of one. Thus the contest is far from being waged on equal terms ; for to doubt is level to the capacity of every one, but to believe and justify belief often requires the highest wisdom. Nor is such skepticism disingenuous only ; we believe that it is also unphilosophical. The maxim by which our historic faith is regulated, is directly the reverse of the one just mentioned. We hold it reasonable to confide in the veracity of the historian, until evidence be found to convict him of falsehood. If a narrative, purporting to be true, carries strong marks of improbability upon the face of it ; or if it be contradicted by other more weighty and independent testimony ; then we would withhold our belief ; for belief under such circumstances would be worse than credulity. But when neither of these causes of disbelief exists, we are contented to rest our faith upon the bare assertion of the historian. For, on the one hand, we cannot perceive what possible inducement he can have to deceive posterity ; and we do not believe that any man will forego the solid satisfaction there is in uttering what is true, unless he is under some immediate and powerful temptation to the contrary. But, on the other hand, we can perceive motives in favor of truth, which, if moral considerations be not a dream, must operate upon the historian with peculiar force. If he be worthy of his high employment, he must feel at the moment he is writing, that the accounts he gives may determine the belief of millions yet unborn ; and that too, in relation to the most

momentous events with which mankind are concerned ; to the origin, the growth, and the downfall of empires ; in one word, to all that rises and all that disappears, as destiny's vast wheel rolls over the nations. Upon such themes as these, and under such responsibility, we cannot easily be brought to believe that historians will trifle with truth.

Let it not, however, be supposed from what we have said, that we lay an equal stress upon the narratives of all historians indiscriminately. In our view, the best commentary upon a historian's works, is the history of his own life. Without questioning his veracity, we still require some knowledge of his means and opportunities, before we yield him our implicit confidence. Accordingly we regard the *Memoirs of Gibbon*, written by himself, and accompanying his history, as operating like a letter of credit with posterity ; at the same time that it affords the reader as rich a banquet of amusement and instruction, as he can anywhere find within the same compass. The same may be observed of that beautiful miniature, which Hume sketched of himself in the last days of his life.

Those who agree with us in the sentiments just expressed, will hear with pleasure, that Heeren has not left us ungratified in this particular. Under the form of a letter to a friend, prefixed to the first volume of his works, we have an agreeable account of the whole course of his studies. It is written with peculiar modesty, and constantly impresses the reader with a conviction, that he claims far less than he deserves. As this letter, so far as we know, has never been translated into English, and as the author is an ardent admirer of our institutions, as well as one of the most distinguished scholars of the age, we trust that a brief abstract of his life will not be unacceptable to the readers of this journal. Besides we know not how we can better commend his history to the extensive circulation which it merits, than by exhibiting the unwearied labor and vast research, by which the author prepared himself to write it.

Arnold Herrmann Lewis Heeren, was born in Arbergen, a small village near Bremen, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1760. He was born in the same house, in which Dr Olbers, the celebrated discoverer of Pallas and Vesta, was born three years before. Two special advantages attended his birth, for which he always expressed gratitude to the Author of his being. One was, that he belonged to that happy mediocrity of rank, which is equally removed from the pressure of poverty

and the temptations of superfluity. The other, that he inherited a constitution so sound and vigorous, that, during a period of sixty-eight years, his labors have hardly been twice interrupted by a transient disease. His first fifteen years were passed at Arbergen, where his father was settled as a preacher. The first instruction he received was in Latin and geometry, and was given by his father, who was himself a distinguished scholar. Soon, however, the official labors of his father made it necessary to employ private instructors, one of whom, namely Hasselmann, is mentioned with gratitude, as the man who first excited in the future historian a fondness for history. This fondness soon became so great, that nothing could find favor with him, which did not come in the form of narrative ; though as yet he had not learned to discriminate between fiction and truth. Robinson Crusoe had now greater charms than Nepos ; but it was in reading a translation of *Paradise Lost*, and following Satan in his passage through the boundless void, that his mind first caught a glimpse of the grand and sublime. As might be expected from the circumstances of his family, his mind, during this period, was deeply imbued with religious impressions.

‘I had learned,’ he says, ‘that the prayers of the pious never rise unheard. An inundation of the Weser threatened to destroy the dikes ; on my knees I prayed that it might not happen, and they were saved. Could I doubt that my prayer was the cause ? This was harmless, for I was yet too young for religious vanity. But I have learned from experience how circumspect parents and teachers should be in their religious instruction. The words that were read to me before my confirmation, “Whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily,” etc. threw me into most fearful consternation and perplexity.’

At the age of fifteen, his father being called to officiate in the cathedral at Bremen, he entered the first class in the cathedral-school in that city. Of his progress in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while at this school, he speaks disparagingly. But every Saturday morning two hours were given to a Latin disputation, which to Heeren was worth more than all his other exercises. We shall translate his own words.

‘That was my field. Now as opponent, and now as respondent, I was always upon the arena ; and soon I made such progress, that, lover of peace as you are wont to call me, there were few who would venture to contend with me. These exercises were afterwards continued without interruption at the University. And if

there be clearness in my ideas, or fluency in my discourse, to them especially I owe it; and I bless the hours which I devoted to them.'

Heeren's mind was precisely of that sagacious and inquisitive character to be benefited by the change from a quiet country village to an enterprising commercial city. Nothing escaped his notice. Till now he had been entirely destitute of that kind of miscellaneous information, which floats, as it were, upon the surface of society. Whatever related to commerce he seized with avidity; and the world, which had before appeared to be composed of insulated tribes and nations, now presented itself to his mind as one great family, whose members mutually supply each other's wants. How little did the future historian of commerce foresee the purpose to which this knowledge was to be applied! But there was another subject of still higher interest, concerning which he was now to receive his first impressions. The American Revolution had just commenced. Bremen felt its influence more perhaps than any other city in Europe. The great questions of liberty and equality were agitated in the circles where our young philosopher was introduced. From the first he embraced the liberal side, and has ever since shown himself the uniform advocate of political liberty. That which was at first only the generous sentiment of a fervent spirit, became matured, by subsequent study and reflection, into a governing principle of thought and action. Would you estimate its effect upon the historian? Then compare the picture of Greece, in the days of her glory, as sketched by Heeren, glowing with admiration of her free institutions, with the dark caricature of Mitford, who abominated the very name of a republic.

The period had now arrived for entering the University. In 1779, at the age of nineteen, he went to Göttingen, with the design of studying theology. If we admit his own statement, his knowledge of the languages was so limited, that he was in danger of profiting little by his first half year. But chance brought him to the lecture-room of Heyne, the man who, in every respect, had the greatest influence upon his future life. Heyne was then delivering his celebrated lectures upon Grecian antiquities, and under their influence the taste of Heeren at once took a new direction. Without immediately renouncing all thoughts of theology, he yet resolved to make himself a profound Greek scholar. He commenced with the *Odyssey*, at

the same time reading portions of Plato and Plutarch. 'With the Lexicon on one side, and the Grammar on the other,' to use his own words, 'he masterèd every difficulty.' In less than four months, he obtained permission to try his skill in a critical interpretation of one of the choruses in Seneca the Tragedian. Heyne listened to him for an hour, without making more than one suggestion; and then encouraged him by the laconic but expressive remark, 'That promises something.'

Next to Heyne, Spittler was the man, who, by his conversation and his lectures on political history, exerted the most decided influence upon the mind of Heeren. He wanted a model of historic style and method. He found one in Spittler; and far above the pityful vanity of attributing everything to himself, he was forward to confess on every occasion, how much Spittler had done for him. His method of reading history, which he now commenced in its original sources, he thus describes.

'For each period, the leading author was laid down as a basis, and excerpts were made in a chronological order. At the same time, other authors treating of the same subject were read, and the variations noted in parallel columns. I still believe that this is the best method for beginning the study.'

During his last academic year, Heeren lived in the world of poetry. Heyne's lectures had created in him a passion for the Greek poets. His proficiency in this department is evinced by the fact, that at the instance of Heyne, he undertook and executed, during this year, a collection of the fragments of Grecian Lyrics, which must have required him to examine nearly all the writings of the Grammarians, Scholiasts, and Rhetoricians.

The time had now come, when a decision respecting his future course of life must be made. Through the influence of a professor whose esteem he had gained, a diplomatic office was offered him in Switzerland, with a good salary, an allowance for travelling expenses, and a future pension. He had resolved to accept it; but a letter from a sister, whom he almost idolized, suggesting the difficulty of returning contentedly from the splendor in which he would live, to a quiet and contemplative life, made him waver in his purpose. Heyne's advice was, 'Refuse it; in the end it amounts to nothing, and what can be wanting to you here?' This decided him to remain at Göttingen. Accordingly he took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy and Arts, and prepared to commence his course as private lecturer. In

order to succeed in this, it was necessary to do something which should call the attention of the literati to him, and the question was what he should undertake. Philological criticism never had any peculiar charms for him, and yet this was the point of view, in which it was now for his interest to show himself to the public. Accordingly he summoned up resolution enough to appear as a critic and annotator. While preparing his collection of fragments before mentioned, he had the rare fortune to meet with the work of a Greek rhetorician, *Menander upon Panegyric*, which had never been touched by a critic's hand, and which had the further recommendation of an exceedingly corrupted text. With all despatch, he prepared it for publication. The publisher to whom he carried his manuscript, had never heard of such a man as Menander the Rhetorician, and the answer he gave was, 'Child, nobody reads that.' However, since they were friends, and since Heeren asked nothing for the manuscript, the work appeared in due form. The author adds that, 'as Menander had no very great claims to remembrance, he may think himself fortunate to have found even such a commentator.'

The sweets of literary toil, Heeren had for a long time enjoyed. He was now to learn, for the first time, that even these are not without their bitter intermixtures. Severe application had produced a debilitated frame of body, and this, by reason of that secret sympathy between body and mind, which all feel so sensibly though none can explain it, began to affect the tone of his spirits. Though naturally of a lively temperament, he felt an unavoidable gloom gathering round his mind, and threatening to settle down into a sullen melancholy. To prevent this disastrous effect, by removing the cause, and at the same time to extend his acquaintance with mankind, he resolved to travel. A legacy left him by a distant relation, came most opportunely to supply him with the means. Another lucky accident gave him a specific object to be accomplished by his tour. An old companion of his studies had returned from Spain, and brought with him a copy of the writings of Stobæus, which he presented to Heeren. Of this work there were only six copies extant, and these were to be sought in the libraries of Austria, Italy, France, and Holland. A careful collation of these promised a rich harvest of additions and emendations.

Accordingly, the direction as well as purpose of his travels being thus defined, he left Göttingen in July, 1785. Time will

not permit us to accompany him in this interesting tour, nor to speak of the many illustrious men, with whom he formed acquaintance, and often intimate friendship. His visit to the queen of cities was the longest and the most delightful. In studying and admiring the wonders of art, in contemplating the awful majesty of ruin, and in visiting the places which were hallowed in his classic recollections, seven months flitted away like an exquisite dream. It was here that he met with Cardinal Borgia, one of those lofty spirits, who, while on earth, seem below their proper sphere. From the moment of their introduction, they were most intimate friends. A father could not have been more kind, nor a lover more fond. Heeren had access to him at all times, and always left him with regret. He ranks him among the venerated few, who have exerted a decided influence upon his character, and has always considered him the most perfect mortal he has had the felicity to know. To tear himself from such a friend was a far more painful effort, than to look for the last time on the beauty and grandeur of Rome. With their separation commenced a frequent correspondence which ended only with the death of Borgia in 1804, while on his way to attend the coronation of Napoleon. We must not omit to mention, that while at Rome, Heeren had an opportunity of requiting the attentions of the Cardinal, and at the same time of bringing into use his knowledge of Grecian literature and antiquities, by writing two elaborate essays upon two of the most remarkable specimens of sculpture in Borgia's collection.

In June, 1787, after visiting Naples, Florence, Leyden, and Paris, he returned to Göttingen, and in August received an appointment as Professor extraordinary of Philosophy. A new and a difficult career was now opened to him. In a university where free competition makes the support of every professor depend solely upon his own merits, and where most of the chairs were filled by veterans of long established fame, he was to create for himself a reputation. During the first two years, he gave lectures to a small circle of hearers, upon the history of belles-lettres, upon Roman antiquities, and upon Tacitus and Sallust. In 1790, he delivered his first course upon ancient history and geography, which has since been repeated every term without interruption. One would suppose that he could have found little time for other literary pursuits; yet he informs us that he was, at the same time, associate editor of the

"Library of Ancient Literature and Art." * Nor is this all; for in 1792, after immense labor in comparing and correcting, he published the first volume of his work entitled, *Johannis Stobæi Eclogarum Physicarum et Ethicarum Libri Duo, etc.*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Borgia. As soon as it came out, he sent a copy to one of the most respectable literary journals, but not the slightest notice was taken of it. He could not help feeling chagrined at this neglect, but it led him to form a resolution, which he ever afterwards kept, namely, to leave his works to their fate and never trouble himself about their circulation. His subsequent success proves the rule, in his case at least, to have been a good one.

Heeren's experience in preparing Stobæus made his conviction stronger than before, that mere verbal criticism was not a department congenial with his disposition. He required a wider range, and one where his heart as well as head could be engaged. We have already mentioned his early fondness for history. This passion had increased with age, and he now resolved to make historical investigation the primary occupation of his future life. Hereafter, then, we are to survey him in the dignified character of a historian. We have seen what seeds he had sown, and we are now to learn what were their fruits.

That he might commence as far back as there were lights to guide him in his researches, he examined with laborious fidelity all the original sources of our knowledge of Asia and Africa, considered in a historical, commercial, and political point of view. The result of his inquiries appeared in a work entitled *Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the Chief Nations of Antiquity*, the first volume in 1793, the second in 1796. The universal applause with which this first historical effort was greeted, the more grateful as following the neglect of Stobæus, was more than a compensation for the years of toil it had cost him. Of the general merits of this work, the American public may judge from the portion selected and translated by Mr Bancroft in 1824, under the title of *Politics of Ancient Greece*. We shall only add, that had his labors terminated here, posterity would have hailed him as a benefactor, and assigned him an exalted place among profound and sagacious historians.

* Bibliothek der alten Literatur und Kunst.

It now seemed that but two additions could be made to the felicity of Heeren's condition. In describing the first, we shall translate his own words. "About this time a change took place in my domestic state. A daughter of the man to whom I already owed so much, the eldest daughter of Heyne, by his second wife, became the companion of my life. She has forbidden me to speak much of her, but thus much I will venture to say to you; that the twenty-second of April, 1796, was the day of the commencement of unsullied domestic happiness, which has been mine for twenty-five years." The other change above alluded to was in his connexion with the university. In 1799 he was appointed Professor of History. This was the summit of his wishes, and the measure of his happiness was full. Previously, however, to this appointment, it should be mentioned that he wrote a *History of Classic Literature in the Middle Ages*, which forms the fourth and fifth volumes of a work undertaken by an association of literary gentlemen, under the auspices and editorship of Eichhorn, entitled *A History of the Arts and Sciences*.

In 1799, soon after his appointment to the professorship of history, Heeren gave to the world the work on ancient history, whose title is placed first at the head of this article. He had been lecturing for nine years upon the subjects of which it treats, and had gone up to the fountain-head for all his information. It embodies, therefore, the results of his researches during this long period, and if the certainty that a writer has had ample time, ability, and opportunity to collect and elaborate his materials well, be any recommendation of a work before examination, this work possesses that advantage in its fullest extent. Of its particular merits we shall speak hereafter.

The interval that elapsed between 1799 and 1809 was occupied, besides his regular duties as professor, in collecting and arranging the materials of the work, whose title is placed second at the head of this article. At the time of its appearance, Europe was groaning under the fetters of Napoleon. This circumstance operated to give the book a rapid circulation. Why it should thus operate, will be readily conceived by those who consider how much more fairly mankind appreciate the blessings of which they are deprived, than those which they enjoy. This history professed to be a delineation of the political relations of kingdoms and states independent of each other. That independence was now nearly swallowed up in

the despotic rule of a single individual. From its loss men began to feel its value, and accordingly they seized with avidity the work which developed its beneficial effects. The first numerous impression was exhausted within a year. The second edition came out in 1811. The third, by reason of numerous pirated impressions, was not called for till 1819. Meantime Napoleon's career had terminated, and the chains of Europe were broken. This gave the author an opportunity of adding to this edition, an account of the restoration of those political relations, whose origin and progress he had before described.

Upon all the subjects hitherto mentioned, Heeren had been lecturer as well as author, and the number of his hearers had increased every year. But we have not yet seen the whole compass embraced by his lectures. He gave each year a course upon Statistics, in which he placed before his hearers, not a bare collection of tables exhibiting numbers instead of things, but a philosophical view of the organization, resources, and economy of nations. His fundamental idea was that nations are to be regarded, not as inanimate machines, but as a kind of moral beings; and accordingly, that it is as absurd to apply to them the rigorous results of numerical calculation, as it would be to apply to the movements and the conduct of individual men, the laws which regulate inert matter. In conformity with this idea, he first analysed government into its distinctive forms, and then illustrated the nature and operations of each by a living example. For the representative of a monarchy with a free constitution and free administration, he chose Great Britain; France represented a monarchy free in its constitution, but arbitrary in its administration; Russia, a monarchy arbitrary both in its constitution and administration; and the United States, a federative republic founded in the sovereignty of the people. To these forms, thus illustrated, all others were referred; and then it only remained to treat of the different nations in detail. Of these lectures nothing has yet been published.

Another course of lectures illustrated the kindred subjects of Geography and Ethnography. Heeren considered these as among the most useful which he gave, though not the most interesting, either to the lecturer or the hearer. Their chief object was, not so much a particular description of each separate division of the globe, as a general survey of the materials of which the known nations of the earth are composed, and of

the limits of our knowledge concerning them and their places of abode. We shall close this account of Heeren as a lecturer, with observing that he made it an invariable rule never to enter the lecture-room until he had placed the train of ideas distinctly before his mind; but the language was left to the suggestions of the moment. The only use he made of notes was to assist him in remembering names and dates. He believed that the hearers could not be interested, unless the speaker evinced a deep feeling of what he uttered; and he could not conceive how this was possible in the cold and mechanical method of reading from manuscripts.

If, to what has now been related, we add the labors which resulted from his connexion with literary and scientific associations, we shall have taken a view of all the grounds upon which Heeren's literary reputation rests. These consist of fifteen or sixteen essays on various subjects, published in the Transactions of the Scientific Society of Göttingen; together with numerous tracts in that department which was peculiarly his own, namely, inquiries into the authority of the most distinguished historians and geographers of antiquity. He was a member of many foreign associations, but never contributed to their transactions, except in a single instance. He wrote upon the prize question proposed by the French National Institute, in 1808, on the *Consequences of the Crusades*.

We shall now close this sketch of Heeren's life by translating a single paragraph.

‘My poetical vein was nearly exhausted in my youth, but not my fondness for poetry. This, in my old age, is still as fresh as ever. But the compass of my favorite poetical reading has been exceedingly narrow. My taste was formed upon the great models of antiquity; and whether they, or the authors of Iphigenia, of Obe-ron, and of Piccolomini, or both together, have spoiled me, I cannot say; but I confess that I cannot see how it is possible to place by the side of these, such works as put the hair rather than the heart in motion, and which, though in the phrase of the critics they are “well spoken of,” are soon destined to be utterly forgotten. French poetry has never pleased me so much as French prose. Shakspeare I know more from translations than from the original, for that language was early rendered disgusting to me by the man who taught it. I have read the Italians much, and with me Tasso still continues to be the prince of modern epic poets. The great masters of history and eloquence have occupied me most, but I never felt capable of making an individual of them

a model, if I had wished it. Rhetorical pomp never made any impression upon me, but I was almost overwhelmed with the simple grandeur of the eloquence of William Pitt the younger. From all, I have derived one special rule, which is, to express my thoughts as naturally as possible, and so clearly and precisely, that no one can mistake my meaning. In the formation of my style, I have aimed to be neither artificially refined nor carelessly negligent. To the rigid *purists* I do not belong. To reject from our language all the foreign words in general circulation, would in my view impoverish it; and in one who writes upon political subjects, it would be stiffness and affectation. The end of my wishes and endeavors has been to write, not merely for the schools, but for the enlightened public. To do both at once is difficult. The art of not saying much that one might say, an art rare in our literature, is the first requisite.'

Thus, in a few pages, we have run over a long, a crowded, and an honorable life. We shall make no apology for this digression from the immediate subject of review; for we consider the example of such men as Heeren nearly as valuable to mankind as their works. They are glorious illustrations of a truth, which if it could gain universal credence, would change the moral aspect of the world, namely, that unwearied labor conquers all things. But it is time that we turn from Heeren's life, to a more particular consideration of the works which in Mr Bancroft's translation are laid before the public.

Our first remark is, that though admirably adapted for textbooks in the study of history, and perhaps primarily designed to be so used, they are at the same time worthy of a place in every man's library, as most convenient books of reference. We never remember to have seen so much important information brought into so small a compass. Before entering upon the history of each nation, the author enumerates the original sources from which his own knowledge was obtained, and then annexes a list of all the distinguished authors who have written on the same subject, with the titles of their works. Sometimes, also, Heeren gives in a few words his opinion of the authors cited; and this will pass for no slight merit with those who consider the multitude of books which go under the name of history, and who believe, as we do, that no man living was better qualified to make a judicious selection. For these reasons we feel assured that even the adept in history, when he has examined these volumes, will not be willing to be without them.

Next in value to the actual possession of information, may justly be reckoned a knowledge of the places and the works where that information is to be found. It is a kind of map to the literary traveller, which saves him from many a devious wandering.

There is another excellence not common in histories, and therefore the more to be praised. We refer to the strict attention always paid to geographical limits. In the ancient history particularly, we find the boundaries uniformly marked out with scrupulous accuracy, before entering upon the regular history. It cannot be necessary to remark how intimately our recollection of events is associated with the place where they happened. Every one feels this truth, and acts upon it. Gibbon informs us that he never thought of studying the history of a country, until he had first ascertained whatever could be known of its position; and we can readily believe this, having always been struck, in reading his history, with the astonishing minuteness of his geographical knowledge.

After the sketch we have given of Heeren's life, it is almost superfluous to say that he was, in the strictest sense of the term, a philosophical historian. Though both the works before us belong to the class denominated general, yet they do not, like most general histories, exhibit a mass of insulated facts, instead of a connected series of events. The author may not have brought together so many distinct particulars, as many others would have done. But on the other hand, he has succeeded in what is far more difficult. In his selection of events, he has confined himself to such as are of primary importance; and he has presented these to the reader under the fundamental relations of cause and effect. Historical writing would have had no charms for him, if it had been nothing more than a mere narrative of facts. His delight was to reason upon events; to trace them back to their origin, and then follow them out into their results. He did not believe that the character of a historian required a man to lose sight of his own personality; for in that case, Polybius and Tacitus, Hume and Müller, Gibbon and Robertson, must be struck out of the list. To write without prejudice or prepossession, as far as that is possible, he regarded as a duty of sacred obligation; but he did not feel himself called upon, by the office he had assumed, to suppress the feelings which his subject excited. Writing under these impressions, he unites the three characters of philosopher, man

of feeling, and narrator. This remark applies more particularly to the modern history, because the period which has elapsed since the discovery of America, contains more ample and more interesting materials, than any period, of equal length, within historic memory.

We are not disposed to speak disparagingly of those collections of facts and dates, which are now in circulation under the title of general histories. If we were, we could bring high authority to support us, and would quote the following passage from Lord Bacon on Learning. 'As for the corruptions and moths of history, which are epitomes, the use of them deserveth to be banished, as all men of sound judgment have confessed, as those that have fretted and corroded the sound bodies of many excellent histories, and wrought them into base and unprofitable dregs.' We do not fully acquiesce in this sweeping denunciation. On the contrary, we believe, that such compends and epitomes may be useful, if kept in their proper places, that is, to exercise the memory of schoolboys. Higher than this, they certainly should not aspire, and then the works of Heeren will never come into competition with them; for these address themselves, not to the memory alone, but to the judgment and the reasoning faculties. The epitomes to which Lord Bacon alludes are the abridgments of single authors.

Those who are conversant with even the higher order of histories now in use, must have remarked how little notice is taken by their authors of the two great subjects, commerce and colonization. These have given a new face to human affairs, and yet how insignificant is the place they fill in the secondary modern histories. But not so in Heeren's. These are the two great points of view in which he exhibits the period from the year 1500 down to the present time; and therefore to all who are desirous of understanding the commercial and colonial interests of Europe, in connexion with the political, we recommend the study of Heeren.

With one remark more, we shall dismiss the subject. It has been observed in our abstract of Heeren's life, that his views were of an independent and liberal character. The works before us would be sufficient evidence of this, if we had not his own confessions to that effect. The second embraces the period in which the momentous question of freedom arose, was discussed, and finally settled by the establishment of our independence. A friend to arbitrary principles might have given

such a coloring to the transactions connected with that great event, as would neither have been agreeable nor profitable to the citizens of a republic. Accordingly we look upon the liberal spirit which characterizes all the writings of Heeren, and none more than the last mentioned, as one of its weightiest recommendations. Without this, whatever might be its other merits, we should neither wish nor expect it to be popular here. But having this superadded to its other excellences, and being thereby adapted to the feelings as well as to the wants of our community, we earnestly commend it to the friends of education.

ART. XI.—*Historia de la Revolucion de la República de Colombia*, por JOSE MANUEL RESTREPO, Secretario del Interior del Poder Ejecutivo de la misma República. Paris. 1827. tom. 1-10.

OF Mr Restrepo's long expected work, the first part, containing the history of the revolution in New Granada, down to 1819, has at length made its appearance; and the public will not be disappointed in their anticipation of its merit and importance. It is a perspicuous, well-arranged, and impartial history of the period which it embraces, recounting, in a simple and natural style, not only the battles fought, but the political incidents, and the views of prominent men, equally necessary to be understood, in order to possess a complete knowledge of such a revolution. The work is inscribed to Bolivar,* whose

*The following is a translation of this dedication;

'To his Excellency Simon Bolivar, Liberator President of the Republic of Colombia, Liberator of that of Peru and invested with the supreme command thereof, &c.

'So soon as I resolved to occupy a part of my leisure in the bold enterprise of writing the History of the Revolution of Colombia, I naturally conceived the idea of dedicating it to you, who have been its Creator and Liberator, who have attained the chief magistracy therein, and whose name honors its most brilliant pages with deeds never to be forgotten. This was demanded by justice, gratitude, and admiration; but something more has been required by friendship. In permitting me to place your name in front of the History of Colombia, you have exacted that I should dedicate it, not to the Liberator Pres-

name is connected with so many brilliant events in the history of Colombia, and who bears the proud title of 'creator and liberator of the republic.' It contains, also, a multitude of curious details concerning the earlier portion of his career, which are not to be found, at least not in the same exact and authentic shape, in any other book, with which we are acquainted. And inasmuch as Bolivar forms one of the great subjects of interest of the present day, we have thought we could not make any use of these volumes so well calculated to recommend them to public attention, as the compiling from them, in connexion with other sources of information within our reach, an account of his life, character, and political views.

To a portion of our hemisphere this is becoming a topic of deep, of fearful importance. Bolivar has been denounced in Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, as an ambitious aspirant after universal power, aiming to terminate his career of victory by the conquest of all the free states of South America. In Colombia he is already supreme in rank, and invested with authority unlimited in scope as in duration. If his ultimate purposes are to usurp dominion over his native land, and by force of arms to extend the sceptre of military despotism over the neighboring countries, the youthful nations of the South may well regard his progress with mingled terror and hatred, uncertain how soon they shall become the helpless victims of a prosperous tyrant. But if, on the contrary, his professions truly indicate his intentions, and the latter are like the former, honest, patriotic, and just, then are his opinions and actions not less profoundly interesting, considered in reference to the condition of the people of Spanish America, and the future destiny of the new fraternity of republics in the South. And in countries not directly concerned in the solution of the problem which his character presents, he is necessarily an object of universal attention, as the prominent individual of the day, appearing before us clothed in all the *prestige* created by a long

ident of the Republic, but to my friend General Bolivar. Gratefully do I comply with this request, which at the same time that I regard it as sacred, fills me with the most profound respect and gratitude.

'I am

Your most devoted fellow citizen,
and obedient servant,

J. Manuel Restrepo.'

Bogotá, June 3d, 1825.

career of military triumphs, the hero of the South American revolution, as Washington was of the North American and Napoleon of the French, and leaving it yet doubtful whether he shall be associated in fame with the Father of his Country, or with the fallen Conqueror and dethroned Usurper. We propose to give to this subject a dispassionate examination, which is the more necessary at the present moment, when the partial and distorted facts, and the rash judgments, continually coming to us through the medium of the public prints, have rendered that obscure and uncertain, which, impartially considered, is sufficiently clear and intelligible.

Simon Bolivar was born in the city of Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, July 24th, 1783. His father was Don Juan Vicente Bolivar y Ponte, who held the office inherited from his ancestors of *regidor alferes real* in the municipality of Caracas ; and his mother Doña Maria Concepcion Palacios y Sojo ; both of noble and distinguished families. He was left an orphan at an early age, when he had scarcely acquired the first elements of education. Dissatisfied with the means of gaining knowledge afforded by his native country, and anxious to improve himself by travel, and by access to the more extended intellectual advantages of the eastern continent, he embarked for Spain with the view of travelling in Europe, being one of the few natives of the Spanish colonies to whom this privilege was granted by the jealousy of the government. On the way to Europe he visited Mexico and Havana. After finishing his studies in Madrid, he traversed the south of Europe, visiting its principal cities, especially Paris, where he was an eye-witness of many of the important incidents of the revolution. Whilst in Paris, he is said to have rendered himself an acceptable guest in its gay circles, although his favorite occupation was the study of those departments of science, which were calculated to prepare him for the active duties of the soldier and statesman. And at this period it was, that he conceived the project of delivering his country from the cruel tyranny of the Spaniards.

On his return to Madrid, he married a lady of distinction, belonging to one of the first families in America. She was the daughter of Don N. Toro, uncle of the Marquiss of Toro in Caracas, and possessed those qualities which an excellent education in the court of Spain was fitted to impart. Bolivar conducted his lady to Caracas, and in the bosom of domestic tranquillity, devoted himself to the improvement of his extensive patrimonial

estates. At this time he obtained the commission of Captain in the militia in the valleys of Aragua. But his domestic happiness was destined to be of brief duration ; for his wife suddenly sickened of the yellow fever and died, leaving him inconsolable for her loss. To relieve his feelings from the pressure of grief, he again repaired to Europe, and by a chance, which, in reference to his subsequent fortunes, may be considered singular, he happened to be in Paris when Napoleon assumed the imperial diadem. What influence the sight of that imposing spectacle may have exercised over his ardent and excitable character, time alone can declare. His imagination might easily have been captivated by the surpassing splendor of a scene so extraordinary. Bolivar saw the child of destiny in his days of glory, when his star was culminating ; and it would not be wonderful if an event of such a nature, of which Bolivar was the eye-witness, should have made a more lasting impression on his mind than the terrible reverses which ere long followed, but which he knew only as matters of history. But of this, more in the sequel.

Bolivar was on his return to Caracas, visiting the United States by the way, during the period marked by the abdications of Charles and Ferdinand at Bayonne, so disastrous in their consequences to the Spanish monarchy. Soon after he reached Caracas, his intimate friend, the Spanish general Don Vicente Emparan, also arrived, in the capacity of Captain General of Venezuela, to which he was appointed, first by King Joseph, and afterwards by the Central Junta of Spain. Emparan's partiality to the new dynasty soon became generally known, through the means of Bolivar, and contributed to augment the disaffection of the leading inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their deep sense of the injustice of the Spanish government towards them, still entertained a certain feeling of loyalty towards Ferdinand personally, *el amado Fernando*. At length, on the nineteenth of April, 1810, the patriots of Caracas assumed the reins of government, placing the administration of affairs in the hands of a select body called the Supreme Junta, and seized the persons of Emperan and the members of the *audiencia*, who were immediately sent to the United States. These events constitute the commencement of the revolution in Venezuela ; and as Bolivar was one of the principal actors on this important occasion, his life is from the beginning in truth identified with the history of his country's independence. He received from the Junta the rank of Colonel, and was also commissioned, together with

Don Luis Lopez Mendez, to proceed to London, and solicit the protection of the English cabinet for the newly formed government of Venezuela. His mission being terminated by a declaration of perfect neutrality on the part of Great Britain, he returned to Caracas, and lived for a while in comparative retirement, owing to some dissatisfaction either with the measures of the government, or with the individuals by whom it was exercised. But his rank, talents, acquirements, and influence were steadily devoted to the object of effecting the separation of his country from Spain. The efforts of himself and other patriots at length produced the declaration of independence, July 5th, 1811, which was the signal for hostilities between the contending parties, and again called Bolivar into action in his appropriate sphere.

The Spanish regency had despatched the royal commissioner Cortobarria to Puerto Rico, with full powers to reduce Venezuela to subjection. In pursuance of a plan concerted in conjunction with him, the Spaniards, and others opposed to the new order of things, armed and embodied troops, took possession of Valencia, and raised the standard of revolt against the authority of the Congress. General Francisco Miranda was immediately despatched, at the head of three thousand men, to chastise the insurgents, and Bolivar joined his ranks as a volunteer, serving as a member of his staff, and in that capacity displaying his characteristic military talents and activity. Miranda dispersed the rebels in Valencia; and was only prevented, by the jealousy of the government, from doing the same with a body of the disaffected in Coro, who afterwards proved powerful opponents of the republican cause. For when the tremendous earthquake of March, 1812, filled Venezuela with ruins and mourning, the fanatical clergy, who were strongly addicted to the Spanish interests, eagerly embraced the opportunity of working upon the superstition of the people; and by ascribing that awful catastrophe to the vengeance of Heaven, indignant at the disloyalty of the patriots, they succeeded but too well in perverting the judgments of their bigoted and ignorant followers. Sustained by this circumstance, the royal troops under the captain general Monteverde assumed the offensive, and rapidly advanced from Coro to the west of Venezuela. The Congress, finding they now had to struggle for existence, had recourse to measures of corresponding decision. Setting an example which the South Americans have so repeatedly imitated since, they resolved to

confer on General Miranda the authority and name of Dictator, that he might prepare for the threatened emergency with all the energy of concentrated power. One of the earliest acts of his administration was to entrust the command of the important post of Puerto Cabello to Colonel Bolivar. But while Miranda's judicious conduct was sustaining the hopes of his party, they suffered a fatal disaster in a quarter where it was least anticipated. The Spanish prisoners confined in the castle of S. Felipe which commanded Puerto Cabello, succeeded, by corrupting the officer on guard, in obtaining possession of the castle; and thus obliged Bolivar to evacuate the place (July 1st, 1812), and to undergo the mortification of returning to Caracas, to communicate the unwelcome news to his general. The loss of Puerto Cabello gave such decided advantages to the royalists, that Miranda was driven to the necessity of concluding a capitulation with Monteverde, by virtue of which Venezuela was given up to the Spaniards, upon condition merely of immunity to the persons and property of individuals, three months being allowed to all such as desired to quit the country.

Relying upon the protection of this treaty, General Miranda, with the other leading patriots, including Bolivar, retired to La Guayra, for the purpose of embarking for Carthagená, and joining the cause of independence in New Granada. Unfortunately La Guayra was then commanded by Colonel Manuel Maria Casas, whose baseness and perfidy have consigned his name to the same immortality of infamy in South America, which distinguishes Benedict Arnold's in the North. To ingratiate himself with the Spaniards, he contrived to seize and deliver up his countrymen to their merciless enemies, by whom, in defiance of the most sacred rights, Miranda and more than a thousand others were thrown into dungeons at La Guayra and Puerto Cabello. The friends and enemies of Bolivar differ in their representations of the part he took in these melancholy transactions. Certain it is, that he was under the necessity of submitting to great sacrifices to regain his liberty; but he finally obtained a passport from Monteverde by special favor, and escaped to Curaçoa, from whence he took passage for Carthagená (September, 1812), and proffered his services to the republican government, in company with various other emigrants from Venezuela.

At this time, although the republicans were predominant in nearly the whole of New Granada, yet the royalists had posses-

sion of Santa Martha and Rio de la Hacha. It was all important that they should be driven from these positions, especially from Santa Martha, and a French officer, named Labatut, was employed on this service by the government of Carthagena. Being successful in forcing several of the enemy's positions in the province, he was appointed commander in chief on the river Magdalena, and gaining one advantage after another, in fact was fortunate enough to take Santa Martha, although he soon lost it again by his incapacity and folly. The government of Carthagena, little anticipating the brilliant fortune which awaited Bolívar, appointed him to the command of the little station of Barranca within the district committed to the adventurer Labatut, and of course regularly under his orders. But the active spirit of Bolívar prevented his remaining contented in the obscurity of a subordinate command, and led him to undertake, of his own authority, a movement of that bold conception, and vigorous, rapid execution, which afterwards became the great characteristics of his military genius, when he rose to be the trusted leader of the armies of independence.

By fortifying the town of Tenerife, the Spaniards were enabled to obstruct the navigation of the upper Magdalena. While, therefore, Labatut was seeking to reduce Santa Martha, Bolívar prepared a little expedition with such scanty resources as he could collect, suddenly attacked the Spaniards in Tenerife, drove them before him, and gathering an accession of forces as he proceeded, continued his victorious march to Mompox, dispersing the hostile parties which occupied various positions on the eastern bank of the Magdalena (December, 1812). Labatut, who had given no orders for this expedition, and who felt jealous of the reputation Bolívar was acquiring, loudly demanded that he should be subjected to trial before a court martial for his unauthorized procedure. But the government of Carthagena justly appreciated Labatut's motives, and wisely protected Bolívar in an assumption of power, which he was using so advantageously. Meanwhile he was recognised at Mompox as 'commandant of arms' in the district; and having obtained a reinforcement of regular troops, militia, and gun-boats, he resolved, ascending the Magdalena, to penetrate into the interior of the province, having now a body of five hundred men under his command. The Spaniards, who had boasted that they would not even respect a flag of truce, fled in disorder before him to Chiriguana, where they were overtaken and dispersed,

their commanders Capmani and Capdevila escaping with difficulty. The result of this expedition was the deliverance of the city of Ocaña, which Bolivar entered in triumph, amid the *vivas* and acclamations of the oppressed inhabitants (January, 1813).

Bolivar's arrival in Ocaña was, indeed, at a most opportune moment; for a division of the Spanish army under Correa was preparing to penetrate into New Granada, which, torn by civil dissensions, possessing few able officers, and destitute of adequate munitions of war, was in no state to withstand the coming foe. The Congress of New Granada had committed this task to Colonel Manuel Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona, who immediately applied to Bolivar for assistance in defending Pamplona and Cúcuta. As Bolivar depended on the government of Carthagená, he waited to obtain their consent, and meanwhile rapidly traversed the whole line of the Magdalena to Mompo, collecting arms and ammunition, and information concerning the positions and force of the enemy. He now conceived the daring project of reconquering Venezuela. Filled with enthusiasm himself, and having inspired his little army with the same noble sentiments, he took the field with only four hundred men, and a few additional musquets for arming Castillo's battalion. From Ocaña, he proceeded by the rough road across the lofty Cordillera which stretches along the province of Santa Martha, directing his march towards the city of Salazar de las Palmas. Spreading a false report of the strength of his army, he caused the enemy to abandon an impregnable position upon the heights of La Aguada, and every successive point at which they rallied, until he reached San Cayetano. None of these advantages cost him a drop of blood; being all owing to the celerity of his movements, to his intrepidity, and the superiority of his genius in the art of war. At length Correa concentrated his diminished and weary forces in the city of San José de Cúcuta, where Bolivar resolved to attack him in his quarters, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with doubtful success, until Bolivar commanded his followers to charge with bayonets, and the impetuosity of their attack decided the victory in his favor (February 28th, 1813). The Spanish troops sustained a total rout, leaving all their artillery, munitions, and baggage to the conquerors. Correa himself escaped, although badly wounded; but the patriots gained an immense booty in merchandise, which the merchants of

Maracaybo, supposing the conquest of New Granada certain, had caused to be conveyed to Cúcuta for sale. The victory was of immense importance, therefore, to New Granada, by freeing the valleys of Cúcuta of the presence of a dangerous enemy, and completely defeating the object of the Spaniards in organizing Correa's expedition.

All eyes were now turned on the fortunate individual, who, by the mere force of personal talent, had, in so short a period, achieved such brilliant success. The Congress of New Granada immediately appointed him to the rank of brigadier in the service of the Union, accompanying the commission with the most flattering expressions of confidence and applause. He was now a marked man. Torres, the president of Congress, and virtual head of the government, entertained from this period the highest anticipations of Bolivar's future career, and became a steady and useful friend to his interest. Stimulated by the reputation he had so quickly acquired, Bolivar was impatient to march upon Venezuela, representing the enterprise of expelling the Spaniards as easy on account of the discontent of the people, and as necessary to the security of New Granada. But his preparations did not proceed tranquilly or smoothly. Reverses were suffered by the patriots of Carthagena, who lost possession again of Santa Martha, and made a requisition upon Bolivar for the troops of Mompo. But a more serious difficulty occurred by reason of a difference between Castillo, the commandant of Pamplona, and Bolivar, whose command was within Castillo's military district, and by strange absurdity of arrangement was neither entirely dependent on, nor entirely independent of Castillo. As this affair illustrates the character of Bolivar, and was of important influence on his fortunes at a later period, it deserves to be explained and understood here.

Castillo was a man of small capacity and contracted views, unable to look beyond the little routine of his office, and wholly unfit for anything but garrison duty or a subordinate station, where he might have rendered himself useful. Assuming authority as commandant of Pamplona, he took upon him to censure Bolivar for his want of economy, and for the supposed disorder which reigned among his troops. New cause of jealousy arose in consequence of Bolivar's declining to subject the troops of Carthagena to the orders of the Congress, and disclaiming all connexion with the political disputes of the various provinces. Bolivar sought to avoid a serious rupture with Cas-

tillo by all reasonable advances to accommodation ; but without success. An angry correspondence ensued, and appeals on each side to the authority of the Congress produced nothing but mutual criminations, which served to render the breach irreparable. The principal charges of Castillo against Bolivar were, that he preserved no order in his division ; that he suffered all the booty captured in Cúcuta to be dissipated foolishly ; in fine, that he thought of undertaking the delivery of Venezuela without the necessary troops and resources, and would thus sacrifice the soldiers of the Union in a rash and impracticable enterprise. Bolivar, on the other hand, accused Castillo of introducing discord from envious motives, of being destitute of capacity, incapable of executing anything useful, and of losing the season for action in idle observance of misplaced rules of order.

Probably the imputations of both parties were not without foundation. Monteverde then had possession of Venezuela with six thousand men, while Bolivar's troops amounted to hardly a thousand. Most persons, therefore, considered his plan as rash and wild, characterizing his project as worthy only of a desperate man, ready to venture everything upon a single hazard. His military credit was not yet established, and while his personal intrepidity, the boldness of his designs, and his great activity, were universally admitted, the admission was coupled with accusations of temerity, of want of economy, and of permitting the resources of the troops to be dissipated. But Bolivar himself never doubted for a moment of the result, provided the enterprise was conducted with boldness and celerity ; and he succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to authorize his advance into Venezuela. In the progress of that expedition, as on later occasions, it sufficiently appeared that in this case, as in many others of the same kind, Bolivar's views were distrusted only because they were in advance of his cotemporaries and associates. Whether Bolivar caught the idea from observation of the military policy of Napoleon, or whether like circumstances suggested to him a like system of operations, and so render him equally deserving of the praise of originality of genius, we know not ; but certain it is, that a striking similitude is to be seen in the tactics which they both adopted. Bolivar broke loose at once from the shackles of military routine which enslaved the Spanish officers. He astonished them by forced marches over roads previously deemed impracticable to a reg-

ular army. While they were manœuvering, hesitating, calculating, guarding the customary avenues of approach, he surprised them by concentrating a superior force upon a point where they least expected an attack, cut up their troops in detail, and substituted a system of rapid and brilliant evolutions for the tardy movements of his predecessors. To do this, however, it was necessary that much apparent, and some real disorder should introduce itself into the commissariat of his army, to so marked a degree at least, as to outrage the notions of such a narrow-minded formalist as Castillo.

In these observations, we have somewhat anticipated the course of events; but they are material to the understanding of Bolivar's actual position, and of his character as a soldier. Notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by Castillo and others, he did obtain permission to enter Venezuela, by means of the strong representations of the practicability of his plan, which he addressed to the Congress of New Granada. Castillo coöperated with him in the outset, and was usefully employed in driving Correa from La Grita; but at length, declaring that he could no longer lend his countenance to an expedition so wild, he resigned his commission, after marching his detachment of the troops back to Tunja. The government appointed commissioners to accompany Bolivar, and direct his operations; but the celerity of his movements prevented their joining him; for when they reached Cúcuta, he had already pushed his little army, now reduced to about five hundred men, into the heart of the province of Merida, and was proceeding onward unincumbered by commissioners or troublesome associates in command. Previous to his departure, however, and while he was making his preparations at Cúcuta, a Venezuelan officer, Colonel Briceño, had collected a small party of cavalry, and set out for the city of San Cristobal on his own authority, although he had promised to submit himself to Bolivar's orders. (April, 1813.) Hardly had he arrived there, when, thinking to strike terror into the Spaniards, he issued a gasconading proclamation, declaring war *á muerte* against them, and offering liberty to such of their slaves as should kill their masters. Regardless of consequences, he penetrated with his little party as far as Guadalito, where he was met and routed by the Spaniards under Tiscar, who, in revenge of his conduct, ordered him and sixteen of his officers with a number of the inhabitants of Barinas to be shot in that city as rebels. Briceño's absurd

proclamation occasioned Bolivar much uneasiness, because he himself was censured as responsible for it, until the atrocious procedure of the Spaniards became known.

This unpleasant affair, and a multitude of other causes of embarrassment, being finally disposed of, Bolivar commenced his march from San Cristobal, with an army, small indeed for the mighty task they were undertaking, but commanded by such officers as Rivas, Jirardot, Urdaneta, D'Eluyar, and others worthy to be associated with Bolivar. He rapidly advanced towards Trujillo, driving the scattered fragments of Correa's force before him; and learning on the way that the patriots of Merida had risen upon the Spaniards on hearing of his approach, he entered that place, and reëstablished the republican government as it had previously existed (July 5th, 1813). Meantime his vanguard, commanded by Jirardot, occupied Trujillo, after a desperate but successful engagement with the last relics of the Spanish force in that quarter. Thus the two provinces of Merida and Trujillo remained entirely free; and Bolivar was enabled to obtain such intelligence of the state of Venezuela as to convince him that the happy termination of his enterprise depended solely on the celerity and decision of his movements; as any delay would not only occasion the consumption of his own resources, but would give the enemy opportunity to recover from their surprise and collect their troops. His measures were accordingly taken with energy and despatch corresponding to the importance of the emergency, and he labored with incredible activity in augmenting his little army with recruits, and thus preparing for the desperate struggle involved in his ulterior movements. And ere he left Trujillo, circumstances occurred, which gave to the war a character of peculiar desperation. We allude to the declaration of *guerra á muerte* made by Bolivar, which, as it is spoken of more frequently than it is understood, requires proper explanation in this place.

In Merida and Trujillo, Bolivar received exact information of the enormities practised in Venezuela by Monteverde and his satellites. So far as Monteverde acted under positive instructions from the Spanish government, the latter might be considered more especially responsible; and their instructions amounted to the declaration of a war of extermination against the patriots of Venezuela. Spain regarded all the patriots in the light of traitors and rebels found in arms against the king. Hence her obstinacy in refusing to enter into any convention

with them ; hence the contempt of her officers for the most solemn capitulations, on the ground that no agreement made with traitors is obligatory ; hence their rejection of proposals for the exchange of prisoners, under circumstances the most favorable to themselves ; hence their atrocity in shooting in cold blood the officers or political chiefs of the republicans, and frequently also every soldier that fell into their hands, by way of making fit examples of public justice. All this afforded ample justification for acts of reprisal, the only method by which, in a state of war, such violations of national law can be met by the suffering party. But Monteverde, or persons acting under his authority, committed innumerable other acts of gratuitous cruelty upon the unhappy Venezuelans, more becoming a fiend than a human being. In defiance of a solemn capitulation securing perfect immunity to persons and property, villages were sacked and edifices burned ; multitudes of respectable individuals were thrown into miserable and noisome dungeons in company with the basest felons, loaded with fetters, mutilated in wonton barbarity, shot, or subjected to a more ignominious death ; in short, no device of ingenious persecution was left untried upon the wretched inhabitants. The state of things could not have been worse, if Venezuela had been taken possession of by a savage enemy, sword in hand, for the purposes of predatory conquest or devastation. Happily this infatuated policy, impolitic as it was iniquitous, awoke a spirit of resistance and of vengeance in the bosoms of the Venezuelans, which ensured their independence. All the horrible particulars came to Bolivar's knowledge on his entering Venezuela. At the same time he received information of the recent butcheries in Barinas, which, as happening partly in consequence of his own enterprise, he deemed himself more immediately called upon to notice.

In such circumstances of extreme irritation was this celebrated declaration issued, under date of Merida, June 8th, 1813. It was the terrible resource of a season of despair. It is couched in the most passionate language of outraged feelings, smarting under the sense of unprecedented wrongs, and breathes a spirit of vindictive resentment, which nothing but the horrors of such a warfare could have kindled in the human breast. The document is before us, with another proclamation of the same tenor issued at Trujillo, July 15th, 1813, and a justificatory letter of Bolivar's on the subject written subsequent-

ly. These papers are in no better taste than Bolivar's recent proclamations and other state papers; being characterized by the same declamatory, turgid style, and carrying the inflated idiom of the Spanish language to the extreme limits of propriety; but it is impossible to peruse them without perceiving the marks of no ordinary mind in every page. After stating the purpose of the expedition, and denouncing the general character of the Spaniards in America, the first proclamation concludes thus;

'The executioners, who entitle themselves our enemies, have violated the sacred rights of nations in Quito, La Paz, Mexico, Caracas, and recently in Popayan. They sacrificed in their dungeons our virtuous brethren in the cities of Quito and La Paz, they beheaded thousands of them, prisoners in Mexico; they buried alive in the subterranean vaults and pontons of Puerto Cabello and La Guayra our fathers, children, and friends of Venezuela; they have immolated the president and commandant of Popayan with all their companions in misfortune; and ultimately, oh God! as it were in our very presence, they have perpetrated a horrid butchery in Barinas of our fellow soldiers made prisoners of war, and of our peaceful compatriots of that city. But these victims shall be avenged, these executioners shall be exterminated. Our gentleness is already exhausted; and since our oppressors force us to a mortal struggle, they shall disappear from America, and our soil shall be purged of the monsters that infest it. Our hatred shall be implacable, and the war shall be unto death.'

It should be added that this did not import the indiscriminating massacre of all the prisoners in cold blood; but only that since the Spaniards had treated the patriots as rebels apprehended in arms, the extreme right of retaliation should be used upon Spaniards in the same circumstances. This declaration has been differently characterized, being lauded to the skies by some as an act of superior discernment, and of prime efficacy in securing the independence of the country, and not less warmly denounced by others as an act of desperation and barbarism. Impartial historians must regard it as one of those extreme and doubtful instances of military discretion, to be justified at any time only by establishing a case of most imperious necessity, such as may excuse a departure from all the ordinary rules of warfare among civilized nations. It is impossible to deny, however, that if an occasion ever existed, which could authorize the application of such violent remedies, it was this, where the agents of the

mother country had, in defiance of the most sacred obligations, absolutely rioted in tyranny and bloodshed.

To return to our narrative. Bolivar ascertaining the favorable aspect of things in Venezuela in consequence of Monteverde's tyranny, directed his attention towards the province of Barinas, then occupied by a Spanish force of two thousand men under Don Antonio Tiscar, destined for the invasion of New Granada. When Tiscar was informed that Bolivar, in his rapid advance upon Trujillo, had followed the road westward of the Cordillera of the Andes between that and the lake of Maracaybo, he determined to cross the mountain in two points and intercept Bolivar's communication with Cúcuta, sending one detachment to Merida under Don José Marti, and holding another in readiness at Guadualito under Don Jose Yañez. Discovering Tiscar's plan, Bolivar despatched his rearguard under Rivas with orders to engage Marti, and daringly threw himself into Guanare, thus intercepting Tiscar's communication with Caracas. The happiest result attended this bold manœuvre. Rivas obtained a brilliant victory over Marti on the heights of Niquitao, absolutely destroying his detachment; and Bolivar took possession of Guanare by surprise, obtaining a large and valuable booty; while his vanguard under Jirardot vigorously pursued Tiscar, who, separated from Marti and Yañez, fled with his troops in confusion to Nutrias and embarked for Guayana. Of all his army nothing remained but scattered fragments of the corps, which, collecting under Yañez, retired into the remote plains of the Apure. Thus Bolivar accomplished his first object, of dispersing the Spaniards nearest New Granada, which, now freed from the apprehension of invasion, acknowledged at last the justness of Bolivar's views; and president Torres acquired much credit for having sustained him against all the attacks and intrigues of his enemies.

Bolivar now divided his army, which had increased considerably during his late operations, into two divisions, and directed their march towards Caracas through the provinces of Trujillo and Barinas. Several engagements were fought, before Monteverde collected his forces for a decisive trial of strength. At last he assembled his best troops at Lastoguanes, and sustained a total defeat, in consequence of which he was obliged to shut himself up in Puerto Cabello, and Bolivar obtained possession of Caracas by the capitulation of the Spanish governor. He continued his career of victory in Venezuela, while Mariño was

effecting the deliverance of the eastern provinces ; and with such glorious success, that in August (1813) Puerto Cabello alone remained in the possession of the Spaniards, and Bolivar was justly hailed as the 'Liberator' of Venezuela. Monteverde received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, and again took the field, refusing all exchanges of prisoners, disregarding the ordinary rules of warfare, and giving to the contest a character of unprecedented desperation and ferocity. But one victory after another crowned the arms of the patriots ; and at the close of the year Venezuela still continued to be independent. During this period all the powers of government were vested in Bolivar alone, who, acting under the advice of the magistrates and principal citizens of Caracas, retained the dictatorial authority which he derived from his situation as general of the liberating army. It is not alleged that he himself abused his authority at any time ; but complaints existed against the conduct of his inferior officers, who sometimes made the people feel the inconvenience of military rule, and the absence of all regular civil government. No good, however, could have resulted from the convocation of the Congress ; for the measures adopted by the Spaniards at the beginning of 1814 proved fatal to the cause of Bolivar and the patriots.

To relate all the military operations in which Bolivar was concerned during the second period of his invasion of Venezuela, would be to give the history of the war itself, which it is not our intention to do any further than is necessary to present a connected view of Bolivar's life. The Spaniards, it is well known, unable to maintain their power in Venezuela by fair means, resolved to lay waste the country, and to carry on a partisan warfare until they could gather strength to take the field anew. To accomplish this, Boves, Yañez, Rosette, Puy, Palomo, and others, men of desperate and reckless character, were supplied with arms and ammunition, and, to fill their ranks, the slave population of Venezuela was called to the Spanish standard. By these means, guerilla parties, composed of vagabonds, outlaws, fugitive slaves, troops of base and lawless miscreants, such as infest a distracted country in times of war and civil commotion, were gathered under the command of leaders worthy of them, and presented a force formidable for their numbers but still more for their ferocity. Against these enemies Bolivar contended with spirit and vigor, and on the whole with decided advantage. Venezuela might, perhaps, have defended

herself successfully, but for the resources possessed by Boves and Yañez in the plains of Barinas, whither, as we stated before, the latter took refuge when Bolivar dispersed the forces of Tiscar, and where they served as a rallying point for the remnants of the regular royalist party. Though repeatedly vanquished by Bolivar, Urdaneta, Mariño, and others, they as often rallied; and the arrival of Cajigal, as successor to Monteverde, with reinforcements from Coro added to their strength. At last, Bolivar was so unfortunate as to be attacked in an unfavorable position by Boves at La Puerta, and after an obstinate contest, was obliged to yield the victory. Reanimated by this signal advantage, the Spaniards united their forces, and compelled Mariño to retreat to Cumaná. In the confusion which ensued, the patriots lost all the fruits of a year of desperate and unceasing contention with their implacable enemies. In July (1814), Boves entered Caracas, deserted by the best of its population, who justly dreaded the barbarity of the royalists. Bolivar took the field once more at Aragua (August 17th, 1814), and was again beaten by Morales, the second in command to Boves. Anarchy and division now reigned among the republican ranks. Bolivar had contended while hope remained; but unable any longer to make head against the bloody and disastrous warfare which desolated his country, he abandoned it a second time, stripped of everything but the glory of his heroic attempt.

On his arrival at Carthagena, he found his old enemy Castillo in the possession of great influence there, and busy in ascribing the loss of Venezuela not to the fortune of war, but to his mismanagement. Bolivar immediately repaired to Tunja, where the Congress of New Granada was in session, to submit his conduct to their judgment. He was received with every mark of consideration by the members of the government, who, in spite of the efforts of his evil-wishers, justly regarded him as a great man, although an unfortunate general, and testified their confidence in his abilities by employing him upon a commission somewhat remarkable in its nature. To comprehend this, it is necessary to call to mind the political situation of New Granada. All the free provinces, except Cundinamarca, had formed a confederacy in imitation of the first confederacy of the United States, governed by a Congress. Cundinamarca, the most opulent and powerful of the provinces, including Bogotá, and all the resources of that ancient capital of the viceroyalty, acting

under the authority of Don Antonio Nariño, a patriot whose talents and sufferings gave him extraordinary personal influence, constantly maintained the necessity of a central form of government and refused to accede to the federal league. This difference was accommodated for a time, on occasion of an expedition against the royalists of Pasto, which the Congress committed to Nariño, and which failed, almost in the very moment of ultimate success, in consequence of the misconduct of his principal officer. Nariño was taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and his kinsman Alvarez succeeded him as president and dictator of Cundinamarca. Alvarez not only kept aloof from the Union, but fell into a system of arbitrary and illegal government, wholly at variance with the fundamental laws of the republic. The evil finally became too great longer to be borne. The Congress perceived that Cundinamarca was likely to be given over to a faction inimical to liberty; that the resources of the nation were crippled by the persevering secession of the central province, without which the Union could never be consolidated; and that the case required, and would fully justify, the employment of force to compel Cundinamarca to become an integral part of the Union. Troops were accordingly assembled, and the command entrusted to Bolivar, for the purpose of effecting this object.

Such was the delicate enterprise, of which Bolivar received the direction. He set out from Tunja at the head of thirteen hundred troops of the line and five hundred of militia composed of cavalry, and continued his march without opposition to the hacienda of Techo, a league and a half from Bogotá, where he pitched his camp. Various attempts had already been made by the Congress to effect an accommodation; and Bolivar repeated the offer once more, preparatory to laying siege to the city. But his advances produced not the least influence upon Alvarez, whose mind was made up to try the hazard of arms; and Bolivar had no alternative but to resume his march for the attack of Santa Fé (December 10th, 1814). Notwithstanding the vigorous resistance which he encountered, Bolivar drove in all the outposts of the besieged the first day, and took the barrier of Santa Barbara by assault, by which means the line of circumvallation was completely established. The next day he captured the battery of San Victorino, and penetrated into the city, so as to occupy the whole of it except the great square, where the besieged entrenched themselves, with a park of

artillery. Bolivar's troops were obliged to advance foot by foot, meeting with the most determined resistance at every house and street which they successively attacked. Finally preparations were made for the ensuing day (December 12th), to assault the great square of Bogotá, the only part of the city of which Alvarez and the troops of Cundinamarca retained possession. Both parties, wearied by the violence of the contest, felt willing to escape the horrors of the last assault; and Bolivar cheerfully acceded to a proposal for capitulation made by Alvarez, who conceded the whole question in dispute. To heal the differences which had so long existed between the two parties, the authorities of Cundinamarca immediately invited the Congress to transfer its sessions from Tunja to Bogotá; which they accordingly did; and the consolidation of the Union was thus happily accomplished.

Bogotá sustained very considerable injury in the course of the military operations of which it was the occasion and the scene. Two days of desperate fighting in the very centre of a populous city, could not but prove greatly detrimental to its public and private edifices, beside the loss of lives which it necessarily occasioned. In the latter respect, the besiegers suffered most, because, advancing in small parties through the streets, they were liable to be attacked at great disadvantage from the houses and cross streets, owing to the greater knowledge of localities possessed by the besieged. But, in other respects, the city suffered most. Indeed, one quarter, the barrier of Santa Barbara, was absolutely sacked; for as the assailants gained it inch by inch at the point of the bayonet, it was impossible wholly to restrain their license. But nothing created such serious regret as the loss of the manuscripts, books, and collections, and instruments which the care and industry of the celebrated Dr Mutiz and the astronomer Caldas had accumulated in the observatory belonging to the botanical expedition. A battalion of the rough Venezuelan troops belonging to Bolivar fixed themselves in this position, from which they greatly annoyed the besieged; whereupon the latter planted a cannon in the gallery of the palace formerly occupied by the viceroys, and with it battered the observatory; so that between the fire of one party, and the violence of the other, everything which the building contained became a prey to ruin.

At the commencement of the expedition Bolivar was vehemently censured by the inhabitants of Bogotá, and excommuni-

cated by the ecclesiastical authorities; but after it was over, they did justice to the manner in which he conducted the attack, by the most marked testimonials of respect. The government of the Union, as it may be supposed, manifested the deepest gratitude for the important service he had rendered; and in reward of the wisdom, prudence, and courage displayed by him in the campaign, they sent him a letter of thanks containing the most flattering expressions of admiration, with a commission, the first they had granted, of Captain General of the armies of the Republic. Attentive observers must remark, in this affair, another striking resemblance between the fortunes of Napoleon and Bolivar. The attack on the sections of Paris was to the former, in the career of advancement, what the expedition of the latter was, against the city of Bogotá. Each enterprise proved equally efficacious in securing the political ascendancy of the body and of the party in whose favor it was undertaken; and each was equally beneficial to the successful general, who hazarded his reputation upon the attempt.

Bolivar having made arrangements for the organization of the army, and for maintaining tranquillity at Santa Fé, repaired to Tunja to agree with the government upon a plan of campaign suited to the exigencies of the Union. It was resolved to attempt the capture of Santa Martha, which was now in possession of the royalists, and afterwards to march upon Rio Hacha and Maracaybo, thus securing the northern coast of New Granada. To accomplish this it was necessary to obtain from Carthagena a portion of the abundant munitions of war, which it contained. His army consisted of two thousand men, the greater portion of them veteran soldiers inured to war, from whose number and quality, and from the talents of their leader, high expectations were drawn of a brilliant campaign. Bolivar left Santa Fé with a military chest supplied for four months, and every other necessary in abundance except munitions of war. In the latter he was exceedingly deficient, possessing only five hundred muskets, and nothing but orders of the general government upon Carthagena for the residue of the munitions of war required for the expedition. These flattering and not unreasonable hopes were destined to be disappointed by the insane folly of the authorities of Carthagena, particularly Amador, governor of the state, and Manuel Castillo, commandant of arms.

Castillo, as we have already seen, was the rancorous personal enemy of Bolivar; and his enmity seems to have been as in-

veterate as it was unjust. Hearing of Bolivar's appointment, he published a manifesto, consisting of an atrocious libel upon his public and private life, impeaching his honor, talents, and even his personal courage; in short, everything great or estimable in his character. Deeply wounded by this extraordinary act, Bolivar addressed letters to Garcia Rovira, president of the United Provinces, and Camilo Torres, former president of the Congress; and their answers, containing the fullest refutation of Castillo's slanders, were published as an antidote to his manifesto. Not content with this, he sought to gain the good will of Castillo by soliciting for him a commission of Brigadier General. The general government adopted the idea, and appointed him to a place in the council of war, in order to remove all occasion of collision between him and the object of his hatred. But instead of corresponding to these conciliatory advances, the authorities of Carthagena insisted upon retaining Castillo among them, and even sought to force him upon the government as commander of the expedition against Santa Martha instead of Bolivar. Nay, regardless of their obligations to the Union, they addressed circulars to the various commandants on the river Magdalena, ordering them to refuse obedience to Bolivar, and not to allow him to advance further than Mompox with his troops. Castillo, lest he should be outdone in madness by his associates, actually commanded the officers on the Magdalena to withstand the troops of the Union by force. Such a procedure was unpardonably criminal in Castillo, as it was a declaration of civil war against the Union occasioned solely by personal animosity towards Bolivar; and the consequences were most disastrous to Carthagena, and indeed all New Granada.

Alarmed by the indications of approaching discord, the Congress despatched one of its members, Dr Juan Marimon, as a commissioner with full power to settle the differences between Castillo and Bolivar. Meanwhile the latter descended the Magdalena to Mompox, which was friendly to him, and from that place directed a message to Castillo, requesting the necessary aid for the reconquest of Santa Martha (February 10th, 1815). But Castillo, of course, evaded the requisition, and immediately commenced the most active preparations for war. Bolivar made the greatest exertions to effect an arrangement; and might, perhaps, have accomplished it, had Marimon performed his duty to the nation, instead of becoming the blind instrument of

Castillo's faction. At last, perceiving that his troops were sickening and dying in the pestilential climate of Mompox, and that his time and resources were wasting in vain, Bolivar determined to pursue his march towards Carthagena. This step was regarded by Castillo and his faction as a hostile invasion of the city; and led them to adopt such rash and violent measures of insult and opposition, that Bolivar, who had thus far been wholly in the right, wearied out by the implacable enmity of the authorities of Carthagena, adopted the unfortunate resolution of laying close siege to the city, and compelling a compliance with the wishes of the Congress. If there is any important act of his public life, during the war of independence, which more peculiarly deserves reprobation, it is this; for, great as the provocation was, it would have been more worthy of Bolivar to abstain from commencing hostilities.

It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of the siege. One thing, however, deserves to be mentioned, as indicating the different spirit which actuated the contending parties. Bolivar generously confined his operations to merely forming a line around the city, and maintaining the defensive in the points which he occupied, hoping that the besieged would cease their opposition to the views of the Congress. The authorities of Carthagena, on the other hand, descended to the basest means of annoying Bolivar and his troops, such as poisoning the water in the vicinity of his camp, firing upon his flags of truce, and otherwise proceeding in violation of all the rules of honorable warfare. The siege had continued for nearly a month, without producing any beneficial result, although Bolivar earnestly and constantly solicited an accommodation in any shape consistent with his honor; when the calamitous news of the arrival of Morillo from Spain, with an army of ten thousand men and a powerful fleet, destined for the reduction of New Granada, filled both parties with consternation, and produced an immediate cessation of hostilities. Bolivar now urged with redoubled force the necessity of instantly proceeding to Santa Martha, and sacrificing all personal differences on the altar of patriotism ere it was too late, and ere Morillo directed his overwhelming forces against Carthagena itself, which, unless prompt measures of defence were adopted, must look to be the first victim of the vengeance of the Spaniards. Finding it in vain to expect anything like reason or justice from the faction which governed Carthagena, he came to the resolution of throwing up

his command, and leaving a country where the prejudices of the people and the enmity of the leading individuals rendered it impossible that his services could be useful. He therefore concluded a treaty with Carthagena without delay; and relinquishing the command of the army to general Palacios, he embarked for Jamaica, accompanied only by a few of his attached friends (May 8th, 1815).

At this moment, how bitter must have been the emotions of Bolivar. His native land, Venezuela, was consigned to the fate of a conquered country. Carthagena, which might have profited by his military talents, had compelled him to abandon the field of honor in New Granada, at the very time when he, and such as he, were indispensable to its salvation. In his last letter to the government of the Union he expresses these sentiments in the most feeling manner. To sacrifice his command, his fortune, his future glory, he said, cost him no exertion. It was necessary, to give peace to a distracted country. In separating himself from his friends, his comrades in victory and honor, he lamented only that he could no longer hazard his life in the cause of his bleeding country, which was dearer to him than anything upon earth. Yet the very circumstance, that he was driven at this time into voluntary exile probably was the means of preserving his life for new scenes of glory; for had he remained in New Granada, there is every reason to believe, judging from the fate of other prominent men of the day, and according to the ordinary chances of war, that he would have fallen in battle or become a victim of legal proscription, during Morillo's reign of bloodshed.

Bolivar was received in Kingston, upon his arrival in that place, with the respect and consideration due to his character, and there awaited a favorable moment for again taking an active part in the revolutionary war. While residing in the island of Jamaica, he published a short defence of his conduct in the civil war of Carthagena, and various other papers, calculated to promote the cause of American independence abroad. Meanwhile, an incident occurred, which showed how much his talents and zeal were dreaded by his enemies. A Spaniard, in the pay of a royalist chief on the Main, repaired to Kingston, in order to effect his assassination; and seduced a negro slave, belonging to one of his aids, to attempt the nefarious deed. Fortunately, on the night appointed for the assassination, Bolivar happened to be absent from his lodgings, not having returned from an

evening party to which he was invited; and a poor emigrant, of the name of Amestoy, occupied his bed. The slave entered the room ignorant of this circumstance, and plunged his dagger into the breast of the stranger, who died under the blow. The Spaniard who instigated the murder, took his measures so well, that his name could not be ascertained; but the slave was apprehended in the fact, and atoned for his crime on the scaffold. Bolivar remained at Kingston until the end of the year, when he departed for Aux Cayes to organize his celebrated expedition for the invasion and conquest of Venezuela. But, admonished by the length to which this article has unexpectedly reached, we find it necessary to break off here, hoping to resume the subject in a subsequent number, and give an account of that portion of Bolivar's life, when the Spaniards were completely vanquished, and his political opinions came to be a matter of importance to his country.

ART. XII.—*Reise seiner Hoheit des Herzogs BERNHARD ZU SACHSEN-WEIMAR-EISENACH durch Nord-America in den Jahren 1825 und 1826.* Herausgegeben von Heinrich Luden. Weimar. 1828.

Travels through North America, during the Years 1825 and 1826. By his Highness, BERNHARD, DUKE OF SAXE-WEIMAR-EISENACH. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia. 1828.

THE general character, displayed in these volumes, is that of a philanthropic and sensible observer. The merit which they possess is in part negative. They are not written in a spirit of haughtiness and intolerance; the author neither affects to disdain nor to admire republican institutions. He never indulges in satire, and is never pert or malignant. We lay down the volume, with respect for his moral worth and general fairness and candor.

But a book to be interesting needs much more. We have here no general views, no acute observations on social or political life among us. The account which is given of some of our cities is exceedingly meagre, and contains little beyond a chronicle of visits. A very large proportion of the Travels is

composed of the most uninteresting details ; and the incidents which are noted, gain their value, such as it is, from the circumstance, that the chief person in the narrative is a foreigner and a man of distinguished rank by birth and in public service.

It was a highly honorable motive, which induced this princely traveller to come among us. A benevolent curiosity led him to a country, where social life and the civil institutions are so widely different from those of Europe, that the largest opportunity was afforded for extending his knowledge of man. It must have been a contrast, to one born and in part educated on the well cultivated banks of the little stream that flows through Weimar, to have found himself on the Father of Waters ; and for one not unaccustomed to the splendor and comforts of a palace, to sit down on even terms at the frugal but hospitable board of an American farmer. The love of enlarged intelligence, manifested in the strong desire of travelling through the United States, was certainly well suited to conciliate a friendly feeling on all sides ; and the unassuming deportment of the Prince while among us, continued to increase the pleasant impression. He was, therefore, hospitably received, wherever he went ; and his willingness to be pleased, and his eagerness to see all public institutions, were met, throughout the country, by liberal attention and hospitable regard.

It was to himself while among us, that this return of courtesy was certainly due. But we are not certain, that he has done well to make a book about his travels ; or that the same regard is due to him in his new aspect of an author. The Duke is doubtless a man of good judgment and fair mind ; but he is not an interesting writer ; and the notes, which he has seen fit to consent to publish, may have been extremely well suited for the eyes of parents and near kindred, but we think are many of them such as never should have been printed. When he gives at full length the names of those, who called on him, and tells at whose house he dined, and where he took tea, he only enumerates what is of no general interest ; but when he tells what kind of an entertainment he received, how many daughters his host had, and whether they were pretty or not, whether the house was well or meanly furnished, and how old and how wise the ladies were whom he visited, though he still says nothing that can be called malicious or untrue, he offends, as it seems to us, most egregiously against good taste and a sense of propriety. There is an end of all hospitality, when an account of it is to

come back in a book ; and the household circle will have to be better guarded, if every one who enters it may go away and publish to the world a description of it. We repeat, the Duke is never malicious, and seldom says unpleasant things ; but it is essentially wrong to print and send out to the world the particulars of common acts of civility and consideration for a respected stranger.

Nor can we express entire confidence in the observations of the Duke, even though they are generally limited to the notice of particular incidents. When, at New Orleans, he praises the superior decency, modesty, and propriety of a ball, where white men went to visit colored women, it is his sympathy with an unfortunate class of beings, which gets the better of his judgment ; for, on a second and a third visit, he found nothing but drunkenness and ‘the aspect of a den of ruffians.’ When, in Georgia, he sees a gentleman and lady on horseback, and a negro woman by their side, carrying a heavy sack of corn, he goes too far in inferring that the negress had to keep up with the horses and carry grain for them. And when he says of Alabama, that the senators are obliged, at the seat of government, to sleep three on one mattress, and feed almost exclusively on salt pork, he but tells a foolish story. But such mistakes and credulity are not common ; on the contrary, the volumes are generally distinguished by plain good sense.

The illustrious traveller arrived at Boston on the 26th of July.

‘It was ten o’clock, on the morning of the 26th of July, when I first placed my foot in America, upon a broad piece of granite ! It is impossible to describe what I felt at that instant. Heretofore, but two moments of my life had left a delightful remembrance ; the first was, when at seventeen years of age, I received the Cross of the Legion of Honor, after the battle of Wagram—the second, when my son William was born. My landing in America, that country which, from my early youth, had been the object of my warmest wishes, will, throughout life, remain a subject of pleasing recollection !’ Vol. i. p. 33.

At the Exchange Coffee-House he has the good sense to respect the landlord, and it does not even occur to him to jest at finding a colonel in an inn-keeper. Immediately, under good auspices, he enters on his career of observation. The ‘streets are wide’ and well built, the ‘stores elegant’ ; yet the Mall is but casually noticed. ‘He had expected that no one would take the least notice of him in America,’ but gentlemen, who

live in large and handsome houses and have amiable daughters, gave him invitations. 'Generally,' he observes of the Bostonians, 'the houses and rooms are much larger, richer, better lighted, and more airy, than the English.'

Of Cambridge nothing is said, that is worth remarking. The Duke also visited the State Prison, and gives an abstract of the warden's report. He visits Bunker's Hill, and apparently with proper feelings. He interrupts his narration to speak of Miss Wright, whom he never saw; and, in a later part of the work, quotes her as of the opinion that 'bears are of more value than men.' *

At the Hospital in Boston the Duke seems to have been especially pleased. 'I have seen,' says he, 'many hospitals, but none in which the sick were so conveniently and suitably lodged, and none in which cleanliness was so well observed.'† Equal praise for cleanliness is given to the Asylum for the Insane.

Mr Quincy took him and two Dutch gentlemen to visit the elder Adams. We quote the account of the visit, as indicative of the correct and liberal feelings, by which the Duke was animated.

'I was much affected when, as I approached this venerable man who had so efficiently labored in the cause of American Independence, he extended to me his hand. He was still in full possession of his mental faculties, and remembered, not only the things which had occurred long ago, but knew also everything which had recently taken place, or was now passing. His bodily strength, however, was diminishing, and he felt a weakness, particularly in his legs. He conversed with me about half an hour, especially concerning Holland, where he had been ambassador during the revolution, and the features of his ancient countenance revived again as he dwelt on the fact, that it was owing to him that Holland then declared war against England, and the English ambassador, notwithstanding all his intrigues, could effect nothing. When Mr Tromp was introduced to him, he remembered his great ancestor, shook his hand in a friendly manner, was much affected, and said to him, "God bless you, Van Tromp!" We left this worthy old man in deep emotion, and congratulated each other on our good fortune in having been introduced to this departing veteran of a revolution, which may well be called salutary.' Vol. i. p. 44.

His general opinion of the prosperity of the great body of the community is satisfactory.

* See Vol. II. p. 91. † See Vol. I. p. 43.

‘From Boston to Quincy there is a good turnpike road. It runs over some hills, on which the traveller sees a handsome panorama; behind him the city, on the left the bay, in front a well-cultivated region with handsome farms, on the right the Blue Hills. We passed by several neat farm-houses; the grounds are separated by means of dry walls, the stones of which are partly hewn, and separated from each other, somewhat like those of Scotland. No old trees are found, because the first settlers very imprudently destroyed all the wood, and now it must be raised again with much trouble. Lombardy poplars and plane trees are frequent. The inhabitants generally appear to be in good circumstances, at least the farmers seem to prosper, and the houses appear to great advantage; for instance, we remarked a common village blacksmith’s shop, which was built of massive granite.’ pp. 44, 45.

And again we find similar remarks in an account of an excursion to Waltham.

‘After leaving this factory we passed by several very neat houses and parks; the latter are smaller than those in England, because in this country there are no rights of primogeniture, and the estate of parents at their death is divided into as many parts as there are children. On this account we do not find such great and powerful landholders here as in England. It is a subject of dispute, whether primogeniture or equal division be preferable; but it is certain that real prosperity is much more diffused through the nation in America, and the land is better cultivated.’ p. 46.

The Navy-yard was also visited. It gives occasion to a story, not very decent, and to a criticism, which may be worth noting.

‘Some methods which tend to strengthen and relieve vessels, used in other places, have not yet been adopted here; for instance, I did not observe the cruciform strengthening of the sides, and the diagonal deck, according to the plan of Sir Robert Seppings, from which two improvements the navies of England and the Netherlands derive the greatest advantage.’ p. 47.

Neither were the schools omitted; and the highest testimony is borne to their merit. ‘It appears to me impossible,’ says he, ‘that young people, who receive so liberal an education, can grow up to be bad men.’—‘I was indeed affected when I left the schools, and could not but congratulate Mr Quincy from the bottom of my heart, on such a rising generation.’

The State-house was not admired; nor the trophies and monuments of the revolution. Since that period a statue has been erected there, which would have won a more respectful notice. No monument can be more nobly or suitably placed,

than is Chantrey's Washington. Standing as the state-house does on an elevated site, the statue looks out upon the first scene of American success and of Washington's own glory. The general effect produced by it, in connexion with the admirable prospect that is opened upon the Common and the villages to the south of Boston, a prospect such as few capitals can boast, is altogether of the highest and most pleasing kind. No public honor which has been shown to the memory of Washington, has been more appropriate in its design, or executed in better taste. The surrounding circumstances are all that could be desired to enhance the interest of this admirable work of sculpture.

On leaving Boston, the Duke gives a general summary of his impressions. And they certainly are very much in favor of our good city.

'Thus passed almost fourteen days, in an uncommonly pleasing and instructive manner. In general my state of health allowed me to enjoy every new and interesting object with serenity of mind; I was indisposed but two days, and this was probably owing to the excessive heat. Even the intermediate hours, which could not be dedicated to the inspection of public institutions, generally afforded instructive amusements. I passed the morning in reading and writing, then received or paid visits, and at all times met with attention, courteousness, and kindness. I visited the churches on the Sundays I passed in Boston, which are still more quietly kept in America than in England.' 'I dined twice at the inn, but generally accepted some friendly invitation, and passed all my evenings very agreeably in company at musical parties and other entertainments. I also made some excursions into the country besides those already mentioned.

'The society, especially when ladies are not present, is uncommonly fine and lively—both sexes are very well educated and accomplished. So much care is bestowed upon the education of the female sex, that it would perhaps be considered in other countries as superfluous. Young ladies even learn Latin and Greek, but then they also can speak of other things besides fashions and tea-table subjects.' 'Many of those gentlemen who are met with in such society, have travelled in Europe, sometimes accompanied by their wives; Europeans are frequently present, and thus there is no want of materials for conversation. The generality of the houses, moreover, offer something attractive in the fine arts; and in returning home on an evening, the city, the bridges, and the Mill-dam are very well lighted, not indeed with gas, but with reflecting lamps, and none of that disorderly conduct is observed in the

streets, which so often shocks the mind in the cities of England.' pp. 49, 50.

The Duke does not leave Boston without declaring 'how dear and valued' it had become to him, and how 'agreeable and instructive' a longer stay would have been. These several phrases of particular regard seem to be omitted in the translation.

Travelling on the turnpikeroad, the Duke failed to pass through the villages, and the country seemed more thinly settled than he had expected. At Worcester he acknowledges the hospitality of Mr Lincoln, and the laudable zeal of the inhabitants for science; but does not commend the horticulture of the place.

An American may smile, as he next reads an elaborate description of the common Virginia fence. To make it intelligible to his European readers the Duke is at the pains to make a drawing of it. The abundance of granite in the heart of the commonwealth is noted. Of more value is the comment on the morality of the manufacturing population, and the remark, which is perfectly sound and well attested by experience, that the large manufacturing establishments especially promote the welfare of the poorer classes. It is a singular and an important fact, in relation to the protection of manufactures as desired in Massachusetts, that the demand for that protection arose with the great mass of the community; and that the capitalists and public men did not generally advocate it, till the voice of the many demanded it.

Arrived in Northampton, the Duke cursorily praises the fertile valley of the Connecticut, the piety of the people, and the beauty of the ladies, whom he saw come out of church. The ladies should certainly forgive the stare at their excess in religious observances. Descending the river only as far as Springfield, the United States Armory was of course inspected. The very ingenious machine, invented by Mr Blanchard, for turning gun-stocks, is described at large on another occasion. But an artificial description gives no idea of the simplicity and beauty of the process. The other circumstances, which distinguish Springfield and make it the most populous and thriving town in the state, away from the seaboard, are not noticed.

Ascending a branch of the Westfield river the Duke saw the 'wild, romantic valley,' through which that stream descends, and which has wildness and beauty enough to recommend itself to any lover of the picturesque. Indeed any, who think fine

scenery worth visiting, need not roam farther than Berkshire for it, for from one line of the state to the other, there is the most agreeable interchange of all, that enters into a fine landscape. New England will one day be as celebrated for the beauty of her scenery, as for any qualities that belong to her sons.

Arrived in Albany (it was on a later occasion that New Lebanon was visited), he had opportunities of witnessing the hopes, that were so securely founded on the influence of the canal. The dam, separating the basin from the river, 'seems,' it is said, 'to have been badly executed.'

The horse ferry-boats, an American invention, excited curiosity. The splendor of the steam-boats on the Hudson very well merited admiration.

Our traveller proceeds without delay to the West. At that time the most sanguine expectations of immense pecuniary profit from the canal were entertained. The Duke prudently suggests a doubt, and predicts the necessity of expensive repairs.

'The expenses will, in a very short time, be replaced, and the state realize an immense profit, unless it be necessary to make great repairs, which I have no doubt will be the case, and will consequently require a large share of this income. Hitherto the great canal system was unknown in the United States, and was rather unpopular. It might have been expected, therefore, that so great and rapid an undertaking would have a tendency to astound, if we may so speak, the public mind; so that this canal was finished as soon as possible, without calling to aid the great experience possessed by other nations. Notwithstanding, this canal, which is three hundred and sixty-two miles in length, with eighty-three locks, between the Hudson and Lake Erie, which lies six hundred and eighty-eight feet above the level of the former river, does the greatest honor to the genius of its projector; though one who has seen the canals in France, Holland, and England, will readily perceive, that the water-works of this country afford much room for improvement.' pp. 61, 62.

The canal which will require less expensive repairs than any other in our country, is perhaps the Blackstone. The nature of the descent has generally made no high banks necessary; the locks are of stone; and the water is retained on the one side commonly by the everlasting hills; on the other by a solid mass of gravel, protected by almost continuous walls of granite, in which the region abounds.

On reaching Utica, his admiration for American enterprise makes itself heard. 'It is here, that a person begins to admire the great advances, which this youthful country has made in cultivation, and acquires entirely new ideas of human activity and enterprise.' Proceeding towards Buffalo, the Duke passed through the settlement of the Oneida Indians. Their land belongs to the whole tribe, and the labor bestowed upon it is for the general good. 'Here,' says he, 'I at first thought myself in civilized Europe;' and why? we may ask. Because 'children came along the carriage to beg.' They were however Indian children. In another place the Duke is reminded of Europe by the sight of numerous grog-shops.

No man can visit the Western part of the State of New York without being somewhat moved by the spirit of the scene. The Duke is no enthusiast, but he seems rightly to estimate the wonderful results of human industry, as exhibited in that section of the country; and takes notice of the rapid progress and beautiful appearance of the towns.

At Buffalo he was favored with a military spectacle.

'It was a militia parade, consisting of thirty men, including seven officers and two cornets. They were formed like a battalion, into six divisions, and performed a number of manœuvres. The members were not all provided with muskets, but had ramrods instead. Only the officers and the rifle-company, four men strong, were in uniform. The band consisted of sixteen men, and was commanded by an officer with a colonel's epaulets and drawn sword!' p. 74.

So much for our militia system, which, if efficient anywhere, should be so on the frontiers. The Duke must certainly be in the conspiracy to overturn this venerable system, which, though a grievous burden to those who serve, and a jest to those who look on, yet offers the best excuse for a parade and the surest way to a showy dress and a sounding title.

Our traveller visited Niagara, and then proceeded down the St Lawrence as far as Quebec. The hospitality which was shown him by various families is acknowledged; he tells who were his travelling companions, and which of them he liked best; mentions the ball to which he was invited, and gives the name of the lady, who, in his eyes, was the most genteelly drest. As the occurrences of this part of his tour are much the same, as may befall any one in descending the St Lawrence, we shall merely give a few extracts and hasten onwards.

'We had scarcely left this place before we sailed round a promontory, on which stands Fort Henry, into the St Lawrence. This river is here very wide, and forms an archipelago about fifty miles in length, called the Thousand Islands. The English and American commissioners for determining the boundary line, took the pains to count these islands, and found that they amounted to sixteen hundred and ninety-two; in this calculation, however, they have included every projecting rock, even if it had but a single tree. This archipelago presents a beautiful prospect; most of the islands are rocky, and are overgrown with trees, generally cedars. Here and there a fir reared his lofty head, which, generally growing upon the bare rocks, where the trees are less numerous, presents a picturesque appearance.' p. 83.

'Six miles below Prescott we arrived at a few islands called the Gallop Islands, and the first rapids. As we approached, the water appeared to be boiling, and high foaming billows arose, over which our boat passed rapidly. They are not so high as the swells at sea, but they are very short and rapid in their movement. As our Durham-boat, however, was remarkably long, it divided them without producing any disagreeable motion.' p. 84.

'The shores and islands of the river are generally covered with cedar trees, and amongst them we observed some neat houses and churches, with bright tin roofs. At the village of Côteau des Cèdres, we were obliged to encounter the last and most dangerous rapid, called the Cascades. The waves were uncommonly high, and our vessel passed over the dangerous parts with incredible velocity. Along these rapids there is also a canal provided with locks, and intended to facilitate the ascent of vessels. If these rapids are viewed from the shore, it appears incredible that a canoe should venture in without being swallowed up. Such a misfortune, however, does not happen, as we had just proved. Below this rapid the river, where it receives the Ottawa, again spreads out so as to form another lake called Lac St Louis.' p. 86.

'The river is throughout from one to two miles wide, but fifty-two miles below Trois Rivières, at the village of Richelieu, it becomes narrower, and here are the last rapids, called Rapides de Richelieu. The banks, which as far as this place are pretty low, become higher and more rocky, particularly on the left side. The neighborhood is remarkably handsome and picturesque. The majestic stream, with its pleasant banks and the view of the distant blue mountains near Quebec, produce an indescribable effect.'

'We reached Quebec at 10 o'clock in the evening. This city consists of two parts, the upper town, which is built on a rock, and the lower, which is pressed in between the river and the rock.' p. 91.

'The citadel is a new work, and not quite finished. The English speak with a kind of exultation of the fortifications of Quebec, and compare it to Gibraltar. I also expected something extraordinary, but cannot say that my expectations were gratified.' p. 92.

'The English engineers make use of bricks which are burned in England, for building the casemates of the fortification. A thousand of these bricks cost the government, including transportation, two pounds ten shillings! The reason they give is, that the bricks burned here, crack in the winter. I rather believe that the preference of these foreign bricks has some other reason.' p. 93.

'Generally speaking, the towns in Canada bear a very poor comparison with those of the United States, and will never arrive at the same point, because the settlers in Canada are mostly poor Scotchmen and Irishmen, who come out at the expense of the government; they receive land, and are oppressed by the feudal system, which opposes all prosperity; emigrants, however, who possess some property, and have an ambitious spirit, settle themselves in the United States, where nobody is oppressed; on the contrary, where all the laws are in their favor.' p. 96.

The return to New York was by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George. Regret is expressed, that the battle ground at Plattsburgh could not be visited. The Duke also failed to see Vermont, as he merely touched at Burlington and at Shoreham. This was a capital mistake in one, whose object was to see the United States. No portion of the Union offers a more exact or successful exemplification of the great principles of our democracy. Had he visited the interior of that state, he would have seen a portion of the Union eminently distinguished by the sublimity of its mountains, and the beauty of its valleys and copious streams; but he would also have seen a sovereign state, covering a large territory, in which there is a nearer approach to equality than in any of the far-famed democratic cantons of Switzerland; a state, in which the people every year resume every function of government, reappointing not only the executive and legislative branches, but the judiciary and every peace officer, even to the village justice; a state, which enjoys wise and equal laws and perfect security of property and person, and yet pays its legislators but the common wages of journeymen mechanics, and its chief magistrate not much more; a state, filled up with mountains, and yet having roads as good and as level as almost any in the Union. In a word, the state of Vermont exhibits a condition of society, such as the most visionary enthusiast for liberty never ventured to dream of; a condition,

which leaves to the individual perhaps the greatest degree of personal and public liberty, which is consistent with the organization of social life. But the Duke failed to read the lesson; he has nothing to say of Vermont, except that the elderly women there smoke tobacco.

As we follow him up the lake, we find him stopping to observe the ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, and speculating on the adaptation of several points for places of military strength.

‘Fort George,’ he observes, ‘lies in an advantageous situation, commands the whole southern shore of the lake, with a large part of the vicinity, stands, as was said before, on a strong ground, and is covered on one side by a morass. On the eastern side alone, it is commanded by a high mountain, which, however, is at some distance. If the American government should resolve to restore Crownpoint and Ticonderoga, the latter particularly would be adapted, after fortifying the two mountains, Defiance and Independence, for an arsenal of a superior kind; it might contain large depots, serve as a fortified camp, and be successfully defended by a small garrison. Here fleets might be completed to command Lake Champlain, and an expedition against Isle aux Noix and Canada organized. However, a good road would be necessary, leading from Ticonderoga to the northern point of Lake George, three miles distant, and here it would be necessary to protect the place of embarkation by a fort. A new fort on the same spot where Fort George was erected, would be necessary. There is a good locality between this fort and Fort William Henry to found a dock-yard. The communication between Ticonderoga and the United States would be well and doubly protected by the southern point of Lake Champlain, towards Whitehall, and by Lake George. If the English should attack the United States on this side, they would undoubtedly waste much strength, and not advance a step, unless they had seized Ticonderoga.’ pp. 102, 103.

In general the Duke seems to take every occasion to observe the scenes, which are conspicuous in the military annals of the country; and indulges a good deal in speculations on our means of defence and attack. Still there exists in the country neither a wish to provide for a forcible occupation of Canada, nor any serious apprehension of any formidable attack on the side of the sea. The only places, in which the English could maintain themselves in the northern part of the Union, would be such portions of territory as are thinly settled, and where the occupation would cost England a great deal and yield little advantage. A great deal is often said on the incapacity of our gov-

ernment in the event of war, to act with promptness and decisive energy. Something of this may be true of a confederation of states. But it is counterbalanced by the immense advantage, that the credit and the power of the Union are sustained and renewed by the separate credit and power of each member of the confederacy. When the national treasury is exhausted, the nation still has its resources in the treasuries of the several states; and if the enemy threatens annoyance from the sea on various points, the states themselves may anticipate the efforts of the general government, and protect their territory by forces, raised on their own credit and by their own authority. Such events actually signalized the last war; and where treasure was lavished, and life endangered for defence, it seems idle to question patriotism.

The Duke was too late in the season for Saratoga. Yet a few persons remained. Here too the battle grounds especially interest him, and most of all, the tomb of the brave General Fraser. One of the best, perhaps the best description of the defeat and capture of Burgoyne is to be found in the very interesting narrative of the Baroness de Riedesel. It is a lively picture, drawn by a lady of fine mind and character, a constant witness of the scenes of terror and distress in the British camp.

As he hastens to Albany, the Shakers of New Lebanon are not neglected. The Duke is pleased with their general appearance. For their neatness he can find no parallel but in the Boston hospital. He praises their butter and their cheese; but most of all their hogs. 'It is a rare pleasure to walk about in a Shaker pig-sty.'* One would not have expected exactly this remark from a soldier and a prince.

The Duke met with an unfortunate accident on his return from New Lebanon. Indeed he was overturned eight several times in the United States; yet, for all that, not one word of petulant complaint escapes him, and he tells of his disasters with extreme good humor. Recovering from his bruises, he descends the Hudson to West Point; where he spent two or three days very agreeably, and made friends to whom he bade a reluctant and affectionate farewell. The view from Fort Putnam reminds him of the banks of the Rhine. On the subject of historical recollections he feels like a man of honor. We quote his words.

‘During the revolution this fort was erected, like Fort Clinton, and was impregnable. To seize it, the English had recourse to bribery, and General Arnold, who commanded West Point, was on the point of delivering this position to them. This disgraceful treachery was fortunately prevented by the seizure of Major André.’ p. 115.

‘On the right shore of the latter [Tappan Sea] is the town of Tappan, where, condemned by the court-martial as a spy, Major André was hanged and buried. The English government ordered him to be dug up some years ago, and his remains to be transported to England, if I am not mistaken, to be laid in Westminster Abbey; whilst the remains of General Fraser, who fell like a hero in open battle, at the head of the royal troops, still lie without the slightest memorial in the old redoubt of Stillwater! The tree, which grew on André’s grave, was also taken to England, and, as I was assured, transplanted to the royal garden, behind Carlton Palace.’ p. 118.

Fine personal qualities may excite compassion; but the death of the man, who falls in an attempt to further the commission of an atrocious crime, is a subject rather for silent and secret commiseration than for public honor.

We are glad, that the Duke remained long enough at West Point to feel an interest in the establishment, and cordial respect for those, to whose active exertions the Military Academy owes its elevated reputation. Indeed the character of West Point has benefited the whole army. In another place* the Duke remarks, ‘that there is scarcely any army in Europe in which the corps of officers is better composed than in the small American army; since in the United States no one can be an officer, if he is not well educated. The officers are exclusively taken from the military academy of West Point.’ ‘If a young man is seen in the uniform of an American officer, it may with confidence be inferred, that he is in every respect fit to maintain his place in the best society.’ Such testimony has a value from the military rank of the individual who gives it.

Arrived in New York, the city was so crowded with strangers, that he could with difficulty find lodgings. At length established, he sallies forth for observation. The City Hall did not please him; nor any of the churches. The public institutions, the schools, the hospitals, the Museum, the Navy-yard, and various other places are all registered as having been visited

* Vol. i. p. 180.

No opinions, worth citing, are expressed ; and in fact the Travels are here, as too often, little more than a dull, monotonous detail of visits to the objects of public curiosity. In general the Duke seems pleased.

‘ In this manner eight days soon elapsed, and amusement was not wanting, as my mind was occupied with interesting and useful novelties. I passed my time in cheerful and pleasant company. At dinner and evening parties I continued to make interesting acquaintances with men of different occupations and professions. I observed that the families I visited were richly furnished with silver, china, and glass ; the fine arts also contributed to the ornament of their apartments. At the evening parties we commonly had music and dancing. The dinner parties consisted generally of from twenty to thirty persons, whose conversation was generally refined. In New York, as well as at all other places, where English customs prevail, the ladies leave the table during the dessert, and the gentlemen keep their seats ; however, nobody is obliged to drink, unless he feels inclined. Every one rises and leaves the house without ceremony.’ p. 126.

We pass to Philadelphia and its environs ; ‘ dear ’ Philadelphia, as the Duke terms it on nearer acquaintance. We have descriptions of the bridges, the water-works, the shot-towers and other matters of equal notoriety. Generally our traveller’s judgment coincides with the prevalent one respecting the fine specimens of the arts, and still finer of philanthropy, in that city, whose history is so peaceful, and whose situation is so favored. But on West’s picture of Christ healing the sick, he expresses himself harshly. ‘ Neither the composition nor the execution seems successful ; and perhaps it is only here, where they are unaccustomed to see great and well executed paintings, that this could excite the great admiration it has done.’ This is saying too much. It would have been quite enough to deny the merit of the picture, without denying the competency of its admirers to judge at all.

There is one other subject of vastly more importance, discussed on occasion of visiting the new Penitentiary. Omitting the description of the building, we cannot forbear to quote the Duke’s remarks ; partly because they form the largest specimen of reasoning in the volume, partly because the matter is of great moment.

‘ I do not now wish to enter upon the question whether it is advisable to abolish capital punishment altogether or not, but I maintain that in this solitary confinement, in which the prisoner is prohibit-

ed from all human converse, without work, exercise, and almost without fresh air, is even worse than punishment by death. From want of exercise they will certainly become sickly; from the want of work they will become unaccustomed to labor, and perhaps lose what skill they may have possessed heretofore in their trades, so that when restored to the world, they will be useless for any kind of business, and merely drag out a miserable existence. No book is allowed them but the Bible. It appears therefore to me perfectly possible, that this insulation of the prisoner will be injurious to his mind, and drive him to fanaticism, enthusiasm, and even derangement. When Mr Vaux asked my opinion of this prison, I could not refrain from answering him that it reminded me of the Spanish inquisition, as described by Llorente. Mr Vaux answered that it is only an experiment to ascertain whether capital punishment can be abolished; but notwithstanding this philanthropic view, the experiment appears to me to be an expensive one, because the building has already cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the state of Pennsylvania will have to expend annually for its support, an immense sum. The first great object of a government ought to be to provide for the welfare of its good citizens, and not to oppress them with taxes; on the contrary, to relieve them as much as possible, as it is hard for the good citizens to have to maintain vagabonds, for the sake of deterring others by example, or to render convicts harmless. In this view it should be the object of the government to arrange the prisons so that convicts can maintain themselves. When once this is realized, then it is likewise easier to improve their moral principles. If it be possible that the prisoner can earn a little surplus money, in order that when he returns to society he may be in possession of a small sum for his pressing necessities, I believe it would be much better than any philanthropic experiment.' pp. 144, 145.

An excursion to Bethlehem was particularly grateful to the Duke, who throughout the work displays a mind capable of relishing the simple beauties of unaffected nature. We regret, that we cannot quote his expressions of satisfaction.

Returning to Philadelphia he continued his visits. At a Wistar-Party he met the President of the United States.

'The President is a man about sixty years old, of rather short stature, with a bald head, and of a very plain and worthy appearance. He speaks little, but what he does speak is to the purpose. I must confess that I seldom in my life have felt so true and sincere a reverence as at the moment when this honorable gentleman, whom eleven millions of people have thought worthy to elect as their chief magistrate, shook hands with me.' 'Unfortunately I could

not long converse with him, because every member of the party had greater claims than myself.' p. 157.

This sentiment of respect is becoming in a descendant of one of the most distinguished princely families of Europe. For the rest, there is very little of political matter in the volumes; the only great question, on which a very decided opinion is given, is that respecting internal improvements. 'Reasonable men,' it is said, 'conceive that the government must have the power to execute such works; the short-sighted dispute this right.'*

From Philadelphia the Duke of course went to hospitable Baltimore. Maryland was the first slave-holding state, which he entered. The moderation with which he speaks of the subject is worthy of commendation.

'The state of Maryland is the first in which I set my foot where the slavery of negroes is legally maintained. Farther to the south, this state of things is everywhere common. I merely mention the fact; it does not belong to me to give opinions on so delicate a subject. Still my journey convinced me of the truth of the old observation, that inaccurate judgments are easily formed respecting things not sufficiently known, which we have neither seen nor examined ourselves.' p. 162.

The topic of slavery, troublesome indeed at home, is the most annoying for discussion with a foreigner. The United States are in fact not at all answerable for the existence of slavery within their limits; their only responsibility relates to its extension. The very worthy and learned man still lives in our vicinity, whose high honor it was to draft the bill in Congress, by which slavery was excluded from the vast region north of the Ohio. If personal honor is to be attributed to men in proportion to the beneficial results, which follow their labors, we have hardly among us any one, who is more worthy of it. To have been prominently active in such a cause would be honor enough; but if the case was such as left the course that would be pursued by Congress doubtful, and such that a clear and well digested measure needed to be proposed in order to decide what was uncertain, then may the very unpretending individual to whom we refer, feel a pleasure, which no praise can equal, in contemplating the immense influence of his legislative career on the character and prosperity of the country. The effects are incalculable.

* Vol. I. p. 210.

But to return to our author. He liked Baltimore very much. He found the 'society very agreeable; at dinners, everything was uncereemonious, and the conversation very instructive and lively; the evening parties afford excellent music; the ladies in general are very handsome, and sing very well.'

At Washington, Congress was of course not in session. The account of that city is wholly without interest. It commemorates the visits, which were rendered; and has a catalogue of inventions at the patent-office. The pictures in the Rotunda are condemned. The composition and execution are both found fault with. 'The painter was, however, placed under restraint by want of taste in his countrymen for the fine arts, who resemble, in that respect, their English ancestors; the posture almost of every single person having been prescribed him.' Setting aside the unnecessary charge of a want of taste brought against us and the English, the assertion in the last sentence has surprised us. If it is correct, it is indeed a very strange thing. There must be some mistake. The manner in which Washington is laid out is compared to Carlsruhe. The resemblance holds good, in so far as the avenues diverge from one point; in every other respect of situation and grandeur of view Washington is immeasurably before Carlsruhe.

One word more as to Washington. 'I had a long conversation with the secretary of war, Mr Barbour, and General Macomb on military subjects. I differed in opinion from the secretary about the efficiency of militia-men, of whom he seemed to entertain too high an opinion.'

In Virginia the Duke visited Harper's Ferry, the Natural Bridge, the University, and the largest towns. At Staunton, though doubtless he was among very peaceable men, he met with no less than three generals and a suitable number of officers of lower dignity. There is hardly a town of respectable size in the country, but can show about as many. 'In conversing with these gentlemen,' he adds, 'I observed with astonishment the aristocratical spirit, which the Virginians possess. I was astonished to hear them praising hereditary nobility and primogeniture.*' It is rather too much to infer anything against the spirit of the Virginians; especially from a conversation which was probably purely speculative. The state, which gave

* Vol. i. p. 191.

to the country Jefferson and Madison, cannot be charged with affording no support to the purity of democratic institutions.

Of Charlottesville we have an account, and a plan of the Virginia University. Of the buildings it is complained, that they are already decaying, and that the effect of them is poor from the want of harmony. The Sage of Monticello had invited the Duke to dine. He was obliged to go on foot.

‘Our long walk, caused such a delay, that we found the company at table when we entered; but Mr Jefferson came very kindly to meet us, forced us to our seats, and ordered dinner to be served up anew. He was an old man of eighty-six years of age, of tall stature, plain appearance, and long white hair.

‘In conversation he was very lively, and his spirits, as also his hearing and sight, seemed not to have decreased at all with his advancing age. I found him a man who retained his faculties remarkably well in his old age, and one would have taken him for a man of sixty.’ pp. 197, 198.

From Richmond the Duke descended the James river, and tells the story of Pocahontas of course; but without any important variation. The visit to Old Point Comfort gives an opportunity of commenting on the very great neatness and order, which prevail on board an American frigate.

Proceeding to Charleston by land, ‘the wheat bread became scarce by degrees, and in its place we had a sort of cakes, made of Indian corn.’ Again he observes, in North Carolina ‘candles and lamps seem to be very scarce; for the few houses which we passed, were lighted with torches of pine.’ At night his lodgings were at a solitary plantation. ‘It was rather transparent; they assigned us a garret for a sleeping-place, and through the cracks in the floor we could see into the room below.” The log houses of the slaves are said also to produce a surprising effect by night, as the glow of the pine torches shines through the frequent crevices.

In the houses in the interior of South Carolina, as in those of the south of Europe, the Duke often found no glass. ‘At the openings of the windows there was nothing but shutters.’ The clear nights and deep blue of the sky showed his rapid advance to the south; well-known constellations disappeared, and new stars became visible.

The legislature was in session at Columbia. But we find little said, especially worthy of remark. The officers of government, and the gentlemen connected with the College, are

spoken of with due respect. On approaching Charleston, the comforts and beauties of a large and hospitable metropolis compensated for the fatigues of the journey.

‘Upon the right bank [of the Ashley], in the vicinity of Charleston, an entirely novel spectacle expanded itself to my view. The houses of the suburb, were, for the most part, surrounded by gardens, in which orange trees, with most splendid ripe fruit, monthly roses in full bloom, and a variety of other flourishing plants displayed themselves. The greater part of the habitations have piazzas and spacious balconies. Upon the walls and columns run creeping vines; we took notice of a great number of passion flowers. I felt delighted with this southern climate.’ Vol. II. pp. 4.

The journal of his residence in Charleston gives various well-known regulations respecting the police of that city. The Duke obviously feels like a philanthropist on the subject of slavery, but his remarks are all temperate, and his journal is never filled with petulant or angry criticisms.

On almost every occasion the moderation of our traveller is exemplary. But in Georgia he says, ‘all faces are haggard,’ and the inhabitants may justly be called ‘great barbarians.’ At Milledgeville he again observes, that the men who were introduced to him had each his own odd manner; and ‘it was evident, that they lived in a state separated from the civilized world.’ Yet he seems to have been very hospitably received; and if kindness and attention are marks of culture, there was no room for complaint.

The Duke resolved on visiting the Creek Indians. The account of this journey is one of the best parts of his book. We willingly make copious extracts from this portion of his travels, for the description of Indian life, under the aspect here represented, is new to us.

‘Towards four o’clock in the afternoon we reached the agency, a group of twenty log houses, and some negro huts. It is appointed for the residence of the agent of the United States with the Creek Indians (he, however, was absent at this time), and is situated in a very handsome tract of land on the left side of the Flint river, which rushes over a rocky bed between pretty steep banks. The right bank belongs to the Creek nation, of about twenty-one thousand souls, and is inhabited by them.’ ‘In one of the log houses we took up our night’s lodging, and enjoyed some very well cooked venison. In a neighboring grog-shop we found a collection of drunken Indians, and some negroes, who were frolicking during the Christmas holy-days. Several of them were well dressed; they

wore mocassins and leggings of leather; broad knee-bands ornamented with white glass beads, a sort of coat of striped cotton, and upon the head a striped cotton cloth, almost like a turban. Several of them were very large. For a treat of whiskey, which I gave them, eight of them performed the war dance. They skipped here and there in a circle, moved themselves right and left, sprung against each other, raised their hands on high, let them fall again, and bellowed horribly through the whole scene. Some old men who stood near, took it in dudgeon that the young men should dance in such a way before white people. They called to them to stop. Mr Crowell, however, brought them to silence easily, by whiskey.

'The color of these Indians is a dusky brown. They have black, straight hair. Several of them possess negroes, to whom it is very acceptable to live with them, since they are treated with more equality than by the whites. Some of these negroes were very well clothed in the Indian manner, they drank and jumped about with the Indians. One of them was of colossal stature, and appeared to be in great request among the Indians, to whom he served as interpreter. The constitution of these Indians is a mixture of the aristocratical and republican form of government. The chiefs are chosen for life, and the dignity is not hereditary; for improper conduct they can be deposed. They cannot write their language. Their laws are of course very simple, and founded on traditionary usage.'

'The Indians have thrown bridges over two brooks with marshy shores; at each of them we paid, with great pleasure, half a dollar toll-money. The bridges are indeed not remarkably good, yet better than several in the Christian state of Georgia, and even in many of the more northern states. We met but few of the Indian inhabitants; these were all wrapt up in woollen blankets. We only saw three wigwams, Indian houses, chiefly toll-houses of the bridges. They resemble the log houses, neither are they so open as those which I saw last summer in the state of New York.' pp. 23, 25.

'We took a walk to a plantation lying near, which belonged to an Indian named M'Intosh. He was absent at Washington as a delegate from his nation. He is the son of that M'Intosh, who obtained from the state of Georgia the title of General, and who last spring, on account of the treaty with the state, had been shot by his countrymen and hewn in pieces. Polygamy prevails among the Indians. The young M'Intosh had indeed only two wives, a white woman and an Indian. They say he had several wives whom he wished to keep; the white woman however had driven them with scolding and disgrace out of the house, as she would only submit to one Indian rival. We did not see the Indian wife. The

white wife, however, received us quite politely. She is the daughter of a planter in Georgia, and tolerably pretty. She was attired in the European style, only, according to the Indian fancy in dress, she wore a quantity of glass beads about her neck. She showed us her two children, completely white, and also the portrait of her father-in-law, as large as life, with the sword of honor given him by the United States. The family is in very good circumstances, and possesses seventy negroes.' p. 27.

'For the singularity of the thing, I will notice our dinner of to-day, that the inquisitive reader may observe that one is in no danger of hunger on the lands of the Indians; soup of turnips, roast-beef, a roast turkey, venison with a kind of sour sauce, roast chickens, and pork with sweet potatoes.' p. 28.

'Not far from this place, we noticed a number of Indians collected in the neighborhood of a plantation. We left our carriage to inquire into the cause of it. There had been a horse-race of middling, unsightly horses; the festival was, however, ended, and the meeting was on the point of breaking up. A white planter who was there, conducted us to the son of the Big Warrior. He was himself a chief, and possessed a high reputation, as was said amongst those of the nation. He sat upon a felled tree between two inferior chiefs. His dress was a tunic of flowered, clear blue calico, a piece of the same stuff was wrapped round his head like a turban. He wore richly ornamented leather leggings set with glass beads, and mocassins, and had an equally ornamented hunting-pouch hung around him. Moderately fat, and of a great stature, he appeared to be about thirty years old. He had mustaches like all his countrymen. I was introduced to him, and shook hands with him. The conversation was very trifling and short. It took place through an interpreter who appeared to be a dismissed soldier. This creature caused the chief to rise when he commenced speaking to him; when I begged him to remain sitting, he reseated himself mechanically. He directed no questions to me, and answered mine with yes and no. To the question, whether he knew anything of the country of which I was a native, he answered by a shake of the head. He looked no more at me. Several Indians wore their hair in a singular style; it was shorn on both sides of the head, and the middle, from the neck over to the forehead, stood up like a cock's comb. Seen from behind, they appeared as if they wore a helmet. Quite small boys practised themselves already in shooting with a little bow. I attempted to joke with a little fellow, three years old, but he took the jest in bad part, and threatened me with his bow.' pp. 29, 30.

The Duke proceeded to Montgomery and thence down the Alabama to Mobile. The climate seems to have been particu-

larly agreeable to him ; in December he was cheered by the warmth of a German spring ; by the landscape, brilliant with live oaks and various evergreens, by the air, warm and soothing as a May evening. But the pleasure of the impression was marred by the recollection, that this air in summer is poisonous ; and that death comes to the work of destruction, concealed in the luxuriance of vegetation and all the abundance, which nature heaves from her lap in the fertile regions of the South. The charms of a southern clime gave an interest to travelling through countries but little inhabited, and made an excursion of pleasure out of a journey, which in the North would have been only a succession of privations. Thus, in travelling to Pensacola, the road could not be discerned, so few were the traces of it ; and the party, having been overtaken by night, were obliged to make their way by imitating the noise of barking, that dogs might answer ; and their device having succeeded, they went towards the place from which they heard the deep-mouthed welcome proceed. But the weather was like summer ; and an excellent meal could be made by the running brooks in the grateful shade. Pensacola itself was ‘ the most miserable place, that had been seen this side of the Atlantic.’

The Duke reached New Orleans on the 21st of January, and remained there nine weeks.

‘ I determined to wait in New Orleans for the mild season, and then to ascend the Mississippi. The result was an extensive acquaintance, a succession of visits, a certain conformity in living, which one cannot refrain from yielding to in a city. No day passed over, this winter, which did not produce something pleasant or interesting ; each day, however, was nearly the same as its predecessors. Dinners, evening parties, plays, masquerades, and other amusements followed close on each other, and were interrupted only by the little circumstances which accompany life in this hemisphere, as well as in the other.’ p. 56.

We are not inclined to enter particularly into the account, given of the state of society in New Orleans. In this part of the volume the Duke allows himself in expressions more unjust, and descriptions more improper, than in the other portions of his travels. We cannot but think it exceedingly indelicate to publish in a book an account of a dinner party in a private family. It is wrong to speak of it at all with the name and personal appearance of the hostess ; doubly wrong, if the conversation is quoted, and it is declared who of the party drank too much

wine, and to what ludicrous results the excitement led. We are glad that the translator has omitted some passages ; which indeed contain no serious charges against any one, except him, who forgets himself so far as to publish what, whether right or wrong, belong to the sacred things of private hospitality.

Our traveller is moreover very much moved with compassion for certain mulatto women, whom he saw ; and in whose company he himself declares it is not decent to be found. Surely there is no need of attributing to undue haughtiness, and to pride resembling the pride of nobility, the disdain which decent people may feel for such persons as he describes. It is but the exercise of the most common virtue in rejecting alliance and intercourse with the abandoned. If it be true, as he asserts, that such women, if they have property, can establish themselves well in Europe, it proves, not a superior philanthropy as displayed in an indifference to a tinge of negro blood, but a less delicate sense of the nature of conjugal relations.

The Duke speaks of New Orleans, as though it were dangerous to be abroad there in the evening. It would seem as if every poorer man were armed with a stiletto and prepared for picking pockets. In a city, which within a few years has undergone so many changes, and which from its situation is exposed to be infested by fugitives from the West Indies, it would not be surprising to find a large number of vagabonds and worthless men.

The ascent of the Mississippi is next described. But the account contains nothing of moment. On the 10th of April, he 'took a solemn leave of the majestic father of rivers, the Mississippi ; but, with God's permission, not an eternal one.' We find nothing very curious, till we come to New Harmony. And this, we must observe, is again one of the best parts of the book. Mr Owen's society is at an end ; and we have here a very satisfactory account of it in its season of greatest prosperity. The Duke deserves credit for his good sense in predicting the speedy end of it.

'I came with the utmost expectation to New Harmony, curious to become acquainted with a man of such extraordinary sentiments. In the tavern, I accosted a man very plainly dressed, about fifty years of age, rather of low stature, who entered into a conversation with me, concerning the situation of the place, and the disordered state in which I should find everything, where all was newly established, &c. When I asked this man how long before Mr

Owen would be there, he announced himself, to my no small surprise, as Mr Owen, was glad at my visit, and offered himself to show everything, and explain to me whatever remained without explanation.' p. 108.

'In the first place, Mr Owen carried me to the quondam church of Rapp's society; a simple wooden building, with a steeple of the same materials, provided with a clock. This church was at present appropriated to joiner's and shoemaker's shops, in which the boys are instructed in these mechanic arts.'

'Mr Owen then conducted me to Rapp's former dwelling, a large, well-built brick house, with two lightning rods. The man of God, it appeared, took especial good care of himself; his house was by far the best in the place, surrounded by a garden, with a flight of stone steps, and the only one furnished with lightning rods. Mr Owen, on the contrary, contented himself with a small apartment in the same tavern where I lodged.' p. 109.

'In the evening Mr Owen conducted me to a concert in the non-descript building. Most of the members of the society were present. The orchestra was not numerous; it consisted at first only of one violin, one violoncello, one clarionet, and two flutes. Nevertheless the concert was surprisingly good, especially as the musicians have not been together a year. The clarionet player performed particularly well, and afterwards let us hear him on the bugle. Several good male and female vocalists then took a part; they sang among other things a trio accompanied by the clarionet only. Declamation was interspersed among the musical performances; Lord Byron's stanzas to his wife after their separation were extremely well recited. Between the two parts of the concert, the music played a march, each gentlemen gave a lady his arm, and a promenade took place, resembling a Polonaise with pretty figures, sometimes in two couples, sometimes in four; two ladies in the middle, the gentlemen separated from the ladies, then again all together. The concert closed with a lively cotillion. I was, on the whole, much amused; and Mr Huygens took an active share in the dancing. This general evening amusement takes place often in the week; besides, on Tuesday, there is a general ball.' 'All the men did not take a share in the dance, i. e. the lower class, but read newspapers, which were scattered over the side-tables.'

'Military exercises form a part of the instruction of the children. I saw the boys divided into two ranks, and parted into detachments, marching to labor, and on the way they performed various wheelings and evolutions. All the boys and girls have a very healthy look, are cheerful and lively, and by no means bashful. The boys labor in the field and garden, and were now occupied with new fencing. The girls learn female employments;

they were as little oppressed as the boys with labor and teaching ; these happy and interesting children were much more employed in making their youth pass as pleasantly as possible.'

'I became acquainted with a Madam F——, a native of St-Petersburg. She married an American merchant, settled there, and had the misfortune to lose her husband three days after marriage. She then joined her husband's family at Philadelphia, and as she was somewhat eccentric and sentimental, quickly became enthusiastically attached to Mr Owen's system. She told me, however, in German, that she found herself egregiously deceived ; that the highly vaunted equality was not altogether to her taste ; that some of the society were too low, and the table was below all criticism. The good lady appeared to be about to run from one extreme to the other ; for she added, that in the summer, she would enter a Shaker establishment near Vincennes.' pp. 110, 113.

'I had an ample conversation with Mr Owen, relating to his system, and his expectations. He looks forward to nothing less than to remodel the world entirely ; to root out all crime ; to abolish all punishments ; to create similar views and similar wants, and in this manner to avoid all dissension and warfare. When his system of education shall be brought into connexion with the great progress made in mechanics, and which is daily increasing, every man can then, as he thought, provide his smaller necessities for himself, and trade would cease entirely ! I expressed a doubt of the practicability of his system in Europe, and even in the United States. He was too unalterably convinced of the results, to admit the slightest room for doubt.' p. 115.

'In the evening there was a general meeting in the large hall ; it opened with music. Then one of the members, an English architect of talent, who came to the United States with Mr. Owen, whose confidence he appeared to possess, and was here at the head of the arranging and architectural department, read some extracts from the newspapers, upon which Mr Owen made a very good commentary ; for example, upon the extension and improvement of steam-engines, upon their adaptation to navigation, and the advantages resulting therefrom. He lost himself, however, in his theories, when he expatiated on an article which related to the experiments which had been made with Perkins's steam-gun. During these lectures, I made my observations on the much vaunted equality, as some tatterdemalions stretched themselves on the platform close by Mr Owen. The better educated members kept themselves together, and took no notice of the others. I remarked also, that the members belonging to the higher class of society had put on the new costume, and made a party by themselves. After the lecture, the band played a march, each gentleman took a lady, and

marched with her round the room. Lastly, a cotillion was danced; the ladies were then escorted home, and each retired to his own quarters.' p. 116.

'In the evening I paid visits to some ladies, and witnessed philosophy and the love of equality put to the severest trial with one of them. She is named Virginia, from Philadelphia; is very young and pretty, was delicately brought up, and appears to have taken refuge here on account of an unhappy attachment. While she was singing and playing very well on the piano forte, she was told that the milking of the cows was her duty, and that they were waiting unmilked. Almost in tears, she betook herself to this servile employment, deprecating the new social system, and its so much prized equality.'

'After the cows were milked, in doing which the poor girl was trod on by one, and daubed by another, I joined an aquatic party with the young ladies and some young philosophers, in a very good boat upon the inundated meadows of the Wabash. The evening was beautiful moonlight, and the air very mild; the beautiful Miss Virginia forgot her *stable* sufferings, and regaled us with her sweet voice. Somewhat later we collected together in the house No. 2, appointed for a school-house, where all the young ladies and gentlemen of *quality* assembled. In spite of the equality so much recommended, this class of persons will not mix with the common sort, and I believe that all the well brought up members are disgusted, and will soon abandon the society. We amused ourselves exceedingly during the whole remainder of the evening, dancing cotillions, reels, and waltzes, and with such animation as rendered it quite lively. New figures had been introduced among the cotillions, among which is one called the *new social system*. Several of the ladies made objections to dancing on Sunday; we thought however, that in this sanctuary of philosophy, such prejudices should be utterly discarded, and our arguments, as well as the inclination of the ladies, gained the victory.' pp. 117, 118.

'In the evening I visited Mr M'Clure and Madam Fretageot, living in the same house. She is a French woman, who formerly kept a boarding-school in Philadelphia, and is called *mother* by all the young girls here. The handsomest and most polished of the female world here, Miss Lucia Saistare and Miss Virginia, were under her care. The cows were milked this evening when I came in, and therefore we could hear their performance on the piano forte, and their charming voices, in peace and quiet. Later in the evening we went to the kitchen of No. 3, where there was a ball. The young ladies of the better class kept themselves in a corner under Madam Fretageot's protection, and formed a little aristocratical club. To prevent all possible partialities, the gentlemen, as well as the ladies, drew numbers for the cotillions, and thus apportioned

them equitably. Our young ladies turned up their noses apart at the democratic dancers, who often in this way fell to their lot.' p. 119.

'I add but a few remarks more. Mr Owen considers it as an absurdity to promise never-ending love on marriage. For this reason he has introduced the civil contract of marriage, after the manner of the Quakers, and the French laws, into his community, and declares that the bond of matrimony is in no way indissoluble. The children, indeed, cause no impediment in case of a separation, for they belong to the community from their second year, and are all brought up together.' pp. 121, 122.

Thus we enable the reader to judge himself of the spirit with which the Duke writes, and of his general manner. We have no room for further extracts, though we could willingly follow him through Ohio. Of this state he found the Governor engaged in cutting a wagon-pole. It seemed to him, that he had fallen on the days of Cincinnatus, and we are pleased at the sincerity, with which the illustrious foreigner acknowledges the simple hospitality with which he was entertained.

From Pittsburgh the Duke went to see Rapp's society. There his heart was cheered by a 'very good glass of old Rhenish,' and by a table spread after the fashion of his country.

At Philadelphia the charge is repeated, that the Americans are deficient in taste for painting. At Hamburg the Duke found himself surrounded by his countrymen; and felt that the German emigrants form one of the 'roughest portions of the community.' A young German, who had studied at the Universities, was particularly giddy through excitement for liberty. 'It was the first time in the United States, that the *affectation* of republicanism arrested my attention.' This is the remark of our author, and is creditable both to us and to him.

One week more the Duke passes in New York. With a fervent acknowledgment of the kindness of Providence in protecting him through his long journey, after travelling over more than seven thousand miles, he set sail from New York in June, 1826.

We cannot but part from the Duke with good feeling. His intentions towards this country are manifestly honest. The general impressions which will be produced by the volumes on candid persons, unacquainted with the country, are favorable. Universal hospitality and security; freedom from affectation; industry and thrift; and the happiness that arises from refinement in social life; of these, as existing among us, almost

every page furnishes examples. The cavillers at America will also find something, which they can turn to account.

Generally, however, the volumes do not touch, except incidentally, on the strong points in American character. Nothing is said of the practical influence of our political system; and the only notices of our great men are trifling. Indeed we have in the accounts of the cities very much, which is entirely commonplace, and which might as well happen to a traveller in Europe as in this hemisphere. The only chance of forming from this work a general idea respecting the state of society among us, must be by making inferences from an abundance of insignificant details.

Nor are we prepared to consider this publication as entirely accidental. We cannot but suspect, that the Duke had all along an intention, not perhaps very fully developed, of making a book; and we further believe, that he was led to this view in part by the volume, which was published about ten years ago on Brazil by another German Prince of scientific merit and liberal curiosity.

Finally, we cannot but observe, that it is not worth while for Americans to be sensitive as to what European travellers say of us. The moral and political character of the country is an answer to the idle calumnies, which are often propagated respecting us. Our police is confessedly the weakest (so far as force is concerned) in the world; and yet property is nowhere more safe; we triumph over our enemies at sea, and repel their attacks on land. Our executive government is weak, and our country quiet. The wilderness is peopled, and free government is rapidly extending towards the Pacific. If these things do not prove the general diffusion of justice and industry, of intelligence, wholesome principles, courtesy, and courage, our condition is as much a contradiction to the eternal laws of morality and right, as it is to the theory of the benefits of unlimited monarchy.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The American Journal of Improvements in the useful Arts. Vol. I. No. I. Edited by I. L. Skinner. Washington. W. Green. 8vo. pp. 128.

On the Motion of Solids on Surfaces, in the two Hypotheses of Perfect Sliding and Perfect Rolling, with a particular Examination of their small Oscillatory Motions. By Henry James Anderson, M. D. Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Columbia College, New York. Dated 10th of November 1827. Laid before the Society, 4th January, 1828. Published as a Part of Vol. III, New Series, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia.

EDUCATION.

An Abridgement of Murray's English Grammar and Exercises. By the Rev. J. G. Cooper. Philadelphia.

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3. *Considerations on Volcanoes, the probable Causes of their Phenomena, the Laws which determine their March, the Disposition of their Products, and their Connexion with the present State and past History of the Globe; leading to the Establishment of a New Theory of the Earth.* By POULETT SCROPE, Secretary of the Geological Society. London, 1825. 8vo. pp. 270.

RESPECTABLE geologists of the present century have been nearly as much distinguished for their skepticism, in regard to theories of the earth, as their predecessors were for their credulousness. Lecturers on the subject, indeed, chiefly perhaps that they might not seem to be wanting in system, have given a sort of poetic exhibition of their faith in some geological hypothesis—in most instances, in this country, the Wernerian. The more practical geologists, however, have devoted themselves exclusively to the observation of facts, exhibiting even a fastidious avoidance of hypothesis. One of the most

distinguished clusters of them in Europe, for example, the London Geological Society, have chosen the following, from Lord Bacon, for their watchword ;—‘*Quod si cui mortalium cordi et curæ sit, non tantum inventis hære, atque iis uti, sed ad ulteriora penetrare ; atque non disputando adversarium, sed opere naturam vincere ; denique non belle et probabiliter opinari, sed certo et ostentive scire ; tales, tanquam veri scientiarum filii, nobis (si videbitur) se adjungant ; ut omissis naturæ atriis, quæ infiniti contriverunt, aditus aliquando ad interiora patefiat.*’

It was agreeable to human nature, that when men of logical minds saw the inadequacy of existing theories to explain the phenomena, they should abandon themselves to unreasonable skepticism in regard to any attempt to theorize. And the great number and zeal of the adherents of one of these hypotheses, the Wernerian, has increased this skeptical tendency among men, who saw that it was merely names and authority that kept up the illusion. While, however, the Neptunian system has been losing ground, we have for several years observed, even among the most cautious, a leaning towards the leading idea of Hutton, that internal heat has been the grand agent in the formation of our globe. A great variety of facts, brought to light by modern science, has tended to produce this change of opinion. Among these may be named the occurrence of more than two hundred volcanoes in all parts of the globe, and the identity of the lavas they have ejected ; also, the existence of numerous extinct volcanoes, and the gradual passage of their lavas into every variety of trap rocks, thus establishing the identity of their origin ; also, the occurrence of granite under precisely the same forms as trap rocks, and similarly intruded among other rocks, producing like dislocations and overturnings. Experiments also have been made which show that rocks may readily be made to assume a crystalline form, from a state of fusion ; while few, if any facts, support the idea that they could have resulted from chemical solution in water. Observation has likewise shown that there is a constant radiation of heat from the earth towards the heavens ; and that the earth is gradually cooling. But the argument more direct and conclusive than any other, perhaps, in favor of internal heat, is derived from certain experiments that have been made in deep mines, and other excavations, showing that the heat rapidly increases as we descend. This fact has but recently at-

tracted the attention of philosophers ; and even up to this time, it has been considered as by no means established. To bring together all that is known on this subject, to discuss the merit of the observations by pointing out local causes of error, and to establish the truth of the general principle, constitute the objects of M. Cordier in the Essay, named at the head of this article.

‘ In the first part of the work,’ says he, ‘ I shall discuss the merit of the experiments hitherto published, on subterranean temperature, and of the consequences which have been drawn from them ; and shall give an account of corroborating experiments to which I have devoted myself. In the second part, I shall exhibit in detail, some direct experiments which I have attempted, while pursuing a new system of observations, and shall enumerate the immediate consequences which appeared to me necessarily to result from my researches. In the third part, I shall point out the principal applications to the theory of the earth, and as connected with this subject, shall present summarily many new geological observations.’ p. 8.

The author finds that the number of mines, in which experiments on this subject have been made, in France, England, Switzerland, Saxony, Peru, and Mexico, is more than forty ; and the number of observations about three hundred. They were made, some upon the air, some upon the water, and some upon the rock in excavations ; and at depths varying from 127 to 1700 feet. A critical examination of these experiments occupies forty pages of M. Cordier’s Essay ; and we recommend this part of his work to any who may be disposed to impute the high temperature of mines, and other excavations to local causes. They will find, we presume, that the author has fairly and ingeniously estimated the amount of influence exerted upon the temperature by these local causes ; and probably, also, they will find several sources of error here examined, which they have never thought of, and which would not be apt to occur to any man not thoroughly conversant with mining operations. The author derives from this examination the following conclusions.

‘ 1. If we reject a certain number of observations as too uncertain, all the rest indicate, in a manner more or less certain, that there exists a remarkable increase of temperature, as we descend from the surface of the earth towards the interior. It is reasonable then to admit this increase.

‘ 2. The results collected at the Observatory at Paris, are the

only ones that can be certainly depended upon, for obtaining a numerical expression of the law of this increase. This expression gives 51 feet as the depth which corresponds to an increase of one degree in the subterranean temperature. And we would remark in passing, that according to this result, the temperature of boiling water, under the city of Paris, would be at the depth of 8212 feet, or about a mile and a half.

‘3. Among all the other results, a small number only, afford numerical expressions of the law sought for, sufficiently approximate to be taken into account. These expressions vary from 104 to 24 feet, for one degree of increase; their average in general indicates an increase more rapid than has been hitherto admitted. Their evidence has so much the more weight, as embracing the results of many series of long continued observations.

‘4. Lastly, in grouping together, by countries, all the results admissible on any principle, I am led to present a new and important idea, to wit, that the differences between the results collected at the same place [different places? Trans.] are referable not solely to the imperfection of the experiments, but also to a certain irregularity in the distribution of subterranean heat in different countries. p. 50.

In order to avoid the local causes of error, to which most experiments upon subterranean temperature had been subject, M. Cordier performed several himself in the coal mines of France. We have not time to detail the precautions which were used; although every one who attempts similar experiments (and we hope they will be attempted in this country), should be acquainted with them. Suffice it to say, they were as complete as science and experience could make them. The following are the inferences from these experiments, and all the others detailed by the author.

‘1. Our experiments fully prove the existence of an internal heat which is natural to the terrestrial globe, which depends not on the influence of the sun’s rays, and which increases rapidly with the depth.

‘2. The increase of subterranean heat in proportion to the depth does not follow the same law throughout the whole earth. It may be twice or even thrice as great, in one country as in another.

‘3. These differences are not in a constant ratio to the latitude or longitude.

‘4. Finally, the increase is certainly much more rapid than has heretofore been supposed; it may be as great as 27, or even 24 feet, for a degree in some countries. Provisionally, however, the mean must not be put lower than 46 feet.’ p. 70.

These inferences we consider as legitimate ; nor can it be any longer doubted that there is a very sensible and even rapid increase of heat as we descend into the earth. The establishment of this fact, we consider as constituting the principal value of M. Cordier's work. Further observations may indeed modify these conclusions, and bring to light others of an interesting character. But any longer to doubt the fact of an internal heat in the globe, not derived from local causes, nor from the rays of the sun, we consider as unreasonable skepticism. This fact being admitted, every philosophical mind is almost irresistibly led to make several theoretical inferences of a highly interesting character. If the heat increases to the centre of the earth, at the rate of one degree for 46 feet, the excessive temperature of 3500 degrees of Wedgwood's pyrometer, equal to 450,000 degrees of Fahrenheit, must exist there. And a temperature sufficient to melt all known rocks would exist at a depth of little more than 60 miles. Indeed, from many geological facts, M. Cordier is of opinion, that such a heat exists at a much less depth. He infers that the whole mass of the globe, with the exception of this crust, less than 60 miles in thickness, is at present composed of melted lava, similar to that which is so frequently thrown from volcanoes, which he regards as the vent-holes of this vast subterranean furnace,—the safety valves of our globe.

We are aware that it is, by some, thought to be 'a prodigious leap, from these experiments in the small way, to the igneous liquidity of the central mass !' The true state of the argument appears to us to be this. So far as we have yet penetrated into the earth, we find the temperature to increase one degree for every 46 feet. At this rate, all the rocks would be melted, long before we arrive at the centre of the globe. Now M. Cordier may ask, what reason have we to suppose the heat does not increase to the centre, at the same rate as it does for 1700 feet ? If any one doubts it, let him show at what point the heat ceases to increase. But he looks around him, and finds 200 volcanoes on the globe, pouring out melted rocks, in just the same state as he supposes them to exist in the interior of the earth. It has been proved, moreover, that this melted lava, in many instances, at least, is ejected from beneath the primary rocks. It strikes us, that almost any man, under such circumstances, would be apt to believe that this volcanic lava, before his eyes, was no other than a portion of the ignited fluid matter, which

his experiments on subterranean temperature had led him to suspect, might exist in the earth. And when he saw the spheroidal figure of the earth, and that the organic remains of northern latitudes were evidently the products of a tropical climate, he would be very likely to feel a stronger conviction of the correctness of his first inference.

Nor would his faith in this conclusion probably be shaken, were he asked, as he is asked by an anonymous correspondent of one of the scientific journals of our country, whether, 'if the earth was, at the beginning, highly heated throughout, it would cool in that uniform ratio assumed by him; so that the remaining heat may be represented by a four-sided pyramid whose sides are isosceles triangles? Ought not the remaining heat to be represented by a four-sided pyramid whose sides are the areas of Gothic arches with sides nearly parallel towards the base? The latter would certainly be the true figure for representing the remaining heat of a red hot cannon ball, after it had been suspended by a chain, until its superficial heat should be so far reduced that it could be borne by the hand.'

Without entering into the mathematical considerations involved in these inquiries, M. Cordier might reasonably doubt, whether it were safe to infer the precise ratio of refrigeration in so large a body as the earth, covered, as it is, with an envelope many miles in thickness, composed of materials which scarcely conduct heat at all, from the manner in which an iron ball, a few inches in thickness, and an excellent conductor of heat, gives off its caloric. At least, he would probably think it safer to trust to the indications of central heat and fluidity, exhibited by volcanoes, the figure of the earth, &c. than to any physico-mathematical inference of this kind. Or, even if he granted the correctness of this writer's positions, he might say that the red heat of iron, admitted by him to exist at the earth's centre on his own principles, would be but little inferior to a temperature which would answer all the essential conditions of his hypothesis.

This idea of internal heat and fluidity, constitutes the fundamental element of a new Theory of the Earth; though in fact, it is very analogous to the views of Hutton. The supposition is, that the whole globe was originally in a state of fusion, and that from the beginning, it has been gradually cooling by the radiation of its heat; thus adding new beds of primary rocks to

the interior of its crust, while upon its surface the secondary deposits have been forming by the action of water. According to this view, the lowest and the highest rocks are the newest, and primary, as well as alluvial rocks, are still forming.

If we admit the leading idea of this system, the most difficult phenomena in geology, as well as in some other branches of science, are explained by it with great ease. It supposes a vast volcanic agency to have been in operation from the creation;—much more active and powerful in early times than at present. Such a cause would explain most satisfactorily all the anomalies of the trap rocks, and of granite; also, the inclination of rock strata in general, with all their overturnings, contortions, and dislocations; also, the intrusion among all classes of rocks of metallic and other veins; also, the elevation of our present continents from the bottom of the ocean. The most important of these applications we shall now proceed to make with all possible brevity.

The explanation of volcanic phenomena by this theory is satisfactory, and even beautiful. ‘They appear,’ says M. Cordier, ‘to be the simple and natural effect of the cooling of the interior of the globe;—an effect purely thermometrical.’ The contraction of the refrigerating crust subjects, as he supposes, the internal fluid matter to an immense pressure, by which it is forced out through the volcanic vents; and he calculates that this force cannot be less, in some cases, than 28,000 atmospheres. He makes the following curious estimates on this subject.

‘At Teneriffe in 1803, I calculated as nearly as possible, the amount of matter ejected by the eruptions of 1705 and 1798. I performed the same operation, in respect to the products of two eruptions, yet more perfectly isolated, which exist in the extinct volcanoes of the interior of France; to wit, in 1806, those of the volcano of Murol, in Auvergne; and in 1809, those of the volcano of Cherchemus, near Izarles, at Mezin. I found the volume of matter in each eruption, to be much less than one cubic kilometre, or 1308044971 cubic yards. From these data, and others of the same kind, which I have obtained at other places, I feel justified in taking the volume of a cubic kilometre, as the extreme limit of the product of eruptions in general. But such a mass is very small in relation to the whole earth. Applied to its surface, it would form a bed, which would not be one 500th of a millimetre in thickness. More definitely, if we suppose the mean thickness of the crust of the earth to be 62,1 miles, a contraction of

this envelope, which would shorten the mean radius of the central mass one 494th of a millimetre (one 12694th of an inch), would be sufficient to produce the matter of one eruption.

‘Proceeding upon these data, if we suppose that the contraction alone produces the phenomenon, and that over all the earth five eruptions take place yearly, we shall come to the conclusion, that the difference between the contraction of the solid crust of the earth, and that of the internal mass, would not shorten the radius of that mass more than a millimetre (.03937 of an inch) in a century; if there are but two eruptious per year, it would require two centuries and a half to shorten the radius as much. We see that, in all these cases, an action extremely small is sufficient to produce the phenomena.’ p. 83.

Admitting this general explanation of volcanic phenomena, it is easy to see how it would account for ‘the identity of circumstances that characterize volcanic action in all parts of the earth; also for the very great reduction in the number of volcanoes since the origin of things; also, for the diminution in the quantity of matter ejected at each eruption; also, for the almost exact resemblance in composition, of the products ejected at each geological epoch; and also, for the small differences that exist among lavas that appertain to different epochs.’

The striking features of volcanic action have excited a strong curiosity to know its origin. In every age, accordingly, hypotheses have been almost as numerous as philosophers. Our own age, so fertile in every species of intellectual creation, has produced its full share; and scarcely do we take up a scientific journal, without meeting with some new attempt to explain the origin of these igneous phenomena. The repetition of these efforts shows that they are unsatisfactory. Indeed, we must be pardoned for saying, that so far as the probability of the hypothesis is concerned, we do not apprehend that modern philosophers, until the appearance of the theory above explained, had made much advance upon the Greek and Roman poets; who described volcanoes as the forging-shops of the Cyclops, and the prisons of the giants who rebelled against Jupiter.

A very ingenious hypothesis, however, to explain volcanic phenomena, has of late been proposed and ably defended both in Europe, and in this country; and for a time, at least, it seems destined to be a rival theory to that of Scrope, Cordier, and others, whose outlines we have given above. This refers volcanoes to the action of water upon the metallic bases of the

earths and alkalies in the interior of the earth, where these bases are supposed still to exist in a metallic state. But more of this theory before we close.

Earthquakes, we believe, are now almost universally referred to the same source as volcanoes; or rather the two phenomena are considered as merely different exhibitions of the same power. If the supposition of central fluidity from heat be admitted, it is reasonable to suppose, that as the internal mass continues to cool and increase the thickness of the earth's crust, a part of the matter would be decomposed and form gases, as in the coagulation of lavas. These will be continually struggling to get vent; and being urged from place to place by inequality of pressure, along the probably irregular interior surface of the earth's envelope, will produce all the capricious phenomena of earthquakes. And when these gases have acquired sufficient expansive power, by their accumulation, to break through this envelope, or when they have found their way to some volcanic vent, they will drive out a quantity of the fluid matter with which they are surrounded, in the form of lavas; and thus the eruption would put an end to the earthquake, an inference that corresponds exactly with facts.

The diversities of climate found on the globe, have excited no small degree of interest among philosophers, to determine their cause. But the failure of explanation here, has been as conspicuous as in the case of volcanoes. Let us apply to this subject the supposition of central heat and fluidity.

There is reason to suppose that the thickness of the earth's crust varies very much in different countries. The thinner that crust, the more easily will the internal heat pass through it. In such a place, therefore, we should expect that the climate would be warmer, than in one situated upon a thicker part of the envelope. Only admit, then, that such inequality in the thickness of the crust exists, and we see why it is that the climate is so different, in the same latitudes, on different continents.

On this principle the envelope of the liquid fiery mass in the earth ought to be thicker in this country than in Europe, since the mean temperature of our climate, in the same latitudes, is considerably lower than in Europe. It is an interesting inquiry whether experiments confirm this inference from the theory. If the crust be thicker here, the temperature, as we descend into the earth, ought to increase at a slower rate than in Eu-

rope. The only conclusive experiment however, with which we are acquainted, that has been performed in the United States on subterranean temperature, is that of Mr Disbrow, made at Brunswick, New Jersey, and quoted in the note appended to the translation of Cordier's Essay. In boring for water at that place, he found the temperature of a spring, that issued from the strata at the depth of two hundred and fifty feet, to be fifty-two degrees of Fahrenheit, while that of another spring, at the depth of three hundred and ninety-four feet, was fifty-four degrees. This would indicate an increase of one degree of heat, at that place, for seventy-two feet in depth; whereas in Europe, according to M. Cordier, it is only forty-six feet. The experiment of Mr Disbrow appears to have been a very satisfactory one; yet we ought not, probably, to place much dependence on results derived from a single trial of this kind. We trust however, that no opportunity will be lost in future, for multiplying such observations in this country.

'All the world,' says Cuvier, in his recent analysis of Cordier's Essay, 'agree in believing that the mass of the globe has been in a liquid state. But whether it was aqueous or igneous liquidity, is a question upon which there is a difference of opinion.' The evidence of this original liquidity is derived, not merely from the records of geology, but follows as a probable inference from the spheroidal figure of the earth. The effect of its rotatory motion, while yet in a fluid state, as every philosopher knows, would be to flatten the polar regions, and elongate the equatorial. And although it might have been created with a spheroidal figure, yet this figure seems most naturally referable to that class of facts, which we may expect to find dependent on second causes. So far as a change in the earth, from a sphere to a spheroid, is concerned, however, either aqueous or igneous fluidity will equally well explain it.

It has been thought a strong confirmation of the system of gravitation, that certain minute irregularities in the motions of the heavenly bodies, were first suggested by the theory, and afterwards confirmed by observation. M. Cordier has laid the foundation, by several of his suggestions, for a similar argument in respect to the theory under consideration. For example, he infers from his premises, that the crust of the earth possesses a certain degree of flexibility. Hence it would follow, that the operation of the tides must extend to the crust of the earth itself. Perhaps future observations may confirm this suggestion.

Again, the gradual refrigeration of the globe must produce a small contraction of its bulk. One effect of this process would be slightly to depress the surface of continents and produce an apparent rise of the waters. And effects of a similar kind have been already observed around the Baltic and the Mediterranean ; although requiring farther observations to fix their maxima.

La Place estimates that the length of the day has not varied one five-hundredth of a second during twenty centuries. But if the earth be gradually contracting, in consequence of its refrigeration, the consequence will be a slight increase of the velocity of its rotation, and a correspondent decrease in the length of the day. Another consequence of this accelerated rotatory motion will be, to render the spheroid more oblate. Effects so extremely small, however, can be detected only by the most accurate and long continued observations.

The mean density of the earth, as is well known, is five times and a half greater than that of water ; that is, about twice as great as that of granite and most other rocks near its surface. At first thought, it would seem that this fact might be explained on the theory of central heat and fluidity, by imputing the great density of the internal matter to the enormous pressure exerted upon it. M. Cordier, however, is of opinion that this cause is not sufficient to account for so great a density. 'It is to be observed first,' says he, 'that fluids but feebly compress themselves ; that this compression has a limit, and that a very great heat balances the effects. Furthermore, the present lavas, after their coagulation, possess a mean specific gravity greater than that of the primary rocks taken together ; whence we may conclude, independently of every other consideration, that the density of the central materials of the globe results much more from their nature, than from compression. They would originally dispose themselves in the order of their specific gravities. The existence of gold and platina shows us that there may be found in the centre of the earth, substances having naturally a very great density.' *Translation*, p. 87.

With such views, the author thinks there is some probability in the hypothesis of Halley, which imputes magnetic action to the existence of an irregular mass, composed chiefly of metallic iron, which has a revolution of its own within the earth ; and he thinks that the phenomena of Saturn's ring, and the discovery of metallic iron in meteorites—circumstances unknown to Halley—increase this probability.

If this hypothesis be admitted, it will furnish a probable ground for determining the limit of the internal temperature of the globe. For the experiments of Newton, confirmed by those of Barlow, prove that iron, raised to a white heat, loses its magnetic virtue; although excessive pressure might very much extend the limit at which this annihilation would take place.

The geological reader will probably by this time begin to inquire, whether the theory under consideration has as felicitous an application to the details of geology, as we have seen it to have to the phenomena already brought under consideration. This is an important inquiry; since the facts which geology discloses must be in a great measure the result of this vast volcanic agency, which has been supposed to be the grand instrument in originating and modifying the crust of our world; and if a detailed history of the rocks, constituting that crust, contradicts the supposition of powerful igneous action, the theory must be given up, however beautifully it may explain other phenomena. It is the details of the rock formations, that have proved the touchstone, and the ruin, of former geological hypotheses. Some grand idea has been started, which seemed to furnish a satisfactory solution of some general or insulated facts; but when the geologist has carried it with him into the deep excavation, or up the lofty precipice, its fallacy has been soon manifest. To this test, then, let the theory under consideration be brought, and by it let its merits be weighed.

The limits of M. Cordier's work, however, do not permit him to apply his theory to the details of geology; though he makes a general application. On this account, we have placed the work of Mr Poulett Scrope at the head of this article. The greater part of it is occupied in examining the phenomena and the laws of volcanic action; but at the conclusion, he unfolds the elements of a new theory of the earth, corresponding essentially with that of M. Cordier. His work was published before that of Cordier, and he makes but little use of the experiments upon subterranean temperature, because this argument, before the appearance of Cordier's Essay, was developed only in a very imperfect manner. In the phenomena of the two hundred volcanoes, which are found constantly or occasionally active on the globe, and in the evidence which almost every part of the world presents of a volcanic action far more common and energetic in early times than at present, Mr

Scrope thinks he finds an adequate cause for the original formation of all the unstratified rocks of our globe, from the oldest granite to the newest trap rock ; and for all those overturnings and irregularities among the stratified rocks, which meet the geologist at every step of his researches. He makes a distinction, however, between those explanations of geological phenomena, to which the mind is involuntarily directed by the appearances themselves, and those hypothetical considerations which relate to the original state of our planet, and to the earliest changes that took place upon and within it. If the merely hypothetical views should be found incorrect, it will not prove, for instance, that continents were not elevated, and granite and trap rocks were not produced, by volcanic action. We think this a wise distinction.

No man who has any correct geological knowledge of the continents of our globe, can doubt that they must formerly, and for a long period, have constituted the bottom of the ocean. The animal remains found in the secondary rocks of these continents, are, for the most part, marine. In a word, these rocks appear to have been slowly formed by subsidence, or imperfect crystallization ; and the shells and other oceanic relics seem to have dropped to the bottom as they died, and to have become enveloped in the accumulating materials of the rock, which was subsequently hardened by heat, or by mere desiccation. The same process is now going on, though upon a diminished scale, in the ocean, and in fresh water ponds. Either, therefore, our present continents must have been raised by some internal force above the surface of the waters, or the waters must have subsided, so as to uncover them. There is no evidence of any such diminution of the waters. But on the other hand, the primary stratified rocks, all over the globe, are inclined, bent, and broken, just as they would have been, if some enormous force, acting in the direction of the principal mountain chains, had forced them upwards. The idea that the strata of rocks were originally deposited in an inclined position, and, especially, with the countless foldings and contortions which mica slate and grey wacke slate exhibit, is altogether preposterous, except perhaps in a few peculiar and limited cases. We are led then to inquire, whether there is any other evidence of a force within the earth, sufficiently powerful to produce so mighty a tumefaction. Two hundred volcanic craters reply with their bellowings ; and some of them bring up before our eyes, from

the bottom of the ocean, islands of no inconsiderable extent ; while a section of the strata composing the conical mountains thus lifted up, presents us with all the varieties of inclination, contortion, and disruption which we find in the rocks composing the general crust of the globe. In addition to all this, we see, on every side, evidence of the exertion of a volcanic power in early times, transcending by far its present feeble and intermittent action. How can we then hesitate to ascribe the elevation of continents to this same power. Such would be the occasional effect, we might presume, if the earth had been in a fluid, incandescent state within, while yet its crust was thin and partially consolidated.

It has been for five thousand years, and is still believed, by nearly all men, that the action of frost, rain, and streams of water has scooped out the existing valleys with which the surface of continents is grooved. This belief has been entertained, simply because men have neglected to compare together the cause and the effect. Had they done this, they would have seen at once the inadequacy of the former to produce the latter. Neither is the opinion tenable, that the last universal deluge formed most of these valleys ; and for the same reason, namely, that the cause is disproportionate to the effect. But if volcanic power has raised our continents, the extensive and deep valleys which we usually find in mountainous districts, would be the natural consequence. For we find such valleys produced in those regions where this same agent is still in operation.

Have we any means of determining when all, or any, of the present continents, were raised from the ocean ? The nature of volcanic action would lead us to infer, that this took place by repeated efforts of the power, with intervals of repose ; just as we find earthquakes at this day, sometimes raising parts of the earth's surface by almost imperceptible increments. Occasionally, however, when local circumstances had enabled the repressive force to predominate for a long time over the expansive, a mighty '*paroxysmal*' effort of the power might have been sufficient to throw up a continent. But there is no reason to suppose that any event of this kind has taken place since man was placed upon the earth. The researches of Professor Buckland, as given in his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, render it probable that our present continents, in great part at least, remain at this day as they were before the Noachian Deluge. If, however, it be true that outliers of the plastic clay and chalk

formation are found crowning the Savoy and Julian Alps, it would seem that this immense chain, and probably with it all Europe, were thrown up at a comparatively recent period. No facts within our knowledge lead even to a suggestion as to the epoch when the other continents were raised from the deep. Indeed, we place but little reliance upon any observations that have yet been made, in any part of the world, upon this point; although we do not see why the relative ages of different continents may not be as fairly within the reach of geological researches, as the relative ages of different rocks.

We think the argument in favor of the elevation of continents by an expansive force beneath them, to be so conclusive, that every class of geologists, Neptunians as well as Vulcanians, must yield to it. Nor do we see why the most thorough Wernerian might not admit such an origin of our continents, after the deposition of all the rocks from solution and diffusion in water. But those who believe in the igneous origin of the unstratified rocks, will be most likely to adopt this opinion. According to their views, it is the protrusion of granite and the trap rocks through the regular strata, that has produced the elevation of the higher parts of our globe, with all the confusion and overturning of their strata. The nature of these rocks, and especially their mode of occurrence, have produced this conviction as to their origin; and at this day it seems to be gaining ground rapidly among European geologists. In respect to the trachytic and basaltic rocks, indeed, we do not know of the geologist of respectability, who presumes boldly to defend their aqueous origin; and the same may be said, with few exceptions, in regard to all the trap rocks. If any are able to sustain the Wernerian opinion in regard to these rocks in the lecture room, before auditors who have never seen them except in hand specimens, we are confident, if they should follow the example of Daubuisson and Dauberry, by going forth to an examination of the trap rocks in their natural situation, they would return, like these able geologists, thoroughly converted. Or were they to sit down and delineate several series of regular horizontal strata, as they would be bent, broken, and elevated, by a mass of melted rock forced through them from beneath; and then compare this delineation with the section of the actual position of the basalt and stratified rocks of the Tyrolese Alps, as given by De Buch, and copied by Mr Scrope, they would be astonished, if not convinced, by the striking coincidence.

In regard to the older unstratified rocks, the porphyries, sienites, and granites, there is not yet so universal a belief among geologists of their igneous origin. And we apprehend that the more distinctly crystalline structure of these, than of the trap rocks, has produced more doubt on this point in the minds of geologists, than any other circumstance. For so far as their mode of occurrence is concerned, certainly there are no stronger indications among the trap rocks of protrusion from beneath, than among sienite, porphyry, and granite. But most of the crystallizations we witness, either in nature's or the chemist's laboratory, take place from solution in a fluid. And hence we are apt to refer examples of crystalline structures on a large scale, to this mode of production. But we ought to recollect that crystallization does likewise result from igneous fusion; sometimes when the substance is under strong pressure, and sometimes when it is free from pressure. The crystalline structure of the older unstratified rocks is, therefore, no argument against their igneous origin. But on the other hand the facts, that few, if any, of the ingredients of these rocks are soluble in water, except to a very limited extent, and that the weight of the water upon the globe is only one fifty-thousandth part of the weight of its solid materials, seem to be insuperable objections against the aqueous formation of the great mass of the globe.

But we cannot in this place enter into a detailed examination of the arguments on this subject. Our object is rather to give the views of Mr Scrope on some of the points connected with the origin of the unstratified rocks. His ideas of their original identity, at least of such of them as are crystallized, will appear from the following extract.

‘It seems probable that ordinary granite composed of feldspar, quartz, and mica, was the original or mother rock, composing what has been spoken of as the general subterranean bed of heated crystalline rock, or *lava*.

‘Circumstances accompanying its intumescence and reconsolidation, may be supposed in some cases to have converted the mica into hornblende, producing syenite.

‘A great degree of comminution, occasioned by the friction of the crystalline particles on one another, may have sometimes reduced the granite to a porphyry; small particles of feldspar alone remaining visible in an apparently homogeneous base. A still further subdivision, either accompanied, or not, by some changes in the combinations of the elementary particles, may have given rise to compact feldspar (*eurite* or *weisstein*), or serpentine;

and the recrystallization of this latter rock, under favorable circumstances, to diallage rock.

‘The extreme disintegration of syenitic granite, will, in the same manner, have produced greenstone, and perhaps the later traps.

‘There are not perhaps any two of these varieties of crystalline rocks, which have not been found in nature passing into each other, either by sudden or gradual transitions.

‘It cannot therefore be deemed a rash conjecture to suppose them all to have [been] derived from the same original; and it certainly appears most probable that the alterations they have undergone were the result of the circumstances attending their rise and protrusion towards the surface of the globe; since we have to guide us in this supposition the exact analogy of the congenerous crystalline rocks produced under our eyes by subterranean expansion, from volcanic vents, in which similar changes of mineral characters indisputably take place during the processes of emission and consolidation.’ *Scrope*, p. 218.

The author supposes that granite, in some cases, was forced through the incumbent laminated strata, while yet in a solid state; but that in some instances extravasations of the highly ignited mass took place, filling the numerous fissures that must have been produced in these strata by the upward pressure. Where the intumescence was considerable, some variety of trap rocks would be the result. He also supposes that the lower laminated strata (gneiss, for example,) were sometimes driven upwards along with the granite, and variously replicated and broken. Hence the remarkable contortions which have been observed in this rock.

Thus far Mr Scrope seems to feel that he has proceeded on firm ground. The inquisitive mind, however, does not rest satisfied with these somewhat insulated deductions from geological facts, but is disposed to go farther back, and inquire into the origin of this internal ignition and fluidity of the globe, and especially into the mode in which the stratified rocks were produced and deposited; for in all the remarks hitherto made, it has been assumed that these were previously consolidated. The author is therefore tempted into a wider and more hypothetical field, giving us a ‘Sketch of a Theory of the Globe.’ It is ingenious and interesting; but our limits will allow us to present only a condensed summary.

The author supposes the earth originally to have been composed, at least to a great depth, of granitoidal matter in a crys-

talline state ; and when it reached its present orbit, or before, (it having been, perhaps, struck off from the sun, as is supposed by Buffon and Laplace,) the enormous pressure under which it was held, and by which its crystalline structure was preserved, was partially or wholly removed. The consequence would be, a violent expansion of the external part, by which the water of crystallization would be suddenly turned into vapor, and this would carry upwards the disaggregated, and more or less liquefied crystals of the quartz, mica, and feldspar. The greater the expansion, the more caloric would pass into a latent state ; and ere long the vapor must begin to condense and fall back towards the more solid parts of the earth.

‘ And in this manner, for a certain time, a violent reciprocation of atmospheric phenomena must have continued. Torrents of vapor rising outwardly ; while equally tremendous torrents of condensed vapor, or *rain*, fell towards the earth. The accumulation of the latter on the yet unstable and unconsolidated surface of the globe, constituted the primeval ocean.’ p. 229.

At so high a temperature, this ocean must have contained in solution, siliceous earth, the carbonates, sulphates of lime and magnesia, muriate of soda, magnesia, and lime ; while large quantities of the upper disintegrated beds, particularly their mica, must have been suspended in the same fluid. These suspended matters must ere long have begun to subside upon the granitic nucleus beneath, the quartz and feldspar most abundantly, but carrying along with them some mica. This and the feldspar crystals would naturally arrange themselves so as to have their longest direction parallel to the surface on which they rested. This the author conceives to have been the origin of the gneiss formation.

As this primeval ocean continued to cool and to be less agitated by ebullition, some of the substances which it held in solution would begin to crystallize and mix with the sediment of suspended matter which would continue to deposit itself. Thus rocks would be formed, partly crystalline and partly mechanical ; such as mica slate, quartz rock, and the transition slates. In some places, also, would the saccharoidal limestones result from the deposition of the carbonate of lime from solution. After a still farther reduction of temperature, gypsum and rock salt would be precipitated in a similar manner.

A solid envelope being thus at length formed of the stratified primary, and some of the transition rocks, a new process would

take place beneath it. The intensely heated nucleus of the globe would still continue to give off its caloric to the surrounding zones of rock, whose temperature had been greatly reduced by expansion. As they became heated again, the process of expansion would be resumed. But as the envelope of stratified rocks, which had formed on the surface of the globe, would oppose a resistance to the expansive force, this would go on accumulating, until the tenacity and weight of this envelope were overcome, when fissures would be produced, through which granite, in a solid or intumescent state, would be protruded, forming veins, beds, and overlying masses of granite, porphyry, sienite, and the traps.

In case the fissure did not open directly into the granitic matter beneath, and the temperature of its sides was sufficiently high, an expansion of these sides would take place, whereby the fissure would be filled with granitoid rock, porphyry, or serpentine, thus giving rise to a particular variety of veins not uncommon.

If the temperature of the sides of the fissure was lower, aqueous vapor would exude, holding silex in solution, which would at length crystallize, along with other mineral and metallic matter sublimed from the lower part of the fissure, where the temperature was higher. This might have been the origin of many quartz and metallic veins.

No inference from geological facts is in our opinion more certain, or more generally admitted, than the one which supposes that, from the earliest times, very many violent and extensive inundations have taken place, by whose abrasive force, many particular formations, and the general surface of the globe, have been greatly changed. The formation of the various conglomerate rocks can be accounted for in no other way. According to the theory under consideration, these deluges commenced their ravages at the epoch of the first protrusion of the granite through the enveloping strata, and every subsequent disruption and elevation of this kind, was followed by a succession of these debacles.

‘These sudden and partial elevations of the crust of the globe, and the other various causes which at this period disturbed the tranquillity of the primitive ocean, produced violent waves and currents, which broke up and triturated the projecting eminences of its bottom, and distributed their fragments in alluvial conglomerate strata, wherever the turbulence of these moving waters was

partially checked. The surface of the globe at this period consisted chiefly of mica schist ; and hence mica and granular quartz predominate greatly in the conglomerates of this epoch ; namely, in greywacke and granular quartz rock.' p. 236.

It is evident that such an event, as the elevation of a continent from the bottom of the ocean, must produce a tremendous rush of waters towards the antipodes. A reflux would follow this accumulation, not much less powerful ; and thus an oscillatory movement would be communicated to the ocean, which would continue for a long time. Even during the earthquake of Lisbon, the sea rose sixty feet above high water mark at Cadiz, and along the whole coast of Portugal ; and was affected on the coasts of England and Norway, and if we remember right, even in the West Indies. Similar effects have accompanied earthquakes in Peru and Calabria. And 'if elevations of but a few inches or feet of vertical height produced oscillatory movements in the ocean of such violence, what must be the effect of the sudden elevation of a mountain range like that of the Alps, from the bottom of the sea ?'

During the time that the tide, produced by such a cause, remained at its highest or lowest mark, at any particular place, the waters would be comparatively quiet ; and then the smaller particles suspended in it would be deposited, and rocks produced of a finer and more homogeneous texture. But when the rush of waters returned, it would bring along coarser fragments and produce conglomerates. Such a supposition will account for the very numerous and perfectly well defined alterations, which we so often see in a sandstone formation, of the finest shales, and the coarsest puddingstones ; a fact which we have always deemed more difficult of explanation than almost any other in geology.

The elevation of the primary strata by the protruding granite would probably raise some part of them above the level of the ocean, and consequently afford a residence for animals and vegetables. Mr Scrope supposes that some of the marine animals, of a simple structure, might have lived in the ocean while its temperature was yet no lower than the boiling point of water. In the rocks subsequently formed, therefore, we should expect to find these vegetables and animals imbedded ; as in fact they do occur in most of the secondary and tertiary strata. These strata he supposes to have been formed by a succession of occurrences, such as we have mentioned. That the unstrati-

fied rocks have been ejected at different and very numerous epochs, no one will doubt who has examined them in different localities, and who believes them to have an igneous origin. And that their protrusion would produce those tumultuous agitations of the waters which we have described, will be equally evident to every reflecting mind.

‘It appears to me therefore on the whole,’ says the author, ‘that the formation of the grand mineral masses of every age, composing the known crust of the globe, is attributable to *three* primary modes of production, distinct in their nature, but of which the products have been mingled together, from circumstances of isochronism or collocation. These are,

1. The chemical precipitation of various mineral substances; but particularly silex and carbonate of lime, from a state of solution in the ocean, or other body of water; as its temperature and solvent powers gradually decreased.

2. The subsidence of particles of mineral matter, of various degrees of coarseness, from a state of suspension in the ocean or other reservoir, into which they had been taken up, either by the violent escape of aqueous vapor from the interior of the globe, by the abrasive force of marine and fluviate currents, or finally by the decomposition of the shells of molluscous animals, which possessed the faculty of elaborating their coverings from the substances they procured from sea water.

3. The elevation of crystalline matter through fissures in the crust of the globe, which had been already formed in the two former modes; this rise being occasioned either by the expansion of a lower bed, in which case the rock was elevated nearly in a solid state; or by its own intumescence, owing to a sudden diminution of compression; in which case the matter rose in an imperfectly liquid state, and at a high temperature.’ p. 241.

Geologists have generally been persuaded, that no cause now in operation is adequate to account for all the phenomena which their science discloses. Cuvier, especially, in perhaps the best Essay on the Theory of the Earth that ever was written, asserts, as the result of his examinations, that ‘none of the agents nature now employs were sufficient for the production of her ancient works.’ But Mr Scrope, not without reason, considers it a very favorable circumstance for his theory, that all the modes by which he supposes rocks to have been produced, are still employed by nature for the same purpose. Speaking of these modes he says,

‘They have one immense advantage over most, perhaps over all, of the hypotheses that have been as yet brought forward to explain

the same appearances ; and which speaks volumes in their favor ; and this is, that *they are still in operation* ; with diminished energy, it is true, but this is the necessary result of their nature.

‘ The first mode still gives rise to calcareous and siliceous rocks of great solidity, and even of a crystalline texture, in the vicinity of certain thermal or mineral springs.

‘ The second still produces strata of marls, sand, and gravel, at the bottom of the sea, of inland lakes, and in the beds of rivers ; which strata bear a very decided analogy to the earlier sandstones and limestones.

‘ The third is in constant operation wherever volcanoes break out into activity, or earthquakes produce elevations of the solid strata.’ p. 242.

The author rejects the Huttonian doctrine, that the strata, which were deposited at the bottom of the ocean, were subsequently consolidated by the internal heat ; and he rejects this notion for what has always appeared to us a most satisfactory reason, namely, the occurrence, in many instances, of indurated strata above clay and shale. He supposes that crystallization and desiccation will account for the consolidation of the strata.

And here we would suggest an important general distinction between this theory of Scrope and Cordier, and that of Hutton and his followers. The latter assumed the existence of an intense central heat, because this would most rationally explain the appearances presented by the earth’s crust. The former endeavor in the first place to demonstrate the existence of this internal heat, from the phenomena of earthquakes and direct experiments on subterranean temperature ; and having ascertained the laws by which its operation is regulated, they infer that it must, in the nature of things, have elevated continents and produced all the observed phenomena of inclined and contorted strata of veins, faults, slips, &c. Mr Scrope’s attempt to carry us back to the origin of this course of things, must be regarded, like the theory of Hutton, as merely hypothetical.

We have seen that the advocates of central heat derive their evidence of its existence from two principal sources, volcanoes and subterranean temperature. Mr Scrope’s conclusions are founded chiefly upon the former, and those of M. Cordier chiefly upon the latter ; neither of them, however, neglecting collateral evidence. A learned geologist in this country, who ‘ admits the igneous fusion of our planet,’ expresses the opinion, in a cotemporary Journal, that the best evidence of this fact consists in the spheroidal figure of the earth, and in the ejection

from volcanoes, in a state of absolute fusion, of glassy obsidian, pumice, trachytes, pearlstone, &c. *from beneath the granitic crust* of the globe. Sir Alexander Crichton, in the 'Annals of Philosophy' for November and December, 1825, infers the central heat from another very curious fact in geology, which we have not yet noticed.

The impressions of plants, found so abundantly in the coal formations of the most northern latitudes, were, in the opinion of all able botanists, the products of regions as warm at least as those between the tropics at the present day. And even in the latest formations, in England, are found remains of the cocoa nut and other analogous vegetables; while the remains of land animals, which Mr Buckland has shown were inhabitants of the same country immediately previous to the last general deluge, are mostly of such species as at present exist in tropical climates; and the same is true of nearly all the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and we might add, of North America. It is even asserted, that the older the rock in which these remains are found, the more decidedly analogous are they to plants and animals of the torrid zone; thus indicating a gradual diminution of temperature since the deposition of the oldest secondary rocks. From these facts Sir Alexander Crichton infers the existence of an internal heat, gradually diminishing from the creation to the present day.

His explanation of the origin of this heat is interesting, because it developes the germ of another new theory of the earth, which has been recently broached, and is at this moment maintained by several very able geologists.

'The nucleus of the globe consists,' says he, 'of the metallic bases of the earths and alkalies, which in the beginning of things took fire from the contact of air and water, and produced, by their combustion, granite. The latter retaining its temperature for a very long period, would impart to the earth a source of heat independent of the solar rays, which must have gone on progressively diminishing down to the present time.' *Dauberry on Volcanoes*, p. 431.

Without stopping to array objections against this hypothesis, we would remark only, that while the facts which we have stated in regard to organic remains in northern latitudes naturally suggests the idea of central heat, they are most satisfactorily explained by the theory of Scrope and Cordier. The former just alludes to the subject; but, to our surprise, the lat-

ter does not even mention it, although it seems one of the most happy applications, and strongest confirmations of his theory, which can be exhibited.

Our readers, however, will expect that the new theory of the earth, adopted by some other geologist, and to which we have already more than once alluded in our remarks, should receive a moment's attention. This theory took its rise from Sir Humphrey Davy's discovery, a few years since, of the metallic bases of the alkalies and earths. Professor Dauberry, in his recent very able and interesting work on Volcanoes, has adopted it, so far as it is applicable to their explanation. But the editor of the '*American Journal of Science*,' in his review of Dauberry's work, has given, with his characteristic perspicuity and elegance of diction, the most full and graphic description of the hypothesis which we have seen; and he has somewhat modified and extended it, by some peculiar views of his own. He thus describes the origin of the alkalies, earths, rocks, oxides, the sulphurets and phosphurets, the acids, salts, &c.

'If we suppose that the first condition of the created elements of our planet, was in a state of freedom, the globe being a mass of uncombined combustibles and metals; when the waters, the atmosphere, and chlorine, and iodine, and perhaps hydrogen were suddenly added, it will be obvious from what we now know of the properties of these elements, that the collision would awaken dormant energies, whose first operation would be a general and intense ignition, and a combustion of the whole surface of the planet. Potassium, sodium, and phosphorus would first blaze, and would immediately communicate the heat necessary to bring on the action between the other metals and combustibles in relation to the the oxygen and chlorine, and in relation to each other. Thus a general conflagration would be the very first step in chemical action, and life not having yet dawned on the planet, this conflagration would be the step most admirably fitted to prepare the globe for the living beings by which it was to be peopled.

'In such circumstances, there would also be great commotion; steam, vapors, and gases would be suddenly evolved in vast quantities, and with explosive violence; the imponderable agents, light, heat, electricity, and magnetism, and attraction, in various forms would be active, in an inconceivable degree, and the recently oxidated crust of the earth would be torn with violence, producing fissures and caverns, dislocations and contortions, and obliquity of strata; and it would everywhere bear marks of an energy then general, but now only local, and occasional. It is, however, obvious, that this intense action would set bounds to itself; and that

the chemical combinations would cease, when the crust of the incombustible matter thus formed, had become sufficiently thick and firm, to protect the metals and combustibles, from the water and the air, and other active agents.' *Am. Jour. Science*, Vol. xiv. p. 83.

In order to explain volcanic action at the present day according to their theory, it is supposed that occasionally water percolates through this oxidized crust of the globe, penetrating to the metallic nucleus beneath. This, it is supposed, would produce intense ignition, and numerous decompositions; from which would result all the phenomena of volcanoes.

Mr Scrope thinks that his theory 'is not incompatible with the idea of the granitic involucrum of the globe having been produced by the superficial oxydation of a metallic nucleus,' agreeably to the above hypothesis. He thinks, however, that this hypothesis 'smells a little of the laboratory.' Now we do not feel as if this were any objection to it. Indeed, had geological theories exhibited more evidence of having been brought to the test of the laboratory, and of having been more thoroughly digested in the retort and the crucible, that is, had they been more frequently founded upon experiment, and less upon conjecture, we think they would have been more permanent and less extravagant. We confess, however, that we are not converts to the above hypothesis; and one of our difficulties is derived from the laboratory. Since it was proposed, Berzelius has succeeded in obtaining silicium; and he finds that 'in its densest state' (the state in which it would probably have existed originally in the earth), 'it may be made incandescent in the air without burning; and it does not undergo any change in the flame of the blow-pipe.' And indeed, none of the metals, except potassium and sodium, will take fire by contact with water. Now silex constitutes probably three quarters of the solid crust of our globe; while potassa and soda cannot form the fiftieth part; and even if we take into the account the alkaline salts in the ocean, we must be permitted to doubt, whether the quantity of potassium and sodium could have been sufficient, in the beginning, by their combustion, to have raised the temperature of the immense mass of the other metals, with which they were mixed or alloyed, sufficiently high to produce their oxydation.

So far as this hypothesis is applied to the explanation of volcanic phenomena, we must regard it as peculiarly unsatisfactory. If it be admitted that water, in the first instance, could have

penetrated through the oxidized crust to the metallic nucleus beneath, and thus have commenced volcanic action, how, after the surrounding matter had become so intensely heated as the products of volcanoes shows us it must be, could water continue to find its way, without being vaporized, to the same spot, year after year and century after century, so as to produce a constant eruption of matter from the same crater; as takes place in such volcanoes as Stromboli and Kairaua?

The Editor of the American Journal of Science has, however, suggested a very ingenious addition to this theory. He supposes the different layers of metals and other substances in the earth, to constitute a vast galvanic battery, in ceaseless action, whose igniting and decomposing power is inconceivably great. This, in connexion with the causes we have mentioned above, or even alone, he conceives to be sufficient, satisfactorily to explain the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanoes. The novelty and grandeur of this idea would incline us to adopt it, did we not feel that the supposition of central heat and fluidity was more in accordance with facts, and less incumbered with difficulties.

But we must hasten to a conclusion. Our principal object has been to present our readers with a summary view of the present state of geological theories, particularly of the theory of igneous internal fluidity, with its applications to the solution of phenomena. And here would we say, in the words of Cuvier, in his analysis of Cordier's Essay already referred to, that 'these conclusions, so important and various, and many others, which the space allotted to us does not permit us to develop, result from a fact, very simple in appearance, but the fecundity of which is indeed wonderful; namely, the sensible increase of temperature at those comparatively small depths to which we are able to penetrate, and the very probable supposition that this increase continues proportionally to the greatest depths.' If the fertility of its applications affords any evidence in favor of the theory of gravity, as is generally thought, we do not see why the same argument may not be urged in favor of the theory under consideration. We need not think it strange therefore, that it should forcibly arrest the attention of philosophers, and indeed of all intelligent men; since the grand arguments on which it rests, are intelligible to them, although they may not be familiar with the technical parts of science. Indeed, if we do not greatly mistake, this is rapidly becoming the

prevalent geological theory of the day,—certainly on the other side of the Atlantic. All decided Huttonians, and most of those who have been thorough sceptics in respect to all geological theories, will be very apt to give to this their partial or entire assent. And as to the Wernerians, we think that some indications will justify us in the prediction, that most of them will ere long adopt the other ingenious theory which we have explained, derived from the discovery of the metallic bases of the earths and alkalis. We think, that for a time at least, these two theories are destined to divide the geological world ; and we should regard such a change of opinion as an important step towards a unity of views among geologists ; since these theories are certainly not so diverse from each other as those of Hutton and Werner.

We have no desire to conceal our present partiality for the theory of igneous internal fluidity. We have been long among the number of confirmed sceptics on the whole subject of geological hypotheses. But we have become wearied with hovering so long over what seemed to us the shoreless ocean of uncertainty and conjecture. We see now something that looks like *terra firma* ; and we are willing to try, if we cannot there find a little rest for the sole of our foot. It may prove a Delos ; if so, we have only to spread our wings again, and wait for the emergence of the true Ararat. But we would by no means have it understood that we are so committed, in the defence of this theory, as to be determined to sink or swim with it. The history of past theories of the earth admonishes us that too much scepticism in respect to them is safer than too much credulity. The present theory we think explains five phenomena where any other explains one, and therefore we prefer it to any other ; still, it requires a continuance of experiments and observations to establish it as firmly as the Newtonian doctrine of gravitation, and we shall welcome any successful attempt to substitute another theory which may be more substantial.

In the application of the igneous theory, that has been examined, we have confined ourselves to this globe. M. Cordier, however, has hazarded some bold and original remarks, upon the extension of the same principle to other worlds ; and indeed to the whole material universe. He has sustained these conjectures by no facts ; yet in reflecting upon the subject, it has seemed to us that some circumstances, relating to the heavenly bodies, might lead an advocate of this theory to conjecture

that changes, like those supposed to have taken place within our globe, may be going on in other worlds. We will just allude to these, in order to excite the attention of the learned to the subject.

It has been conjectured that the four small planets, revolving between Mars and Jupiter, are the fragments of a large one, which once revolved in nearly the same orbit, and was subsequently burst asunder by some powerful internal force. If such a refrigerating process has taken place in the other planets, as this theory supposes to be going on in the earth, might we not presume, that, under possible circumstances, such a terrific explosion might take place?

It has been thought by some astronomers, that volcanoes exist in the moon. If so, their origin is probably similar to that of those existing on this earth.

Those fragments of solid meteors, that are not unfrequently projected to the earth, bear evident marks of fusion. Indeed, the whole body of the meteor, when near its perigee, appears usually to be in a state of ignition.

The sun itself, what is it, but an immense globe of liquid fire? Such certainly does it appear to be, as seen through the most powerful telescopes. And its spots, what are they but an incipient crust, beginning to form over its surface, but which is merged again, after a certain time, in the fiery, and perhaps agitated ocean beneath, which is not yet sufficiently cooled to allow its complete formation? And the zodiacal light, what is it, but the elastic vapors which are driven from the sun's intensely heated mass, and which, partaking of the sun's rotatory motion, have assumed a figure so oblate as to become almost lenticular.

The appearance of comets is extremely chaotic. The nebosity that surrounds them, becomes more dense towards their centres; and in some instances distinct *nuclei* are visible; but out of sixteen, which Dr Herschel examined with his powerful telescope, he could discover *nuclei* in only two; and he actually saw the fixed stars directly through the centres of some of them. Notwithstanding this circumstance, this astronomer is of opinion, that these bodies are self-luminous. Where the nucleus was visible, it had a well defined, circular disk, shining in every part, without any of the defalcation which it ought to exhibit, did it shine by the reflected light of the sun. Now, who, that has read Mr Scrope's hypothesis of the manner in

which the crust of the earth was first formed over the liquid, fiery mass, does not see, in this description of comets, a close resemblance to the state of our globe, when its ignited materials, liberated from their pressure, were expanding, and immense volumes of vapor and gas were rushing outwards and forming a vast atmosphere, self-luminous through the ignited particles carried up with it, or by the coruscations of the electric fluid. In some of the comets, the ignited central mass is visible; in others, of less size, all the materials seem to have been dissipated, so that the stars are visible through them. Nevertheless, on Mr Scrope's theory, we can predict that even these may yet become solid, habitable globes; and who knows, but that when they are prepared for inhabitants, the fiat of the Almighty may cause them to revolve in circular orbits, like the planets, around some distant sun, and fill them with new races of happy beings!

There appears to be a great resemblance between comets and nebulae; and indeed, Dr Herschel, in some of his latest remarks on the subject, 'concludes them to be peculiar condensed matter, and supposes that they may constitute, or become, comets.' We might, therefore, apply to these nebulae, remarks similar to those which we have made upon comets.

Thus much in illustration of the sage maxim of Hermes; *συμπαθῆ εἶναι τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω*, *there is a correspondence between things above and things below*. We close with the concluding paragraphs of M. Cordier's Essay.

'We shall now be permitted to repeat, that it is not through the spirit of system that the notion of a central fire is restored. It is in spite of system; in spite of many prejudices. This revolution of opinion is produced by the influence of facts. It results from diligent study, profoundly devoted to phenomena of very different kinds. We cannot, in particular, believe, that it is by chance, that natural philosophy, astronomy, and geology arrive at the same conclusion in following routes so different. We can say, therefore, without fear of advancing too far, that the hypothesis, of which the sciences seem to stand in equal need, already presents the characters of a substantial, fundamental principle; and every thing presages, that it will have an influence on the theory of the earth, as powerful as that of the great principle of gravitation upon the theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies.

'If it is proved that the earth is not an inert mass, as has for a long time been supposed; if the appearance of inertness is owing to the tardiness of the phenomena, and to their feeble intensity;

if all is laboring and moving within, as all is labor and movement without, we arrive at a result of the highest importance, since it seems applicable to all the celestial bodies ; and thus we obtain stronger proof of the existence of a great principle of *universal instability*, which was announced, or dimly seen, by Newton and other philosophers ; a principle, superior to those grand rules, which we have been accustomed to regard as constituting exclusively the laws of nature, from the security which we see in it, above the longest and apparently perfect revolutions of the solar system ; a principle, which appears to rule the universe, even in its smallest parts ; which incessantly modifies all things, which changes, or misplaces them, and without return ; and which carries them along, through the immensity of ages, to new ends, which human intelligence cannot certainly penetrate, but of which it may nevertheless be proud to have foreseen the necessity.' pp. 90-92.

ART. II.—*The Substance of Two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board thereon.* Amherst. 1827.

THE subject of education has of late excited so much of the public attention, that no apology will be required by our readers, if we occasionally introduce it to their consideration. It is well known to all, that the system of education in this country, in all its departments, has been for some time the object of severe scrutiny ; that new text-books have been multiplied in all branches of study, and new views of instruction been adopted by teachers ; that seminaries have been founded on new plans, and that, in their zeal for improvement, our older institutions have not been able to keep pace with the desire of reform which pervades the community, and are now meditating important changes. We avail ourselves, therefore, of the opportunity afforded by the public notice, which the Faculty of Amherst College have given of an innovation on the long established usages of the American colleges, to offer our views on some of the changes proposed in our system of collegial education. In the remarks which we shall make, we design nothing unfriendly to an institution which is supported by a large amount of influence. We propose to discuss a

subject of general interest to all the colleges of our land, and to inquire how far and in what way, they may respond to the loud calls, which are sounded from all sides with an energy which cannot be resisted, and which demand of them an important change in their system; a change, in which the institution here named, though the youngest, has at a single leap reached a point, which the oldest institutions have not thought of attaining, and which, from the deliberate caution of age, they would perhaps view, as placed beyond the bounds of reform, and within the borders of doubtful innovation.

Before, however, proceeding to this discussion, we think it best to state, as briefly and clearly as we can, the circumstances under which the zeal for improvements in education has arisen both in Europe and this country, so as to give our readers a general view of this subject, as it has presented itself to our minds.

For the sake of distinctness, we may consider the youth of a country as divided, in reference to the objects to be effected by a system of education, into three classes. The first embraces those, who are designed for professional or literary and scientific life, and who therefore need the best education that can be obtained; the second, those who, preparing for commercial and other pursuits demanding enterprise and wide information, do not require an education so extensive as those before mentioned; the last class is composed of those, who are designed for the ordinary employments of the mechanic and agriculturist, and whose education has fully answered its purpose, when it has prepared them to pursue with intelligence their respective occupations.

In Great Britain, until within a few years, the means of education were chiefly confined to the universities; the grammar schools, which were particularly designed to prepare youth for the universities; and the common parish schools, which, though most widely diffused in Scotland, are, as appears from recent and careful investigations, even there very far from meeting the wants of the community. There were, indeed, a few other institutions, such as the private academies established for the education of Dissenters, who are, in fact, excluded from the universities; but the course of education pursued at these institutions corresponded in general with that adopted in our colleges; so that no general provision was made for the wants of youth designed for commercial and active pursuits.

In Scotland, about thirty years since, a desire of improvement showed itself, of incalculable importance to the cause of general intelligence. At Glasgow a project was started for giving instruction to persons engaged in the mechanic arts. A public course of lectures was given for their benefit by Dr Birkbeck, which artisans were invited to attend. The plan succeeded beyond all expectation. Though it was long before the public could be persuaded of the importance or practicability of elevating the unlettered mechanic above the character of a mere machine, in time prejudices were overcome. In 1821 the School of Arts, as it was called, was established at Edinburgh, for the instruction of this class of the community in the principles of their respective arts by lectures from distinguished professors. The example was soon followed in London in the foundation of the Mechanics' Institution, and has by this time been imitated in most, if not all, the considerable towns of England. It is well known, that the individual who has done the most to open sources of valuable knowledge to this class of society is Mr Brougham. In laying before the English public the importance and practicability of a plan for the benefit of the poorer classes, he has reared the best and most durable monument of his usefulness and fame. By descending, if we may be allowed to use the expression, in accommodation to the prevailing estimate of the value of such labors, by descending from his proud elevation in the English parliament, to study the simple annals of the poor, and to devise, with great minuteness of detail, ways and means of throwing the light of intelligence and science into their obscure dwellings, once the neglected abodes of ignorance, he has set a noble example to men of the highest name, to prove, that, if they would consult the best welfare of their country, the interests of education are worthy of their profound concern.

Before the period which we have mentioned, the same general features were to be observed in the system of education on the continent, which we have pointed out in that which prevailed in England. There was a similar provision made for the poorer classes, though to a far less degree, and for those who were designed for the universities, while the intermediate classes were left without any public provision for their instruction. On the return, however, of a general peace in 1815, a zeal for improvements in education was soon manifested. In France, in particular, the system of common

schools received great attention; men distinguished for rank and learning, among whom may be mentioned De Gerando, participated in exertions for their improvement; and schools for mutual instruction have now been for several years extensively established not only in that, but in every kingdom of the continent. Primary schools are rapidly extending through the vast dominions of Russia; and even in the capital of Siberia, a high school of much respectability is in successful operation. But as France, more than seven centuries since, led the way in the great subject of education, and in her renowned university furnished the model of all the other European universities, so in these last days, more than any other country of Europe, has she given increased attention to this subject, and, under the imperial government, in one respect advanced beyond England; we refer to the means of education provided for those, who were to engage in the active business of life.

More than sixty years since an academical institution was founded at Soreze in the department of Tarn, in which a highly liberal and extended course of studies was established under the superintendence of able professors, and the pupils were permitted to pursue such branches as might be designated by their friends. The greatest advance in this part of the French system of education was made under the auspices of Napoleon, in the foundation of the Polytechnic and Normal schools, that for a time superseded the old schools, in which Latin and Greek alone were taught. These new institutions, under his patronage, enjoyed the labors of the ablest men, attained in a few years the highest celebrity, and were of great value in their influence on the cause of education, of science, and letters. But on the restoration of the Bourbons, they were abolished, and the reigning dynasty, by giving the Jesuits the exclusive control of education, checked the progress of improvement, and seemed to carry France back into a former age. The public attention is, however, now much directed to this part of the system of education. The 'Society of Christian Morals' at Paris awarded, in 1824, a prize of three hundred dollars to the author of a dissertation on the following question; 'Is there not in our system of public instruction between the primary schools and colleges a chasm, which it would be useful to supply by establishments of a special nature? What would be the advantage of such establishments, and what organization and plan of studies ought to be adopted in them?'

The most enlightened men now look forward with confidence to the establishment of seminaries similar to those, which the active genius of Napoleon called into being; and now that the Jesuits have lost the control of the literary institutions, they have reason to anticipate the speedy effect of more liberal views of the great purposes of education. Several institutions, however, are now in operation in France for the benefit of those engaged in the common occupations of life, such as the Schools of Arts and Trades, at which many pupils are supported from the royal treasury. A practical School of Mines has been for some time established, where gratuitous instruction is given in Mineralogy and the various operations of Mining. Free courses of lectures on Mechanics and Chemistry, as applied to the arts and to the common purposes of life, were founded at Paris in 1819. The king of France has, within a few years, expended more than a million of francs in the establishment of an institution for those, who wish to gain a practical knowledge of the principles of Agriculture. Few institutions, comparatively speaking, like these we have spoken of, are found in the other continental kingdoms; we would not, however, omit to mention those of Fellenberg and Pestalozzi, and others on the same plan, in which are found ample means of education for all ranks, from the common laborer to the prince.

In returning to England, we find, as a natural effect of the efforts made for the benefit of those engaged in the mechanic arts, that the public attention has been of late much directed to the importance of providing means of education for such as are unable to obtain, or do not require, an education at the universities, and whose wants are not well supplied by any existing establishments. In 1826, a meeting was held in London for the purpose of founding a seminary for instruction in commercial and professional science. Much discussion and much inquiry have at length resulted in the foundation of a new university, which will fully supply what is certainly a great defect in the English system of education. This institution, as is well known, will throw open its doors to all who wish to prepare themselves for what forms the business of a large proportion of the English population, the pursuits of mercantile life; though a prominent object in its establishment was, to provide the best means of education, both liberal and professional, for those designed for Medicine and the Law.

Taking then a general view of the facts in regard to the state of education in Europe, which we have gleaned from various sources, it appears, that, until a recent period, means of education were provided for the poorer classes in the common branches of knowledge, as well as for those who were preparing themselves for professional or literary life, while an intermediate class, composed of such as were to engage in active pursuits, like those of the merchant, the agriculturist, and head manufacturer, had no public provision made for them, and their education was left to be wholly a matter of private concern ; that, however, within a few years public attention has been called to this important deficiency ; and that measures are now in active operation, which will open to this large portion of every community the sources of a competent education.

This spirit of improvement in education has been caught in this country. Much has been said and written of late about the defects in our systems of collegial discipline, and about the importance of practical education. We do not intend to assert, that the complaints which have been uttered are without foundation, nor that great improvements may not be made in the long established usages of our highest literary institutions. It is, however, believed, that prevailing opinions have been adopted with less reflection, than the importance of the subject demanded ; and that the zeal for reform is not tempered with sufficient caution and discrimination. We shall, therefore, suggest a few considerations to show, that there is a wide difference in the circumstances under which these opinions have arisen in Europe and in this country.

In the first place, there is not an institution in this country, which corresponds to an European university. An European university is designed for those, who, having completed an extensive course of study at the grammar school, or gymnasium, are desirous of preparing themselves for the professions, or for literary pursuits. There is, however, an important difference, though not in theory, yet existing in practice, between the English and the continental universities. The latter are resorted to by all students in the three professions ; and whether we regard the spirit which pervades them, or the means of instruction which they afford, we are not aware, that they are obnoxious to the censures of the most earnest zealots in the cause of reform. The English universities, on the other hand, with

their stupendous libraries and ample apparatus, are resorted to by those only, who wish to accomplish themselves by a course of education, chiefly confined to classical and mathematical studies, or who are looking forward to the church. Not that in these venerable seats of learning, the whole circle of the sciences and the various departments of literature are not made the subjects of learned lectures by able scholars, but that, in consequence of the predominance given to certain studies to the neglect of others, and of defects in their modes of instruction, as well as of other causes, which it is here unnecessary to enumerate, they do not offer to any, except those we have mentioned, sufficient inducements to avail themselves of their advantages. A few facts, stated in a recent number of our journal, show that, in regard to professional education, they are in their operation confined to the church alone. The unhappy influence of this circumstance on the legal and medical professions is obvious to all, and has been long the subject of deep regret. To remedy this evil is a prominent object of the London University.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the principal causes of the loud complaints which our English brethren have made against their universities. Now it should be recollected by those who are disposed to censure the system of education in our colleges and universities, that these institutions differ essentially from the institutions of the same name in England, and are not liable to the objections justly made against them. Our colleges are designed to give youth a general education, classical, literary, and scientific, as comprehensive as an education can well be, which is professedly preparatory alike for all the professions. They afford the means of instruction in all the branches, with which it is desirable for a youth to have a general acquaintance before directing his attention to a particular course of study, while professional studies are pursued at separate institutions, the law, divinity, and medical schools dispersed over the land. Although, therefore, there may be defects in our system of collegial education, it has few of the defects which exist in that of the English universities.

But, in the second place, there is another consideration, which should have been taken into view before adopting, in this country, the reasoning applicable to the state of things in Europe. In England and France, there were no intermediate seminaries between the grammar schools and the universities ;

with us, there always have been. Our academies and private schools are not like the grammar schools of England. They are not Westminster or Eton schools, established solely to prepare young men for the colleges or universities. In some of them the classical is separated from the English department, and in the latter youth are taught all the branches of an English education, which are necessary to qualify them to become well informed merchants and farmers and mechanics; and in most of them the studies suitable for preparing the pupils for active life are the principal object of attention. We do not say, that they have supplied the wants of the community in these respects; but they form a feature in our system of education, not to be found in that of Europe until a very recent period, and their defects are not so much in their theory, as in the manner in which it is carried into execution. One of these institutions we might mention, which enrolls on its catalogue many of our highest names, and which is amply furnished with the means of efficient instruction in both the departments of an extended classical and English education. The recent establishment of high schools in our principal towns, is an important advance in the cause of education among us; affording, as they do, to the poorest class of the community advantages, which heretofore could not be obtained except at the best endowed academies. Thus we perceive, that the complaints made by English writers against a liberal education, as it is termed, have been reiterated in this country too readily, and without considering sufficiently the circumstances, which make the actual state of education among us very different from what it is among them.

We are now prepared to consider the course, which improvements in education are taking among us, and the changes which are proposed in the usages of our colleges. And here we would remark, that in no country is there a wider field for displaying the power of education than in this; and no friend to his country would indulge the thought, that its operations in regard to any class of society should be fettered by usages, however sanctioned by age. For whatever situation he may be designed, the youth ought to have access to the best and most effectual means of preparation. If he is to engage in mechanical employments, let him be thoroughly taught the principles of his art, that he may become an intelligent workman, well versed in the laws of nature, and able to avail himself most

efficiently of her aid. If he is to be an agriculturist, let him not be contented to till his land as his fathers have done before him, but be enabled, by a skilful application of the principles of science, to triumph over the obstacles of nature, and, with more truth than ever before, to subdue the earth. If he is to be a merchant, let him become acquainted with the languages of foreign nations, and be well versed in the great principles which regulate the commerce of the world. A new science has sprung into being, which peculiarly invites his attention and regard. Is he to engage in professional or literary life? Throw open to him the avenues of science and literature, that by rigid discipline he may be prepared to exercise his high vocation with honor to himself and the community.

Such views of education have not, it must be allowed, been fully appreciated in this country until a recent period. The consequence of a more enlightened estimate of the value of the great objects of education has been to give rise to a new kind of institutions among us. We refer to those, which are designed to give the mechanic and manufacturer and agriculturist a thorough training in those scientific principles, a knowledge of which is of the highest importance to them in their labors. The first institution of this kind was established at Gardiner, in Maine; and others have been founded in different parts of the country, or are in contemplation. Viewing such institutions in connexion with our best academies and our high schools, and taking into consideration also the interest felt in their improvement, we may say without boasting, that the wants of the class of active men in regard to education are even now better supplied in this country than in any other. But the zeal for improvement does not stop here; it is extending to our higher institutions. The public are directing their eyes to our colleges, and the feeling is prevalent, that they ought to admit to their advantages such, as may pursue a course of education having a more direct reference to their future calling, than is deemed consistent with the established routine of studies.

Much has been said and written on the inutility of a course of education, which has not a direct bearing on the future profession in life. In regard to such remarks, so far as they relate to our colleges, we will offer a few suggestions, though the subject would admit of an extended discussion. We apprehend, that these remarks are often made without sufficient reflection on the design of these institutions. They profess noth-

ing more than to prepare young men for the study of the professions. The question than respecting such institutions is, what course of mental discipline will best effect this object ; and it is idle to think of adapting the academic course to the future profession in any other way, than by such an arrangement of studies, as will best prepare the young men for their professional education, and for that kind of exercise to which their mental powers are to be put in after life. The Schools of Arts and Trades, which have as direct a bearing on the future calling as any can have, do not teach trades ; their pupils must, notwithstanding the advantages which they afford, serve a regular apprenticeship. Precisely so must it be with our colleges. Improve them, change their system as much as we may, they will not, unless they are transformed into universities on the same plan with those of Europe, supersede the necessity of our law, medical, and divinity schools. They only lay the foundation, on which the student may afterwards build. And when we survey the wide range of inquiry which each of the professions opens before him who would reap its highest honors, when we reflect on the high intellectual discipline which it requires, and consider that the routine of studies adopted at our colleges is in its main particulars what professional learning and experience have for ages prescribed as a fit preparation for professional studies, who will undertake to assert with confidence of any one of the branches taught at our colleges, that it is of no use to the future lawyer or physician or divine ; that the time devoted to it is lost ; that it should be expunged from the code ? When deciding on a general course for all three of the professions, much less, we believe, can any one affirm, that the one pursued at our colleges requires important changes.

But one department of study is in reality the chief cause of all the complaints made against our academic course, and this not because it is not allowed to have its merits and high merits too, but because it requires time and diligence, while a shorter way, it is thought, might be formed of getting into the business of life. The rage of the present day is to leave the great high way of knowledge, which has been trodden for ages, and seek out bypaths, which will lead the traveller to the end of his journey in less time and with less labor. The tendency of such opinions is, we believe, to give currency to a superficial education. Much may be done without doubt in the way of

improving methods of instruction ; and in this respect we would shorten the avenues of knowledge as much as possible ; but we must look with suspicion on those who say to the passer by, Turn not in here, go not there ; when thousands have found, that those same ways open upon scenes, rich in every attraction that can reward the traveller for his pains.

We have no intention of discussing the claims of the ancient languages to the attention of all youth, who are preparing for professional or literary life. We have no overweening veneration for ancient usage ; but we believe the old opinion to be a good one, that to high success in literature or the professions, to form such men as Clarke, Mansfield, Burke, Canning, Gregory, or Good, a liberal education, using the expression in its common acceptation, is in the highest degree important. We cannot believe, that the most distinguished names that have adorned the three professions, the statesmen who have guided the policy of their age, and the most eminent scholars whose writings now form our standard works in science and literature, ever looked back on the time, spent in their classical education, as lost to them ; and that they would warn those, who would imitate their high example, and who aspire to reach the eminence which they attained, to avoid the path in which they walked during the years of their pupilage. In England notwithstanding the clamor raised against the universities, the value of a classical education (and we do not assert it unadvisedly) is still felt by professional men with undiminished force. The London University is mainly designed to afford the means of a liberal education to the legal and medical professions. For ourselves therefore we doubt much, whether our own college course of study requires any great modification, except so far as relates to the mode of instruction, which should undoubtedly be more thorough and efficient. There is no danger of having the standard of professional education too high. No young man should commence a preparation for the responsible duties of a profession with the idea, that he has but little to do. Let him be made to perceive, that he has a long and laborious duty before him, and his exertions will correspond to the occasion which calls them forth. What Quintilian says of eloquence, may be applied with equal force to eminence in any pursuit. *‘Nam est certe aliquid consummata eloquentia ; neque ad eam pervenire natura humani ingenii prohibet. Quod si non contingat, altius tamen ibunt, qui ad summa nitentur, quam qui, præsumptâ desperatione*

quo velint evadendi, protinus circa ima substiterint.' Did our limits permit, we would devote more time to this topic. We wish that those who are more able would engage, with earnestness and careful reflection, in the discussion of the nature and extent of that education, which would fully prepare a youth for his professional studies. It is a serious subject, and not to be treated lightly. It is of deep moment in its influence on the professional and literary reputation of our country.

So far as the objections brought against the collegial course of study arise from the claims of that portion of our youth, who are not designed for the professions, but for what is termed the active business of life, we are disposed to listen to them, and would cheerfully coöperate in any plan for their removal, that would not compromise the interests of professional education. The prescribed course of study in our colleges effectually excludes such persons from their advantages. A second class of institutions, designed expressly for them, would be making the machinery of education more complicated and expensive than the case demands. We perceive then no reason, why this class of our youth may not receive a full education, comprising a competent knowledge of modern languages, political economy, and English science and literature, at our first institutions, where the best means of instruction in these departments must always be had; and why changes may not be made in the system of our colleges, which shall fully meet their wants. Such changes have been commenced in some of these institutions; they are the subject of deliberation in all. From the pamphlet with which we have introduced this article, it appears, that the institution at Amherst has done more in the way of innovation than any other. Students are to be received there on the same terms of admission as at other colleges. Two courses of study are then open before them; in one of which the modern languages are substituted for the ancient, and at the close of their college life, they who have gone through the respective courses receive the same college honors, the same degree. Other minor differences between the two courses might be mentioned, but our remarks will be confined to that which we have stated.

To the friends of learning it must be obvious, that great changes in the long established usages of our colleges are to be adopted with caution, inasmuch as they affect the whole system of education in our country, and their influence will be

felt for ages, nay will be permanent. Much has been said of the inflexibility of old institutions, and we are as ready as any to admit in many cases the justice of the reproach. But institutions, which guard the interests of education, we believe, ought to be cautious and slow in innovation. They should keep a watchful eye upon the world without, notice the progress of things, and seize all the benefits of increasing light; but if they are to change with every change of fashion, and conform to the caprices of the times, it will augur ill for the cause of letters, which they have in keeping. Whenever important changes in their constitution are in agitation, they must take comprehensive views, and not proceed rashly in the work of reform, lest in their eagerness to remedy existing evils, they promote the interest of one part of the community at the expense of another. With such impressions we cannot but think, that the wisdom of the sudden measure adopted by the institution to which we refer, to say the least, is questionable. We think it has fallen into the error we have just alluded to, and that in its zeal in favor of those who are not preparing for professional life, it may prove to have seriously injured the cause of liberal education, of which a good discipline in the ancient classics forms an essential part, and which the friends of learning feel should be more thorough and extensive.

We are altogether in favor of having studies placed at the option of the student, though this liberty of choice must obviously have its limits. We are persuaded that such a change in the system will have a tendency to give a character for vigor and thorough research to the scholarship of our colleges, which it has not hitherto sustained. Students will not be goaded and driven, as heretofore, to the study of any branch of learning, however it may be to them an object of indifference or of aversion. Each may consult his inclination, unless he aspires after literary honor; and in that case, he must go through a prescribed course, which will be imposing no other restraint upon him, than what exists in regard to all honors, that of using the exertions which are necessary to acquire them. It must be recollected, however, that in the event of such an innovation in the usages of our colleges, reference must be had to it in the honors which they confer. Literary degrees have now, and always have had, a determinate character. They have been for centuries the badges of liberal and professional education. The condition on which they are received must doubtless vary with the pro-

gress of knowledge. No one is so bound up in the love of prescription as to maintain that the requirements for a degree should be the same now that they were even thirty years ago. But these degrees as has been shown in a recent number of our journal, were originally designed to be the rewards of high attainments in a liberal education, and such, we are clearly of opinion, they should remain. It is true that they have not always been a sure test of meritorious industry ; they are liable to abuse in common with every other honor, and we are aware that they were never less a distinction than at the present time. But this is no reason for destroying their value entirely. Introduce the rigid examinations of former days, and the honor of these degrees will be restored. The path of a liberal education is toilsome, and encouragements must be held out to the student when fainting in the way. Such encouragements are found in the literary honors which are awarded him at the end of his course, and he finds a sufficient recompense for his labors in the passport, which they give him, into that great community of various lands who have drunk deep at the fountains of learning. We speak of literary degrees not as they are, but as they should be, and as it was originally designed they should be. Change their significance, and a liberal education will be without its appropriate rewards. Such we apprehend to be the tendency of this plan of parallel courses. It throws together into one mass students having in their education different objects before them, and pursuing plans of study in an important respect opposed to each other, as viewed by themselves and by the public at large ; whichever of the two courses the youth pursues, at the end he receives the same honors, the same degree ; and when he appears in the world with his title of A. B. or A. M. no one knows whether he has received a liberal education or not. The course, moreover, in which the modern languages are substituted for the ancient, is less laborious, less disciplinary ; and what portion of our young men will be found to take from choice the more laborious in preference to the less laborious course, when each is crowned with the same honors ?

But again, the object in establishing the new course is to meet the wants of a portion of the community, who do not need a classical education. But this object is not effected, so long as all who are admitted to this new course are required to go through the preparatory course in the classics usually required

for admission into college. This requisition must therefore, in the case of such, be given up in order to satisfy their demands; and when that is done, we shall have among us Baccalaureates, who have never attended at all to a course of study, with particular reference to which that degree was originally established and has always been conferred, on precisely the same footing with those, who have gone through the routine of a liberal education. Thus would these literary distinctions come to mean something very different in this country from what they have meant heretofore, and from what they do mean universally in Europe. Such we believe is the tendency of this plan of parallel courses. We cannot, therefore, but regard it as affecting materially the interests of liberal education among us; and if so, such an innovation ought to be viewed with distrust by the guardians of our literature. If a radical change is about to be made in our system of education, which is likely to be prejudicial to the interests of sound learning, they are the persons to take the subject into serious consideration, and to save the literature of the land, and they alone can do it.

While looking with jealousy on anything which threatens injury to the cause of classical education, its friends are influenced by no illiberal views, but by a deep solicitude for the best interests of our country. For let us consider for a moment what are our wants in respect to liberally educated men. Can we afford to spare any of those who receive the benefits of our present system, inefficient as it is? There have been sent forth the present year from our colleges about eight hundred young men, to meet the annual wants of a community of twelve millions in its three professions, to furnish well qualified instructors for the various seminaries of learning, and to supply the halls of legislation with enlightened statesmen; that is, on an average, one liberally educated man has been furnished for every fifteen thousand inhabitants, or, to confine our estimate to New England, one for every six thousand. If we reflect on the rapid increase of our population, and consider that to our liberally educated men we must mainly look for the support of sound learning and elegant literature among us, the best thoughts and most efficient exertions of the friends of these great interests of our country should be engaged in promoting the cause of liberal education, in its highest sense. While, therefore, the most strenuous advocates of classical learning would do all in their power to promote such a reform

in the colleges, as will lay open their advantages, so far as is desired, to those who are preparing for the duties of active life, they still must feel that changes should be made with caution.

Though we have thus plainly expressed our dissatisfaction with the plan which has been adopted by Amherst College, with a view of giving that institution a more popular character, we yet think that some scheme may be devised, which will solve the question, which is now the subject of much inquiry among all our colleges. We would not be wise over much, but we would offer for their consideration the outlines of a plan, which has suggested itself to our minds. Let that large portion of our youth, whose claims we have considered, be received at our colleges after such preparation, as shall fit them for entering upon their college studies. Let such a course of study in college be pointed out, as will qualify them, when they go out into the world, to conduct their respective callings with intelligence, and to take their stand with well educated men. But let the integrity of our literary degrees be preserved; let them, as heretofore through seven centuries, be confined to those who receive a liberal education, of which a thorough classical knowledge shall form an essential part. We would not, however, exclude this class of students from academic honors. Let them be stimulated by all the incentives of literary ambition. Let them take a part in the public exhibitions and commencements; and, lastly, let them have the testimonials of a diploma, which shall testify, as in the case of the other class of students, to their diligence, good morals, and laudable attainments, and let them receive an appropriate degree, which they may bear with them, as their insignia in after life. This is not the place, nor are we the persons to point out the details of such a system. There should be some general communication, on a subject of common interest, between the learned of the land, the guardians of our literary institutions, and, after mature deliberation, some plan of operations determined on, which shall go forth to the world sanctioned by the first names. And here we would remark, that the colleges of our country, as well as of any country, form a sort of community, governed substantially by the same laws, and the same rules of procedure. The *ad eundem* degrees suppose the course of education pursued at the different institutions to be in general the same. Such

being the fact, there is plainly a difficulty in a wide departure from the established usages of the several colleges in such matters, without a general consultation. The recent convention of the different medical schools of New England, for the purpose of establishing a uniform system of medical education, may suggest a valuable hint, as to the best mode of proceeding, when we would introduce important changes in our system of collegial education. The plan, however, which we have proposed, is no such innovation, as would interfere with the common law of our literary institutions, in regard to their degrees. But we believe that such a reform, while it would meet the wishes of the public, will have a direct tendency in favor of classical education.

As has before been intimated, a great obstacle to the advance of students in classical studies arises from the circumstance, that many engage in them not from choice, but because on the present system they cannot be separated from other studies, to which they desire to direct their particular attention. A few such individuals are sufficient to paralyze the exertions of a whole class, and even of the instructor himself; for in all instruction, there is a mutual action between the teacher and his pupils. The plan which we have suggested will, in a great degree, remedy this evil. The student will not feel himself restricted to a particular course of study, of which a large portion has no bearing on his future vocation in life. - Is he preparing for active pursuits? He is engaged in a system of studies, which competent judges have thought best adapted to his purpose. Is he aspiring to reap the honors of literary or professional and public life? His object is to lay the same foundation, on which distinguished names in science and literature have reared the lofty superstructure of their fame. And when such a spirit animates the young men in our literary institutions, there will be a zeal and a vigor in their pursuit of knowledge, and an energy in the efforts of their teachers to urge them forward, now unknown.

But such a change in our system would in other respects be followed by important results. Our literary degrees being then marks of literary distinction, more peculiarly than heretofore, it will be felt to be a matter of importance to preserve their value, as incentives to effort, and to make them, more than has been the case in our country, the reward of industry and attainment. Our college examinations would then be

more searching, and would thus lead to a more thorough training and more laborious exertions. The most effectual method of raising the standard of education in its highest departments, is by means of improvements in those which are subordinate. Any important improvement in the education obtained even in the primary schools, will soon exert an influence on the highest institutions of the land. The scheme now proposed will, we conceive, have a similar operation. There will be two great classes of educated men in society; those who have received a liberal education, and those who, though they have not advanced so far, go out into the world with much higher attainments than in individuals of their class have before been known. As a natural consequence, larger demands will be made upon the former class, who, in order to maintain their standing in the community, must add to acquirements, no longer confined to their number, the attainments of a finished classical education. In the remarks which we have made, we have said nothing about the importance of all, who are engaged in the pursuit of a liberal education, securing a competent knowledge of modern languages and literature. Nothing need be said to enforce this upon them; their pride as scholars will forbid them to neglect knowledge, the possession of which, at least in a degree, now confers on liberally educated men little credit, while its absence is, we might almost say, a disgrace. To such, moreover, this knowledge comes almost as a matter of course, as their acquaintance with the ancient tongues affords the greatest facility in the acquisition of it. But we must now take leave of this subject. The views which we have set forth have produced a firm conviction in our minds, that while danger is to be apprehended from the spirit of innovation, which now pervades our country on the subject of education, changes similar to those which we have suggested, would be highly beneficial to the cause of learning.

ART. III.—*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. Fourth American, from the last London Edition. Complete in six Volumes. New York. 1826.

If the 'Decline and Fall' could be purified of the disingenuous spirit of hostility to the Christian religion which pervades the text, and of the gross indelicacy which defiles the notes, it would afford a monument of profound erudition, of acute discernment, of lofty and comprehensive understanding, and of untiring industry, unsurpassed and perhaps unrivalled by any historical work of ancient or modern times. The character of Gibbon's style is too elaborate and artificial to be uniformly graceful; and too luxuriantly splendid to engage, without sometimes fatiguing, the reader's attention. It wants the ease, simplicity, and refined Attic elegance, which mark the style of Hume. But if occasional false ornament and overwrought elegance appear in the pages of Gibbon, the defect is amply atoned for by his teeming greatness of thought, and a confident strength, elevation, and richness of language, for all which he is peculiarly distinguished. In creating for his great work the style of composition which he invariably maintains, he seems to have set before himself the nature of his subject as the model to be copied; and in the contemplation of the imperial majesty of Rome, to have attained something of appropriate dignity of conception and expression. The accuracy and extent of his learning have been proof to the severe scrutiny, which his constant efforts to render Christianity odious, have justly drawn upon his work. Its permanent popularity, wherever the English language is known, bears witness to his complete success, in extracting a continuous and interesting narrative from the unpromising mass of materials, upon which he was compelled to labor, and which a mind of less resolute perseverance would have abandoned in despair. Always discriminating, always arriving at his conclusions after the most careful examination of evidence, he is never uncandid but when his religious prejudices exert their influence, never mistaken but when they mislead his judgment. In reading the 'Decline and Fall,' we are charmed by the harmonious roundness of its periods, and struck by its vivid and emphatic descriptions of the important events, which crowd upon us in quick succession. We admire

the sagacity, which ministers to so profound learning; and never cease to be delighted, except when forced to lament the extraordinary perversion of taste, which so frequently descends from the lofty tone of dignified history to riot in impurity and irreligion. And notwithstanding the unfortunate blemishes, which detract so much from the merit of the work, it possesses qualities of sterling value, which must continue to secure for it a high station among the great classics of our language.

The period of time comprehended in the 'History of the Decline and Fall' forms the connecting link between the events, institutions, governments, literature, men, and manners of antiquity, and those of our own age. And the work itself, while it relates to the former, presents an instructive example of the influence of the latter, upon the spirit of history. We embrace the occasion thus offered us, to discuss the relative merits, and explain some of the distinguishing traits, of ancient and modern historians. They, who shrink from the sight of a Greek or Latin name, or deem all reference to the literature of Rome or Athens, nothing but unprofitable pedantry, may skip over the pages which follow, and seek out something of a nature more practical, and more congenial to their taste and pursuits. But we trust to find a few readers, at least, who may take pleasure in turning aside with us for a while, from the heartless bustle of the world's affairs, and the all absorbing interests of the day, to refresh their minds by recurrence to the never-fading charms of classic lore.

Utility, we know, is the idol of the present age; and a selfish estimation of what the mode of the time designates by that name, has thrown into the shade many of the objects which our fathers favored. But time has been, when all that was most perfect in matters of taste, whether embodied in the speaking silence of the sculptured marble, or in the nobler efforts of eloquence and poetic inspiration, was claimed as the exclusive birthright of the ancients. And the caprice of fashion, or perhaps we should rather say our literary dependance upon the Greeks and Romans, restricted the proud appellation of 'the ancients' to these two favored nations, the masters in learning of the inhabitants of modern Europe, and through them of their colonies in America. We still gaze, with almost despairing admiration, on those forms, which the creative chisel of the Grecian artist animated with mimic life; and on the architectural remains of Rome or Athens, splendid even in their deso-

lation and ruin. Let the classical scholar stand amid the monuments of their departed greatness, or imagine himself among the poets, historians, and philosophers of antiquity, and the very air itself, which surrounds them, will seem to him as if consecrated by the hereditary devotion of ages. Such precious fragments of their eloquence as survive to us, appear more beautiful than the finished works of modern genius; and even their errors have come to be regarded as a kind of eccentric greatness, which, in defiance of rules, exacts, and must receive, our applause. Borne along by the enthusiasm of so many centuries, which, like the gravitation of a falling body, acquires increased intensity as it continues to descend to later times, we half forget that the ancients were men like ourselves, who, if they often exhibited all the gentle and lofty feelings of our nature, were no more impeccable than ourselves, and in many things were unquestionably inferior to us, if they were not in all.

How large a portion of the unbounded admiration, which ripe scholars generally entertain for the remains of antiquity, may be ascribed to prejudice, and to other causes apart from the genuine merits of the ancients, we need not stop to inquire. Enough will be left, which nothing but undeniable excellence can satisfactorily account for, affording complete evidence of the delicacy and spirit of their perceptions of elegance in matters of taste. We judge of beauty by a certain sympathetic intelligence, whether implanted in our bosoms by nature or introduced there by education, it matters not, since, when refined by cultivation, it constitutes correct and exquisite taste. Hence the conspiring praises of mankind for many successive ages are generally considered unequivocal proof of excellence in the fine arts and in polite letters, although no excess, no continuance of admiration may ensure the soundness of a philosophic deduction. It was rather flippantly said by Boileau, and yet with considerable truth; 'Il n'est plus question, à l'heure qu'il est, de savoir si Homère, Platon, Cicéron, Virgile sont des hommes merveilleux. C'est une chose sans contestation, puisque vingt siècles en sont convenus. Que si vous ne voyez pas les beautés de leurs écrits, il ne faut point conclure qu'elles ne sont pas, mais que vous êtes aveugles, et que vous n'avez point de goût.' * But the prepossession in

* Réfl. Crit. sur Longin.

favor of antiquity in matters of taste is not purely a matter of prescriptive opinion. We may reconcile ourselves to this apparent partiality by passing in review some obvious causes of the superior elegance of the classical writers as a body.

It might reasonably be presumed that the ancients would have attained excellence in mere oratory ; since of all the arts of intellectual refinement, eloquence is that which most naturally and rapidly acquires perfection. The art of communication is cultivated even among savage nations. Its rules do not require, and it may be questioned whether they admit, the most elaborate investigation of causes. The analysis of the passions, interests, and caprices of mankind ; and in fact all those properties of understanding, and all those acquisitions, which directly minister to masterly eloquence, at least to spoken eloquence, are the plainest, if not the most alluring objects of inquiry and study. Mere naked logical reasoning is not what we now intend ; but the persuasive talent, which renders arguments available, and which speaks to the heart, if the understanding fails to receive the desired impression. This peculiarly depends upon a knowledge of the intricacies of the human breast, a knowledge to be obtained rather by practical acuteness, than by means of the condition which characterizes a learned age. It requires observation, unquestionably ; but a kind of observation, wherein the accumulated facts of centuries are of little value, in comparison with the force of native sagacity of mind. It is the eloquence of nature, which rules the passions with the most imperious dominion, or wins them over by the most seducing allurements. Experience seems to confirm the supposition, that improvements in science do not effect a corresponding improvement in eloquence. Perrault, the author of the '*Parallel between the Ancients and Moderns*,' once so much talked of, erred in maintaining that the advancement of philosophy necessarily inferred that of the fine arts ; and thus exposed himself the more to the attacks of Boileau. This not being the fact, of course there is no antecedent presumption against the alleged superiority of the ancients in respect to eloquence.

The rhetorical beauty of ancient writings is owing in some degree, to the mechanism of the Greek and Latin languages. Wotton, the well known champion of the moderns in opposition to Sir William Temple, attributes much of the charms of Greek poetry to the natural melody and ductility of that un-

rivalled tongue.* The regular cadence of long and short syllables, for which accents are substituted in the modern languages, is a peculiar beauty in classical composition. Modern European languages are distinguished, also, by various changes in the structure of their verbs and nouns, which increase the simplicity of the rudiments of language, but impair its variety, sweetness, and energy. Not only are we thus embarrassed with a multitude of particles, which but serve, in the words of Campbell, 'to clog the expression and enervate the sentiment;' but we are almost totally deprived of the liberty of inversion, through which the classical tongues were moulded at will into whatever forms of elegance or force the purpose of the speaker might demand.† These considerations alone might induce us to despair of attaining the significant energy, the rich, pregnant, compressed meaning of Tacitus, or the unsophisticated gracefulness of Xenophon's style, which calls to mind, by contrast, the expression of Ovid's,

'simulaverat artem
Ingenio natura suo.'

Again, did not the limited means of publication, which the ancients enjoyed, prove favorable to them in this particular? All the materials of books were costly, and of course freely accessible only to the rich. The art of printing, that wonderful invention, which multiplies, at so cheap a rate, all the productions of the mind, was unknown; and its place was imperfectly supplied by the slow process of copying in manuscript. Would not this have a tendency to stimulate the ancient writer to greater exertions to excel, and thus enrich his language with that exquisite finish, which no art, no elaboration, can carry further? Would it not tend also to strangle mediocrity in the birth, by confining the public patronage, and with it the public applause, to works of undoubted merit. Sir William Temple hazards the strange belief that the ancients possessed as many valuable books as the moderns. Such a position hardly deserves refutation.* But while the art of printing has multiplied, to a wonderful extent, the number of books, on the other hand, by thus placing the elements of science and facility

* *Reflexions*, p. 232.

† See this subject fully discussed in Campbell's *Rhetoric*, and in Adam Smith's ingenious *Essay on the Formation of Languages*.

of publication within the reach of all, has it not made first rate elegance of taste more rare in proportion to the number of writers, and the examples of mediocrity more abundant?

And does not the mere subserviency of our taste to that of the ancients operate to their advantage? Just as the slavery of the body causes the moral sensitiveness to languish, so this servility of the taste may tend to deaden the spirit and flatten the elasticity of the imagination. The whole field of invention lay fresh before them in all the luxuriance of virgin nature. They could pluck its brightest flowers and richest fruits, leaving to us to glean where they had gathered. The realms of fancy lay unrifled before them; and, like Sinbad in the Valley of Diamonds, surrounded by countless and unimagined riches, they might well disdain all but the most resplendent gems. It was theirs to invent, to conceive, to utter the first coinage of the fancy, undimmed, bright, fresh from the mint of inspiration; ours to imitate, embellish, arrange, and reproduce the images and ideas, which, with them, came welling up with unstinted prodigality from the exhaustless fountain-head. The vivacity of the fancy, the richness, variety, and life of its creations, that inspiration, which is the very soul of genius,—all are sacrificed by a slavish adherence to authority, and by always following implicitly the forms and models which others have set before us, without ever attempting to strike out an original conception of our own. These remarks, nicely considered, may not all be susceptible of strict application to the subject; yet they serve to show, we think, that in matters of taste the bare priority in time may have given the ancients some advantage over the moderns.

After all, the superior excellence of antiquity in the fine arts, in poetry, and in eloquence spoken or written, is a problem not perfectly easy of solution. And if we confine our attention to eloquence and fine writing simply, the taste, fashions, and feelings of the people, and the nature of their public institutions, will probably approach nearest to accounting for the superiority of the Greeks and Romans. The constitution of those old republics held forth every inducement, which could inspire and sustain the noblest powers of eloquence. Look, for instance, at the condition of the Greek, who might be ambitious of excelling in oratory; and you find that the whole system of his country's institutions aimed to cherish and perfect this admirable faculty. He wrote or

spoke in that delightful tongue, which is justly characterized by Gibbon as 'a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.' The busy, imaginative, mercurial temperament of the nation prompted them to cultivate assiduously the arts of persuasion and of social communication. Even in the primitive days commemorated by Homer, we perceive abundant traces of this national predisposition, in the insinuating character of Ulysses, and in the description of the venerable Nestor, whose words, the poet says, flowed sweeter than honey. In after times, the fondness of the nation for dramatic spectacles, the enthusiastic applause bestowed on the literary exhibitions at the Olympic games before the flower of all Greece, *flos delibatus populi*, but especially the democratic forms of government prevailing in the great cities, where every thing was discussed before the people, and the factious emulation of so many rival republics, whose policy required the exercise of all the magic of persuasion,—these circumstances explain the extraordinary success of Greeks of gifted genius, in the exercise of this divine art. Here we discern the combination of causes, which, acting upon the ambition of Pericles, produced that magic talent, which suggested to Eupolis the bold figure, of the goddess of persuasion hovering upon his lips;* and which created in Demosthenes that perfect model of severe, chastened, sublime eloquence, which even the scrutinizing spirit of the present day admits to be yet unsurpassed.

And if examples of the fact be required in written eloquence, we might specify the majestic richness of Plato, so much admired by the philosophers of the Academy as to induce them to affirm that, if Jupiter were to address mankind, he would use the language of Plato.† A still more pregnant illustration of the point is the case of Herodotus, who is styled by Cicero the father of history. It was at the games of Olympia that he claimed and acquired for his work the admiration of Greece;‡ and for this end, of public exhibition at such a scene, it was most exquisitely adapted. He wrote at a period when genius was not fettered by prescription; the whole world was before him; and he chose from its uncultured

* Cic. Brutus, c. 15. † Cic. Brutus, c. 31.

‡ Lucian, ed. Bipont. tom. iv, p. 117.

treasures of instruction, that which was most peculiar in manners, most noble in enterprise, and most striking among events, for the entertainment of his hearers. They were charmed by the placid, mellow harmony of his style, which pleases, like female beauty when it is most fascinating, by animated loveliness predominating over strength, and serene dignity rather than magnificence. His eloquence flattered the religion of his audience, it honored their dawning literature, it celebrated their enthusiastic attachment to liberty, which had broken, scattered, and repulsed the armed array of the barbarians; and the spirit of every Greek was elevated by the exhibition of his fathers' deeds, and he instinctively admired the historian, who first commended them to immortality.* And such was the stimulating influence under which, in Greece, the graces of composition were cultivated.

The Romans possessed a less flexible and copious language than the Grecians, and less constitutional devotion to literary pursuits. Montesquieu would never have described them as he did the Greeks, to be '*grands parleurs, grands disputeurs, naturellement sophistes.*' The Latin language, therefore, was perfected more slowly than the Greek; but in its golden age, it was certainly preëminent for the most absolute facility, richness, strength, and significance. All remember the well known passage of Cicero, in which he expresses the extraordinary efficacy of the public institutions of Rome in producing rhetorical excellence.† When the empire of the republic was extended over the civilized world, and the ambition of its youth had less scope in military service, they universally devoted themselves to the study of eloquence under Greek masters; and in the importance and variety of the occasions for public speaking at Rome, they had an ample field for the display of talent in oratory, which became the key to all that was splendid in wealth, power, and glory. Hence the acquisition of eloquence rose, in the flourishing days of the republic, to be the highest aim of ambition; and was deemed an attainment worthy of the sublimest genius, and the most persevering elaboration. It seemed to be regarded as an heirloom which the ingenuous Roman inherited with the images of

* G. J. Vossius de Hist. Gr. 1, 3; *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* tom. 19, 21 et 23.

† De Orat. lib. i, c. 4.

his ancestors, and which alone could preserve their blood in purity and honor. It is risking little to say that precisely such a state of things, where the rewards of eloquence were so great and the cultivation of it so universal, has never existed since, although the condition of England and of America somewhat resembles it. Ascribing to the Greeks and Romans, then, only the same natural intellects with ourselves, yet we must continue to fall behind them in eloquence, until the same elaborate efforts to excel are prosecuted under equally powerful stimulants to honorable ambition.

If the reader has followed us in the somewhat desultory course of our observations, he will be disposed to accord with us in the conclusion of the superior eloquence of the ancients, their superiority, that is, not in the natural power itself, but in the more advantageous use of that power. This general inference will include the particular one, that in the mere beauties of composition, the rhetoric of history, the ancient historians, as a body, surpassed the moderns. It is no derogation from the exalted desert of so many admirable writers in all the living languages of Europe to confess this; for, as we shall presently see, if to the venerable names of Greek and Roman story be awarded the palm of excellence in style, their successors may assert the better and wiser merit, of superiority in the inductive elements of history, of being more exact, more finished, more useful. The taste so prevalent among the ancient historians, of placing fictitious speeches in the mouths of prominent persons in their history, speeches conceived and composed by the historian himself,—a practice judiciously relinquished by nearly all modern historians of eminence,—illustrates the difference in spirit between the respective writers. Botta has greatly erred, we conceive, in attempting to revive this obsolete usage, founded altogether upon the rhetorical aim and taste of antiquity in the composition of history, in contrast with the devotion to truth and simplicity, which is demanded by a more enlightened judgment.

For nothing is plainer than the principle, that the value of history depends upon its certainty, that is, not only its conformity to truth in the narration of individual facts, but its general accuracy, fidelity, and fulness. It is this which should essentially characterize history; since the charms of eloquence are equally fascinating when embodied in mere works of fiction. Absolute certainty, to be sure, is incompatible with hu-

man affairs. 'Dubitare cogor,' says Tacitus, 'fato et sorte nascendi.' History, therefore, although its end should be faithfully to mark the frailties, and celebrate the virtues of humanity, yet, like its object, is necessarily subject to imperfections. Too often has it betrayed the confidence of the great and good, who had leaned upon it, as the advocate of their worth and the pledge of their glory; as the means of securing to their names, when dead, that justice from posterity, which the petty passions of their contemporaries had denied to their character when living. For it has obscured their worth and intercepted their glory, by the extravagance or faintness of its eulogium; by total silence or the faultiness of its details; and by the undue elevation of the merit of their competitors and opponents. But few, of the multitudes who assume the name of historians, resemble the abstract idea of historical perfection. The attainment of this lofty distinction, like the acquisition of the *spolia opima* at Rome, is the rare event in a long series of anxious efforts. But none, we think, can deny, that the standard of excellence, in this department of writing, has been considerably raised in modern times, without any diminution of the proportion of those who have reached it. This we shall perceive by considering those attributes of history, which the moderns have either improved or newly created; to understand which, let us briefly premise a summary of the critical principles, which apply to the subject.

The principal fountains of history are tradition and contemporary relations. Tradition relates to accounts handed down orally from generation to generation, their origin being generally clouded in the remoteness of time, and their credibility established by no contemporary writings. It is essential to the plausibility of traditions that they contradict no other tradition which is equally plausible; that they appear to be as old as the events which they commemorate; that they appear to have been believed, as long as known; that they be inconsistent with no existing public institution; and that they coincide with all the better authenticated kinds of historical evidence. Traditions should not only be strengthened by these favorable presumptions, but they should be refined from every imputation of prejudice, interest, and misrepresentation. It is essential to the general credibility of contemporary memoirs, that an unbroken series of proofs be adducible to show that they are genuine and free from adulteration; that the facts

therein related agree with all other equally credible histories ; and that the opinion of contemporary and subsequent writers bear witness to the fidelity, accuracy, and means of information of the author of the documents. These are the canons, by which to judge of the credibility of history properly so called. But the express relation of an event may be corroborated by constructive and subsidiary evidence. Such are monuments, medals, and inscriptions, which are so frequently made use of to illustrate obscure points in Roman history ; such are the *quipos* or knotted cords of the Peruvians, and the pictorial records of the Mexicans ; such are the ruins, or any other equally certain traces of an ancient city ; and such is any public institution, whose origin can be explained only by the particular tradition or writing under consideration. Examples of all these things, and of their utility in supporting or disproving accounts, which rest more immediately in human testimony, will readily occur to the learned reader.

In short, the whole matter is a question of evidence, to be tried by the same rules, which are of every day's application in courts of justice, and which, more than any other portion of jurisprudence, are remarkable for being founded upon plain common sense and fortified by the inductions of the soundest practical philosophy. Is the evidence adduced of the highest kind, or is it of an inferior class ? Is the witness of such standing and character that his veracity cannot be suspected, nor his intelligence impeached ? Had he sufficient means of ascertaining the facts, which he undertakes to relate ? Does he stand contradicted by any other witness ; and if so, which of the two is the more credible, and gives the more plausible account of the affair ? Is the fact related likely in itself, or is it intrinsically impossible, incredible, or improbable ? Is the testimony of the witness corroborated by any circumstantial evidence, which, to borrow the language of the bar, cannot, like man, forget, misrecollect, or wilfully falsify ? All these are pertinent inquiries, and according as a history sustains the application of such tests, are we to judge of its certainty and real value.

Much of our historical knowledge, it must be confessed, depends upon evidence which is of a secondary kind, and therefore, of necessity, less sure. This uncertainty is wrought into the very texture and fabric of all our knowledge of complicated facts ; because it does not always happen that we have the

best evidence of them ; and even the most positively attested relations must be imperfect without the comparison of different statements, some of which must result in hearsay, and therefore partake of the defective nature of mere traditionary information. Very few events have been recorded, in all their causes, progress, bearings, and effects, by one who was himself the eye-witness of them, through each of these predicaments. Suppose him to be the most credible and intelligent witness that ever testified on earth, yet his narrative must depart more or less from certainty, either by omitting material particulars of which he was ignorant, or by trusting to the information of others, of whose credibility we may be less fully assured. A history then, will be more or less valuable, in proportion as its proofs consist more or less of that evidence, which is of the highest and best character. Now these considerations being premised, we say, that, modern history resting upon evidence incomparably better than ancient, it therefore deserves the praise of superior certainty and utility. In entering into the details of this proposition, we shall first examine the relative purity of the sources of ancient and modern history ; and next inquire if modern historians have not more judiciously employed their advantages.

In all ancient histories, a very striking circumstance is the frequent reliance upon traditions, which relate to events that happened long before the traditions were committed to any authentic record for preservation. Tradition, after all, is little better than common rumor,—fame—

‘*Tam ficti praviq̄ue tenax, quam nuntia veri ;*’

and is never admissible but in the absence of less authentic evidence. Even the most credible traditions, those which are connected with a particular monument, and which do not contradict any written document, frequently have an equivocal authority. From the multitude of such cases, a few instructive examples may be selected. Thus the fable of Attius Navius, who is said to have performed a miraculous feat by cutting a whetstone through with a razor in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, is attested by the existence of the identical razor and whetstone in the latter days of the republic.* In a battle fought by the dictator A. Postumius against the Latins, the twin gods Castor and Pollux were believed to have fought on the

* Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 17 ; Liv. lib. i, c. 36.

side of the Romans ; in evidence of which a temple was erected to commemorate the legend, and the horse of Castor left the track of his hoof imprinted upon the surface of a siliceous rock near lake Regillus.* An altar was erected to Ajus Loquens, a god made for the occasion, being a mysterious voice which warned the Romans against the approaching capture of the city by the Gauls.† Tacitus relates that a *Ficus Ruminalis*, reputed to be the very tree under which Romulus and Remus were suckled, existed in the Comitium more than eight hundred and forty years afterwards, to attest the fact to those who were credulous enough to believe it.‡ Greek examples without number to the same effect might be cited ; but we content ourselves with Roman ones, because the books in which they are found are more familiar to readers in general, and to ourselves in particular. The curious student may see a specimen of them in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (tom. vi), a collection of pieces, which, out of France, is not prized so highly as it deserves to be.

These traditions do sometimes, it is true, corroborate some credible fact, as the battle and the invasion in the second and third of the above instances ; but, as in the first and fourth, they are as often attached to fables ; and of the whole we may say with Tully, ‘Nihil debet esse in philosophiâ commentitiis fabellis loci.’ And we learn from them how easy it is for numerous interests, such as the purposes of superstition, national vanity, and even the trifling passions of individuals, to give rise to traditions, which only serve to perpetuate falsehood. This it is, which has conferred dignity, and even divinity, upon the origin of empires. ‘Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat.’ This it is, which has poured such a blaze of holiness around all that is obscure, all that is suspicious, in the remoteness of antiquity. Scarce was there a single ancient nation, but could point you to a deity for its founder. Nay, lying tradition traces the origin of Romans, English, French, Turks, and Germans, each by separate derivations, down from the all-prolific Trojans.

Reliance upon tradition, secondary evidence, and other imperfect proofs, is too common throughout all ancient history.

* Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii, c. 2. comp. lib. iii, c. 5.

† Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 44 ; Liv. lib. v, c. 22, 50 ; Plutarch, Camillus.

‡ Annal. lib. xiii, c. 58.

But the fault assumes its most obnoxious form in the early Greek accounts of foreign nations. They seem to be a sort of triumph to fraud and credulity. At that day, the examination of a foreign land was no inconsiderable enterprise; and immediate reputation was the consequence to the intelligent traveller, who safely returned from his wanderings. It was thus that the fairest flowers were gathered by Herodotus and Xenophon, by Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato, to adorn the works they severally published.* Sometimes the inspection of original annals, but more frequently the conversation of Egyptian priests, or Persian magi, or some other equally unsafe authority, was the only source of the stranger's historical information. 'The Greeks,' said the most perfect of ancient historians, 'admire only their own perfections;' *sua tantum mirantur*.† Still they had an ardent, an enterprising curiosity; but it was too often a morbid appetite for novelties, indulged without sufficient discrimination as to the objects of pursuit, or the means of gratification. Oftentimes they seemed to inquire, not to judge, but to believe. At any rate, their foreign histories abound with errors and legendary falsehoods. Hence arise the mistakes contained in the classical accounts of the Jews in Tacitus‡ and Justin,§ who doubtless copied the Greek historians. Hence the clashing and confusion of the traditions with regard to the Persians in the 'Persæ' of Æschylus, in Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon.|| And if we may credit so competent a judge as Strabo, the loquacious Greeks were not to be trusted in their accounts of other foreign countries,¶ which Lucian has so keenly satirized in his 'True History.' Indeed, their uncertainty is very generally admitted by the critics; and the attempt to reconcile them has engaged and baffled the most persevering industry, and the most enlightened genius.** So imperfect and erroneous was the knowledge of the Greeks concerning the Barbarians, that is, every people but themselves, during the golden age of their literature and until after the conquests of Alexander.

The same fault, of neglecting to pay proper attention to the

* Cic. de Fin. lib. v, c. 29. † Tac. Annal. lib. ii, ap. fin.

‡ Hist. lib. v. § Lib. xxxvi.

|| Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i, c. 12; Hutch. Dissert. ad Cyropæd. lib. i, c. 3.

¶ Lib. xi, p. 774.

** See Newton's Chronol. Intr.

evidence of alleged facts, vitiates the domestic history of Greece. Without going into a minute analysis of this proposition, which would occupy too much space and time, let us believe some of the most learned and irreproachable among the ancients themselves. Strabo, in the place already cited, testifies to the fact; and Thucydides, who set the example of a better proceeding, even apologizes for not being a fabulist.* The history, as well as the philosophy, of Greece, previous to the reign of Cyrus, was identified with works of imagination.† The historians who succeeded from Cadmus the Milesian to Herodotus, if we may rely on the universal belief of the ancients, with the blood of the poets of the age before them, inherited also the license of poetic fancy.‡ The historical memoirs of that period were perplexed, interrupted, and often equivocal; and writers supplied by fables or conjecture, the numerous deficiencies, which essentially belong to all traditional relations. Partly from this suspicious character of preceding historians, though more indeed from his own admirable eloquence, Herodotus was esteemed the father of history. His work we may therefore consider a favorable specimen of what the Greeks effected in history, previous to the publication of Thucydides. In all facts, which came under his personal observation, his veracity is unquestioned; but elsewhere the absence of original documents, in depriving him of the only proper source of history, has exposed him to the reproach of succeeding writers. But for this, Cicero would not have hazarded the expression, that the works of Herodotus and Theopompus contain innumerable fables; ‘*innumera-biles fabulæ*’;§ nor would Juvenal have made the remark so often quoted,

‘Creditor olim
Velificatus Athos,|| et quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historiâ.’

It was not until the most vigorous age of Grecian genius, that, in the hands of Thucydides and Xenophon, the contemporary domestic history exhibited any pretensions to judgment, research, and, by consequence, certainty.¶

* Lib. i, c. 20; comp. Lucian. de Hist. c. 42.

† Plin. Maj. lib. vii. c. 57. ‡ Quinetil. lib. ii, c. 4.

§ Cic. de Legg. lib. i, c. 1. || See Herod. lib. vii.

¶ A. Gellius lib. iii, c. 10; Plutarch. ed. Bipont. tom. ix. p. 393; Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i, c. 2.

As to the Romans, most of their knowledge of foreign nations, previous to the last days of the republic, was derived from the Greeks. ‘Abest enim historia litteris nostris,’ says Tully. Their first domestic historian, Fabius Pictor, flourished more than five hundred years after the supposed era of the building of Rome, and much of the earlier history of the city is involved in doubt and obscurity. Even if this were not the express admission of Livy and other equally competent critics, yet the contradictory statements of the most important events, the perplexed and broken series of their chronology, and the many relations in their histories, which are confessedly fabulous and legendary, would remove all hope of certainty in the early Roman historians. The attention of scholars has been recently drawn to this point by the writings of Niebuhr and Wachsmuth; but the same things were discussed many years ago, in some valuable dissertations, by MM. Sallier and Pouilly in the French *Mémoires* (tom. vi.) The essays of the latter, especially, are sensible, clear, and direct; his arguments are convincing, and his illustrations numerous, and pregnant with conclusions. It is not our purpose to consider the subject at length; but a cursory view of it is too pertinent to be passed over entirely.

It is admitted that, except treaties and laws, resolutions of the senate or votes of the people, and insulated inscriptions, all engraved upon public monuments or tables of brass or stone,* the early Roman history, if preserved at all, must have been preserved in the records called *annales maximi* or *commentarii pontificum*. These consisted, according to Cicero, of public annals, composed yearly by the *pontifex maximus*, from the foundation of the city (*ab initio rerum Romanarum*) down to the time of P. Mucius, in which the memory of important events was preserved for the information of posterity.† Now there is no doubt that such a record was, for a certain period, carefully compiled in Rome; but was it commenced at so early a period, and if so, how long did the genuine record exist? We reply, first, it is wholly incredible that it went back so far, because in those ancient times, when laws and treaties were preserved only upon tables of brass and

* Liv. lib. vi, c. 1; Sueton. Vespasian. c. 8; Polybius, p. 181, B. ed. Paris.; Tac. Annal. lib. iv, c. 43.

† De Orat. lib. ii, c. 12.

stone, there could not be either the disposition or the means to write such a circumstantial account of events as Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus give us ; and secondly, if there was such a record, it perished long before any history was composed from the materials it furnished. Cicero, twice in his works, refers to the ancient *annales maximi* as existing in his time.* In one of these passages he says, nothing can be more delightful to peruse ; a text which has greatly puzzled the commentators ; for the words, ‘ Nihil potest esse *jucundius*,’ are plainly written in all the manuscripts ; and the critics appear to be agreed that Tully could not mean what he said ; and therefore some are for substituting the word ‘ *jejunius* ’ ; and others for slyly inserting a negative particle, so as to read ‘ *injucundius*.’ † Their industry, we think, could well have been spared on this occasion. They forgot the taste of Cicero for antiquities, and his pride in the historical greatness of his country. For if the books of which he spoke contained a pretended record of the early history of Rome, as we find it in Livy, we can readily conceive that he took pleasure in reading it ; for it is throughout, every body must admit, as entertaining as a romance, and probably as veracious too.

The truth is, Plutarch expressly says that a work of that name existed, but pronounces it to be a forgery.‡ And how could it be otherwise ? Clodius Albinus as cited by Plutarch,§ Livy,|| and Plutarch himself,¶ all declare that the genuine old *annales maximi* were burnt by the Gauls when they sacked the city. And various circumstances confirm this account. For instance, the *annales maximi* contained, as we learn from Dionysius,** what no Roman ever believed ; as that Romulus was the son of Æneas ; that Remus built four cities, Rome, Anchisa, Capua, and Ænea ; and the exploded fables of Hercules, and the kings of Alba, which Livy also declares to be false.†† Again, neither the chronology of Rome, nor the consular *fasti* are settled, even to a probability ;

* Ubi supra, et de Legg. lib. i, c. 2.

† Ernesti says, ‘ Quomodo *jucundi* illi *annales*, ita tenuiter scripti ? Sed omnes libri in illo verbo consentiunt, quod varie tentatum est a viris doctis. Mihi placent, qui *injucundius* legunt.’ See also G. J. Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. i, c. 1, 10 ; Taylor’s Civil Law, p. 79 ; Ovid. Trist. ii, 219.

‡ Numa. § Numa. || Lib. vi, c. 1.

¶ Fortun. Rom. sub fin.

** Lib. i, c. 73. †† Præf.

as Livy* and Cicero† both state in express terms; which could not be, if the *annales maximi* existed. The most important events in ancient Roman history are uncertain, and many of them are what Taylor calls ‘ambulatory stories,’ that is, facts told of several cities, and in the present case evidently copied from Greek histories. Finally, the first native historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor, instead of recurring to the *annales maximi*, which he undoubtedly would have done if the book existed, professedly copied Diocles Peparerthius, a foreigner and a Greek.‡ These proofs, which might easily be extended, corroborate the statement of Clodius Albinus, if it stood in need of any other support than the opinions of Plutarch and Livy.

Such is the state of the case, with respect to the early history of Rome. And the sources of information of many subsequent historians were fallacious and insufficient. Prominent among them were the *libri lintei*, and the *laudationes mortuorum*. But the imperfection of his materials extorts frequent complaints from Livy. And Cicero says, the *laudationes* introduced much falsity into the Roman history; because they described false triumphs, fictitious consulates, and genealogies fabricated to gratify family pride.§ But the leisure consequent on the third Punic war, together with the cultivation of Grecian arts and letters, increased the number and added to the value of Roman historians. From this period, the annals of the republic are probable and coherent; but it was not until long afterwards, that history was successfully cultivated by the citizens of Rome. For the sources of history, the writer then had, in addition to private memoirs and the materials before mentioned, the acts and public despatches of generals and magistrates,|| and the records of the senate.¶

It thus appears how slowly, both in Greece and Rome, but especially in the latter, history assumed even the semblance of veracity. But the sources of knowledge increase, both in extent and purity, as literature approaches to perfection; and perhaps, therefore, the materials of ancient history, in the most experienced ages of modern learning, were capable of producing the highest degree of moral certainty. That this is

* Lib. iv, c. 23, et alibi. † Brutus, c. 18. ‡ Plutarch. Romulus.

§ Brutus, c. 16. || Cic. Epist. lib. xii, 23; lib. xv, 1, 2, 4, &c.

¶ Tac. Annal. lib. xv, c. 74.

not the fact ; that the utmost perfection to which ancient history could possibly attain, is far short of modern accuracy, will best appear by reference to some of those positive advantages, which are peculiar to modern times.

Foremost in the list, stands the art of printing, that wonderful invention, whose influence over the whole range of human affairs almost defies measurement or estimation. By means of this, the indigence of the ancients in materials is converted into the most exuberant plenteousness. By multiplying and diffusing the evidence of events, it has removed the most penetrating defect of ancient history. The knowledge of what is passing around us, or of what has taken place, is not confined to the erudition of the few ; nor does it live only in the broken, impure, and perplexed rumors of the multitude. Histories and original memoirs of every degree of merit and pretension, from the splendid quarto to the modest duodecimo ; public records, in such voluminous abundance in every country, that the industry of a life would not exhaust their contents ; parliamentary debates and executive documents, printed in such profusion that we are more likely to sink under the weight of our riches, than suffer from their deficiency ; periodical works, annual, quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily, whose end is 'to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure,'—such are the sources of historical knowledge, which exist in modern times, and which, by means of the press are multiplied to an indefinite extent and beyond the possibility of destruction. How striking is the contrast in ancient times, as to which, no small portion of the most important facts are necessarily believed on the personal credit of a single historian, unsupported by monuments, unaided by any subsidiary evidence.* It needs no labored discussion to show that this single advantage, the possession of the press, settles at once the question of the relative certainty of ancient and modern historians, so far as regards the materials and sources of history.

Nor is there any more doubt concerning the second branch

* We are here reminded of the quaint lamentation of Lipsius, on occasion of the fine character of Helvidius Priscus given by Tacitus. 'At tam illustre sidus (heu quid speremus ?) in tenebris pene jacebat, absque unâ hac Taciti face.' (Tac. Hist. lib. iv, c. 5, in notis.) The idea of discovering a brilliant star by means of torch-light is quite new and clever !

of our inquiry, namely, whether we have not employed our advantages to greater profit than the ancients did theirs. Indeed superior critical skill would be the necessary consequence of the general diffusion of knowledge, which the invention of printing has produced. It has infused life, health, and vigor into the whole system of literature and science. Not only, therefore, are more original memoirs preserved from dispersion and loss in the libraries of the rich and of public bodies, but the literary ambition of the whole world is awakened and sustained by the facility of acquiring knowledge. Hence arises the authority, the efficiency, if not the being of sound public opinion, that sublime power, which corrects error, subdues presumption, cherishes genius, and consecrates truth, marking for infamy or glory every thought and action of life, which comes within the sphere of its operation. The utility of this power being measured by the diffusion of learning, its beneficial influence must evidently be greater upon modern, than it could ever have been upon ancient history.

Besides, in our day, the influence of public opinion is not only apparent in the bosom of a single nation, but the false judgments of any one people are modified and corrected by the criticisms of other nations. It is obvious that this circumstance is peculiarly conducive to the certainty of history, by making the partialities of each community the corrective of those around it. The public sentiment of a single people may easily be vitiated ; but their prejudices will not be likely to extend through other states, whose interests are distinct, whose taste is peculiar, and whose national partialities are watchful and alert. Truth alone can endure the keen scrutiny, to which all historical writings are now subjected. The separate states of modern Europe and America constitute a vast community of nations, whose peculiarities act and react upon them as nations, precisely in the same way, followed by similar beneficial results, as single individuals improve each other, by contact and intercourse in society.

Something analogous to this, it is true, might be imagined to exist in the Greek republics ; and in the Roman empire, after it had come to embrace so many distinct nations. But the case was widely different from what it is now. Lacedæmon was jealous of Athens ; and Thebes of both ; and Asia Minor and the Islands had interests apart from each of them ; but still the feeling and character of the inhabitants of all these various re-

gions was Greek, their taste was Greek, their spirit and philosophy were Greek. The influence which one city exerted over the peculiarities of another was greatly circumscribed and limited by this consideration, of their community of language and general national character. Their case more nearly resembles that of the Italian republics of the middle age, or of the several states in our confederacy, or of the Spanish American republics of the south, than it does that of the great family of nations of the European race. And the overwhelming influence of the city of Rome, towards which all the ambition of the various nations that composed the empire centred and converged, and by which all their tastes were controlled, modified the operation of the power of which we are speaking, upon the literature of the later Romans. Everything is now radically changed. We have ceased to think that there is but one blessed region wherein genius is vernacular and patrimonial, and in whose embellishment nature exhausted all the might and fertility of her invention. There is no longer a people, who can claim, with Rome, the insolent prerogative of universal empire ; or with Athens, the exclusive heritage of taste, of genius, or of elegance. The division of the literary world into distinct languages and communities is attended with this useful effect ; and each nation has learned to prize its own excellences, without despising or neglecting whatever is learned or ingenious elsewhere. History derives from this comprehensive and enlightened curiosity, this enlarged literary tolerance, a certainty, variety, and copiousness, which were hardly known to the ancients even in speculation.

Apprehensive lest we may prove tedious, we shall confine ourselves to remarking upon but one topic more, under this head. The value of modern history is enhanced we conceive by the greater research, which is the consequence of greater scientific attainments. Science may repress the spirit and exuberance of fancy ; but it will, at the same time, compensate for this inconvenience by the bestowment of still greater benefits, having peculiar influence upon the certainty of history. By means of experience, we are disciplined to habits of circumspection, of hesitancy, shall we say of distrust ? Every day which adds to our knowledge and judgment, diminishes our credulity, and our tendency to rely upon imperfect proofs ; since it teaches us a delicate, timorous, and laborious estimate of the grounds of moral evidence. It is an advantage, which

the mere lapse of time, the simple circumstance of living at a particular age of the world, confers upon us. Experience instructs us in the errors of our fathers; it discloses the various passions, interests, and caprices, which may delude us into false judgments; and it also reveals the means of guarding the candor and simplicity of the understanding. Here we obviously excel the ancient historians. Not only do we examine facts with more penetrating discernment, but we also purify our opinions and conclusions from those numerous errors, the sole support of which is prejudice, and their origin credulity. There is no longer overpowering authority in names; for we learn to see error as it is, cleared from the lustre of false beauty, the factitious good thrown around it by party, by fashion, and by prescription. Whenever a work of high pretension is now published, how strict is the scrutiny to which it is subjected. Witness the universal alertness of criticism excited by the appearance of Sir Walter Scott's 'Napoleon,' which is read, studied, examined all over Europe and America, and, since Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands are no longer exempt from the illumination of English literature, we may add, all over the civilized world. The spirit of unsparing investigation, which characterizes modern history, is the pledge and guarantee of its greater certainty; for it exposes the interested praises or censure of the contemporary chronicler, discloses his prejudices in their naked deformity, and reveals to the world those monuments of truth, which time had overturned in his flight, and left to lie concealed under the obscure and dusty ruins of the past.

In the plan of the foregoing remarks, we have disregarded those circumstances, whose influence is equally beneficial or equally injurious to ancient and to modern history. Our design is only to elicit distinctions. Of the passions incident to humanity in every age, and which are therefore equally prejudicial to certainty in all human inquiries, we have deemed it unprofitable to speak, unless where they were corrected or exaggerated by circumstances, so as to constitute a specific difference. And we are, of necessity, limited to the deduction of general inferences, exceptions to which may be met with in particular cases. But there is another aspect of the subject, eminently rich and prolific in reflexion, we mean, that class of differences between ancient and modern history, which refers to what is often called the philosophy of history. The perfection of the ancient writers consisted in describing the

causes, progress, and consequences of events with eloquence and truth ; and nicely discriminating the character and motives of men. It seldom looked higher than this graphic art, which painted the deeds of the past in bold, manly, and vigorous coloring, the coloring of nature and of passion, which steals the heart, and ravishes the fancy. Now, we do indeed conceive the same enchanting eloquence to be essential to a perfect history ; but we require more ; we demand minute details on legislation and political economy ; on the fluctuations in the public and private rules of thought and action, of whose value Sallust evidently formed a true idea ; on the progress of science, letters, and the arts ; in short, on every subject of an historical nature, which may enlighten the philosopher, or improve the man. It is this comprehensive spirit of philosophy, which embraces the past, the present, and the future, in a single view ;

Ὅς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἔόντα, τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρὸ τ' ἔόντα.

and which, in describing the past, employs the experience of the present, and infers from both the yet unexisting events of futurity. We may claim as our own, an attention to the sources of the wealth of nations, and to the causes of their grandeur and decay ; for we meet in the Greek and Roman historians with but little illustrative of political economy, and whatever does occur, is brief and incidental.

If it be asked why the ancients did not dwell upon such facts in their histories, it may be answered, perhaps, that they were never placed in a situation to appreciate their value and interest. We occupy a position of which they had none but imperfect precedents, and no adequate conception. They can hardly be said to have had the full experience which we have, of a state of extreme ignorance, following close upon the sublimest exhibitions of genius. At the commencement of their literary career, there existed no monuments of departed splendor, whereof the study might guide their curiosity and enlarge their understanding. But among the moderns, a curiosity respecting the philosophy of history was awakened, by knowing, and in one sense witnessing, the subversion of the institutions of antiquity, and the substitution of others totally diverse. When the mind of Europe, if we may hazard the personification, started up from the slumber of the middle ages, it awoke instructed and enlightened by a deep sense of the evils, which had produced that lethargy. As it continued to

press forward in the race of improvement, it added the experience of age to the vigor and conscious greatness of Roman genius. From the wreck of all that was beautiful, all that was magnificent, we had preserved some of the most perfect specimens of the masterly skill and intellect of antiquity. In these peculiar circumstances, it was easy to discern the greatest defect in preceding historians, and to discern the defect was to perceive the remedy.

The historians of Greece generally derived their knowledge either from personal inquiries in foreign countries, or from books written in their own language, and modelled according to their peculiar taste. They enjoyed not that general literary intercourse with foreign nations, which operates so efficaciously to improve our taste and critical acuteness, as well as to guide, enliven, and invigorate our curiosity. A modern historian well knows, and should be proud of the fact, that he does not write for his own country only, but for numerous nations, all preoccupied with separate national partialities. From the interested scrutiny of the great républic of letters, presumption has no refuge, ignorance no sanctuary. But the Greek wrote for his own people only, or at least only for his own countrymen and the Romans; and this distinction, which we have already remarked upon in another connexion, has contributed to confirm a relish for the philosophy of history. Each individual state or empire may be regarded as a grand experiment, from which the philosophic observer will deduce principles, and also judge of their tendency. Tracing the progress of a government from its obscure beginnings, to the noblest efforts of its power and grandeur, and thence downwards through the several gradations of its feebleness, decline, and final subversion, we shall discover that every part of this progress, from incipient greatness, to oblivion, abounds in lessons of instruction, which will be numerous in proportion to the many polished nations, whose reciprocal intercourse creates and cherishes a mutual curiosity.

To illustrate the application of our doctrines by a minute analysis of particular historians, by contrasting the classical historians of Greece and Rome with the classical historians of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, England, or Germany, would afford much matter of useful criticism and interesting speculation, but would greatly overrun our limits. We must be content with general reflections, leaving the reader to try their justness

for himself, by applying them to particular cases. Let it be observed, however, that what we have said is intended, in its full extent, only for the classic age of Grecian letters, which immediately preceded the conquests of Alexander. It requires some qualification, to be strictly correct in reference to the period, when learning was disseminated by the victories, and patronized by the successors, of that conqueror; when genius and letters had acquired a domicil in Egypt. But the Greeks had then lost the inspiration of freedom; and learning itself was enslaved by that pernicious tyranny of the intellect, the spirit of system and dogmatical philosophy. Who looks to the court of the Ptolemies for the classic school of their poetry or philosophy? And still less should we think of finding it in later times at Constantinople, among the series of Byzantine authors, whom the eloquence of Gibbon has rescued from oblivion.

Our observations must be taken with some allowance, when applied to the Romans. This wonderful people emerged, at once, from a state but little better than barbarism, to the bright light of Athenian arts, science, and elegance.

‘Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.’

At the time of the conquest of Greece by the Romans, they were remarkable for a kind of rustic simplicity in all that relates to the fine arts, which is well illustrated by the characteristic anecdote of L. Mummius Achaicus, who, when unique specimens of Greek art were shipped from Corinth to be transported to Rome, assured the carrier that if the statues and pictures were damaged or lost by his negligence, he should be forced to make restitution in kind, of article for article. But they were more signally distinguished by the specious and prudent qualities, love of their country, love of glory, and of dominion. They were ever more attentive to practical than to abstract philosophy. They had less than the Greeks of what is technically called genius, less of that subtle ingenuity, certainly, which delights in the mysteries of abstraction, and less of that vividness and activity of the imagination, which shine forth in works of poetry and invention. Hence, although more noted for their admiration of productions of ingenuity, than for their successful imitation of Greek models; yet they soon rivalled their masters in eloquence, history, and jurisprudence, in those more practical branches of polite knowledge, which could im-

mediately subserve their national pride and ambition of supremacy. Besides, many of the causes, which, as we have seen, contribute to the perfection of history, had acquired a partial efficacy in Roman literature, during the latter years of the republic and under the first emperors.

For these reasons, we feel disposed to concede that in the qualities common to both, the classical Greek historians were surpassed by those of Rome, who seem to have reached the standard of excellence, according to the spirit of the times and the influence of existing circumstances. Who can turn away sated, from the richness and charming beauty of Livy's descriptions, or fail to esteem the candor, delicacy, and exactness of his judgment? Who can sufficiently admire the skill of Tacitus in discriminating character, and in developing the causes and relations of events, the indignant majesty of his sentiments, and his powerful, compressed eloquence, to be valued, like fine gold, for purity and brilliancy instead of quantity? And some of the Greek historians, who flourished at Rome under the Cæsars, evidently exhibit improvements in the matter of their works, even if the style be less chaste and terse than that of Thucydides and Xenophon. The gossiping and discursive, but amiable and intelligent, Plutarch in himself alone is a treasure. But it was impossible, for the reasons which we have explained at large, that the ancients should equal us in the fulness and certainty of history; and inconsistent with the fashionable character of it among them, inconsistent with their standard of taste, that it should contain all those details, which are so indispensable according to our ideas of its perfection.*

* To show how little dependence can be placed upon the minor historians of antiquity, we take an example, at random almost, from Nepos. Comparing his life of Annibal with other more credible writers, we readily find errors of commission, almost in every chapter, setting aside the faults of omission. The following are a specimen.

1. 'Nemo ei in acie restitit,' &c. c. 5. Not true. Annibal retreated into his camp before Fabius, and was three times beaten by Marcellus at Nola. (Livy and Plutarch.)

2. 'Alpes, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu,' &c. c. 3. False. (Liv. lib. v; Polybius, lib. iii, c. 48.)

3. 'Confluxerat apud *Rhodanum* cum P. Scipione.' c. 4. Nobody ever heard of this battle but Nepos. (Vossius, Hist. Lat. lib. i. c. 14.)

4. 'Cum hoc apud *Padum* decernit,' c. 4. The place was *Centumvia apud Ticinum*. (Liv. lib. xxi, c. 39; Polyb. lib. iii, c. 64.)

How deficient are the best historians of ancient Rome, in comparison with the great names of historical composition in modern times. They described the succession of alternate public victories and civil broils, out of which grew the splendid power of republican Rome, in her best days; they painted her in the vigor of her greatness, yet sinking beneath her countless laurels; crushed by accumulated misfortunes, yet struggling under them with a relic of her democratic energy; and at length sunk, overpowered, consigned to helpless ruin, yet still bearing the aspect of her living majesty, like her own brave soldiers on the field of Liris; ‘*Omnium vulnera in pectore; omnium in manibus enses; et relictæ vultibus minæ; et in ipsâ morte ira vivebat.*’* Such was the sublime object, which they delineated with a pencil of light. But the machinery of the government, the condition and sources of the revenue, the composition of the army, the organization of society, and all the instructive points of national polity, which enter so largely into the staple of modern history, they leave us to gather as we may from incidental notices, scattered along amid rhetorical accounts of party animosity, foreign warfare, the civil tumults of distinguished men, private vice, and public corruption.

But it is time our speculations should be drawn to a close. We ask to be indulged only in subjoining a few words on the principle and degree of our estimation of antiquity, in explanation of what has occasionally fallen from us in reference to this topic. Some authors have imagined that the course of nature was analogous to the life of man; that the intellect of the human race once had its infancy, from which it advanced to the spirit and vivacity of youth, and the vigor of maturity; but that now old age has enervated and deadened its power. But the idea is a mere assumption, without the shadow of a foundation in truth. There is no probability that, in the same climate, the simple passage of two thousand years should produce any difference in the natural powers of man. Any alleged superiority of ancient writings, if it existed, would not prove that we cannot surpass the ancients. And what is the fact? Have the ancients exhibited greater excellence than the moderns, in their respective productions? If the question were to be dis-

6. ‘*Hac pugnâ pugnâtâ Romam,*’ &c. c. 5. An anachronism.

7. ‘*Dictator Rom. in agro Falerno,*’ &c. c. 5. The same.

* Florus, lib. i. c. 18.

cussed, in this shape it ought, we apprehend, to be primarily considered.

Now any individual discoveries of the ancients prove little, abstractly regarded ; since the answer to them is, that we were anticipated only ; that those precise departments of ingenuity were merely preoccupied by those who happened to come first, and who are not entitled to any merit on that account. Still less weight have the casual discoveries and unproductive conjectures of the Greek philosophers. Contrary to all sound reasoning, Dutens* exalts the barren guesses of the ancients to an equality with the fruitful and demonstrated truths of Newton. But to suspect a philosophic truth, without knowing whether it be one or not, and without dreaming of any useful application of it, amounts to nothing. Nor is the merit of actual invention, closely examined, of all the intrinsic value which is apt to be ascribed to it. If we trace the most admired, and apparently the most wonderful human inventions to their fountain-head, we find them to have been originally suggested by chance, or by some common and trivial work of nature. The merit rather lies in the quick apprehension, which rescues the infant art from oblivion, and rears it into vigor and utility.

In everything appertaining to philosophy, the fact, of our being subsequent to the ancients, the fact that we are moderns, is of inestimable advantage. *Antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi.* It would be presumptuous to undertake to look into futurity, and imagine how many ages upon ages may follow the present, or how many vicissitudes and revolutions human affairs are fated to undergo. If, therefore, we may not say that philosophy, in our own times, has arrived at maturity, we may safely affirm that, as respects that of Greece and Rome, it has made a striking advancement towards maturity. The crude and imperfect reasonings of the ancients are verified and completed by us. Productions of their ingenuity, acting almost without object or direction, which formerly possessed no value except as monuments of human industry, we have drawn from obscurity, and made the support of physical theorems ; of which the application of the Conics of Apollonius to natural philosophy is an example. Again, we not only avail ourselves of the truths of the ancients, but we profit by their errors. In the pursuit of truth, philosophy gains by defeats as well as victories. The folly of

* Origine des Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes.

our fathers is literally our wisdom. It was this which gave Fontenelle, in his good-humored and spirited essay upon this subject, occasion to say, that, as we stood upon the shoulders of the ancients, we could take a wider and more comprehensive view of things than they, although we were but pigmies, and they were giants. For he must be strangely blinded by prejudice, who can deny that our philosophy is incomparably superior to that of the ancients, whatever may be thought of their literary merit. We pretend not to settle the controversy on this point, so often agitated and with so little profit; frankly admitting the unfairness of having the question determined by one of the parties, and being deterred also by other obstacles to a just decision of it, which are described by Addison in a posthumous discourse on ancient and modern learning, written with his customary ease, delicacy, elegance, and good sense. Confessing, on the one hand, that enduring esteem is the final and most certain evidence of literary merit; and recollecting, on the other, that constitutional malignity of men, which prompts them to lavish on the dead those eulogies which belong only to the praiseworthy; and thus avoiding equally the extremes of humility and of self-admiration; let us modestly strive to excel, by emulating the deserts of the great and good, on whose fame the seal of time has stamped the impress of immortality.

ART. IV.—*The Course of Time, a Poem, in Ten Books.* By ROBERT POLLOK, A. M. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 295.

IN the literary world, the appearance of a poem with a title and dimensions like those of the one before us, is an important event. Expectation is awakened by its first annunciation. We are impatient to learn what new addition has been made to the stores of fancy, and we hasten to the perusal with eager curiosity. Especially is this the case, when the candidate for our suffrages is one, of whom we have never before heard. Then, in addition to the usual incentives, there is a delightful uncertainty as to the result of our examination, which greatly heightens our interest. We are to have an interview with a stran-

ger of lofty, but as yet unacknowledged pretensions. There is a chance that we may admire him, and there is also a chance that he may offend us. But whatever opinion we may form, it is to be our own. There is an opportunity to exercise our individual judgment. The voice of fame has not predisposed us to be charmed. The tribunal of taste has not made up a decision. Of Homer and Virgil, Dante and Tasso, Shakspeare and Milton, we had heard the praises from boyhood. The world had weighed and graduated their merits; and when we opened their works for the first time, it was with the feeling that no choice was left us; that we could not help subscribing to the universal sentiment. What millions and millions had ratified, we might not gainsay. If we failed to be enraptured, we must charge it to ourselves. There certainly were transcendent beauties, and if we did not perceive them, it must be the fault of our own feeble vision. This being the humiliating alternative, there could be little doubt that we should admire. We should feign delight if we did not feel it, and seem to have discrimination if we did not possess it. But not so with respect to new poems like this before us. We opened it with no prepossessions. We had never heard the author's name, until we saw an American edition of his work announced. We have since learned that he was a Scottish clergyman, of obscure birth and a feeble frame; that he wrote this poem while at the university, and never distinguished himself by any other production; and finally that he died prematurely at the age of twenty-eight.

The recollection of these facts should go to soften the severity of criticism, where, under other circumstances, severity would be just. Were the author living, we might reproach him with indiscretion and too much haste to be known. However noble the design, we might reasonably complain of the execution, which might have been greatly improved by retouching and revision. But now that Providence has interposed, it becomes us to be indulgent on this point; and to regard this almost juvenile production, rather as a bright indication of what Pollok would one day have become, had his life been protracted, than as a fair ground for any absolute decision respecting his character and abilities. Viewing it in this light, and judging from the impressions made upon ourselves by more than one perusal, we are induced to believe that a high place will be assigned him among the gifted sons of

song. If, like Chatterton, his life was often clouded and his death premature, so, like that lamented genius, we believe his name will be remembered and pronounced with eulogy. We should feel more diffidence in expressing this opinion, if we did not know that the work has already gone through several editions, both in Great Britain and in this country.

The subject is one of the most comprehensive that man ever chose. The title, though perhaps the most appropriate, is too indefinite to give us any distinct conception of the poet's design. The first lines we happened to read were the last of the poem, in which the bard sums up his narrative; and our immediate conviction may well be supposed to have been, either that the poet possessed an exalted genius, or that he had fallen infinitely below his theme.

‘Thus have I sung beyond thy first request,
Rolling my numbers o’er the track of man,
The world at dawn, at mid-day, and decline;
Time gone, the righteous saved, the wicked damned,
And God’s eternal government approved.’ p. 295.

No other poet has ventured upon a theme so vast. The design of Milton extended only to the fall of man. That of this writer embraces his whole history and final doom. It is, therefore, with the utmost propriety that he invokes Almighty aid, before commencing his daring flight. The following lines terminate his solemn invocation;

‘Hold my right hand, Almighty! and me teach
To strike the lyre, but seldom struck, to notes
Harmonious with the morning stars, and pure
As those of sainted bards, and angels sung,
Which wake the echoes of eternity—
That fools may hear and tremble, and the wise
Instructed listen, of ages yet to come.’

We wish the last two lines had been omitted. They have no congruity with those which precede or with the occasion, and sound too much like preaching. We mention this, because it is one of many instances, in which the poet has greatly injured the effect of an otherwise striking passage, by the introduction of a common phrase or a merely prosaic idea. In this particular, even more perhaps than in any other, the reader perceives his vast inferiority to Milton, with whom it is his special infelicity that his subject continually exposes him to be compared. With an imagination of uncommon resource,

he cannot be said to unite a very delicate perception of poetic beauty, or a nicely discriminating ear for the harmony of verse. In the 'Course of Time' there are single passages of beauty and power not often equalled. But, as we have already intimated, it is not uniformly well sustained. There are moments when the poet's inspiration seems to have forsaken him, and when the full forfeit is paid, of his boldness in the choice of such a theme. But we will not array these instances before the reader, for criticism is in a measure disarmed, as we before remarked, by the consideration that the poet himself might have corrected them, had opportunity been granted him.

The scene is laid in heaven, long after the inhabitants of this planet had received their final doom. The celestial paradise is represented as a vast plain surrounded by a tall range of hills. In the midst, towering to an almost immeasurable height, arises the Mount of God. On its summit, surrounded with ineffable glory, is seated the Eternal. The light which the heavenly inhabitants enjoy, is the radiance which beams from His countenance. But this radiance illuminates only the abodes of the blessed. Beyond the frontier mountains, 'in the vast external space,' are dimly seen, by the fainter light of their own suns, myriads of orbs performing their stupendous circuits with a harmony never disturbed, and which none but the inhabitants of that paradise can bear. On the top of one of these mountains, to which angels and saints resort for pastime, two heavenly youths are seen, intent upon observing those who arrive from the innumerable distant worlds, which throng the cloudless expanse. At length one approaches, whom having greeted with a holy welcome, they offer to usher into the presence of the King of kings. But observing an expression of anxious concern upon his countenance, that kind solicitude which such pure spirits feel even for strangers, prompts them to ask the cause. The whole answer to their inquiry may be taken for a specimen of the author's characteristic power. This emigrant from one of the remote worlds has never heard of earth or man. But during his journey to heaven, strong curiosity impelled him to deviate from his luminous path, and penetrate

'those nameless regions vast,

Where utter Nothing dwells, unformed and void.'

After a long, dark, and laborious flight, he reaches the place assigned for the punishment of earth's sinful inhabitants. Here

the description rises to a character of sublimity, which borders upon the horrible. The fiery adamant wall, the worm that never dies, eternal death, the incessant dashing of the infernal waves, the loud and ceaseless wailings of the damned, all these are conceived and expressed with a force, which even Dante, drawing from a fancy which was a magazine of horrors, may be thought to have scarcely surpassed. The impression made upon the stranger by these new and terrific objects, and the awful obscurity which veiled their design, were the cause of that melancholy shade which darkened his countenance. The two, with whom he now conversed, were unable to explain the mystery of these torments. But there was one, 'an ancient bard of earth,' to whom the whole history of man was known. To this bard, therefore, they introduce their new companion. The seat of the bard is surrounded with the most enchanting scenery; and we select the description as a proof how far the poet was endowed with a true feeling for natural beauty.

'Fit was the place, most fit for holy musing.
 Upon a little mount, that gently rose,
 He sat, clothed in white robes; and o'er his head
 A laurel tree, of lustiest, eldest growth,
 Stately and tall, and shadowing far and wide—
 Not fruitless, as on earth, but bloomed, and rich
 With frequent clusters, ripe to heavenly taste—
 Spread its eternal boughs, and in its arms
 A myrtle of unfading leaf embraced;
 The rose and lily, fresh with fragrant dew,
 And every flower of fairest cheek, around
 Him smiling flocked; beneath his feet, fast by,
 And round his sacred hill, a streamlet walked,
 Warbling the holy melodies of heaven;
 The hallowed zephyrs brought him incense sweet;
 And out before him opened, in prospect long,
 The river of life, in many a winding maze
 Descending from the lofty throne of God,
 That with excessive glory closed the scene.' p. 24.

In the second Book, this 'ancient bard,' complying with the request of the stranger, commences the history of man, which occupies the remainder of the poem; so that the poet no longer speaks in his own person. This arrangement is intended to give a unity to all that follows. As the narrative is

designed for the information of one who had never heard of the origin or destiny of man, many circumstances are properly introduced, which might otherwise appear trite or unnecessary. And as the narrator is one who had himself shared the passions and frailties of human nature during his earthly existence, upon which he now looks back through an almost infinite lapse of ages, it is natural that his memory should occasionally linger upon particular scenes of individual joy, or woe, or tenderness, the description of which furnishes specimens of genuine pathos. Of this character is the picture of faithful love, in the fifth book; where a lover, long absent in the service of his country, returns covered with glory, and finds her in whom he had 'garnered up his heart,' retired to a solitary spot whither they had been accustomed to resort, and pouring out her soul in fervent prayer for him. Another instance is that of the dying mother in the same book. This moving description closes with a simile of singular beauty. Speaking of the eyes of the dying mother, brightening to the last and then closing in death, the poet says,

'They set as sets the morning star, which goes
Not down behind the darkened west, nor hides
Obscured among the tempests of the sky,
But melts away into the light of heaven.' p. 140.

In this connexion, we are unwilling to pass over the following gorgeous description, in the same book, of the grandeur of nature, as displayed in her vast solitudes.

'Pleasant were many scenes, but most to me
The solitude of vast extent, untouched
By hand of art, where nature sowed, herself,
And reaped her crops;—whose garments were the clouds;
Whose minstrels, brooks; whose lamps, the moon and stars;
Whose organ-quire, the voice of many waters;
Whose banquets, morning dews; whose heroes, storms;
Whose warriors, mighty winds; whose lovers, flowers;
Whose orators, the thunderbolts of God;
Whose palaces, the everlasting hills;
Whose ceiling, heaven's unfathomable blue.' p. 128.

In what we have just said, we have departed from our immediate purpose, which was to present a general view of the conduct of the poem. The bard begins with an account of our first parents in their state of innocence, and then describes their fall and its consequences. This leads him to dwell at

some length upon leading doctrines of theology, especially upon original sin, native depravity, and atonement. The metaphysical and controversial character of the second book, prevents it from possessing so general an interest as most of the others. Yet there are detached passages, the power of which all must feel. One of these is in praise of the Bible ; a theme, which it is high honor to have made an approach towards treating well, since to do it justice the strongest language must needs be found inadequate. That which is inferior may be elevated by being compared with that which is superior, and hence bold imagery may dignify what is in itself humble. But that which is of all things most excellent and precious, may lose, and certainly can never gain, by being compared with any other thing. There are objects which impress us most forcibly, when set before us in their simple, unadorned majesty ; and when the poet endeavors to heighten their effect by lofty phraseology and rhetorical embellishment, he is in danger of making every addition a burden instead of a support to the idea. It is as if the proud titles that do honor to men, should be applied to that Being, whose shortest name expresses more than man can comprehend. We accordingly believe that the sublime truths of revelation, as well as the volume which contains them, are never to be approached by the poet, but with fear and trembling. All he can hope to do is to rise up to them, never to go beyond them or lift them up with him. They stand, by their own nature, at the farthest limit in the range of human thought ; and he who would sing them worthily, requires that his lips should be touched by a living coal from the altar. With regard to the peculiar doctrines and tenets wrought into this poem, we consider them as having no connexion with its merits. Whether the reader embrace them or not, he must respect the sincere and deep convictions of the poet, and unite with him in his supreme abhorrence of sin, and his fervent love of virtue and truth.

The almost boundless compass intended to be embraced in the ' *Course of Time*,' made it necessary for the poet to touch but slightly upon the Creation and Fall, the two great topics upon which Milton concentrated the whole force of his genius. In this respect Pollock has imitated the solemn brevity of the sacred historian, never substituting the light of his own invention, where the silence of Moses has left us in darkness. Perhaps he may have thought that the subject was too awful

for fiction ; for it is to be observed, that in all cases where he describes as past what is yet to come, he fixes a most rigid curb upon his fancy, and ventures no further than the prophetic intimations of Scripture seem to him to warrant. To this remark, the whole poem does not furnish an exception ; and we regard this folding up of the wings of invention, where flight would have been so hazardous, as an exercise of the soundest discretion. Milton, we know, is generally thought to have farthest exceeded all other poets in the power and grasp of imagination, when he dared to supply from his own invention, the momentous ellipses found in our world's first history. Nor do we dissent from this opinion. Still we may be permitted to regret one evil consequence that has followed from these interpolations, sublime as they unquestionably are. We sincerely believe that a majority of the readers of Milton make no distinction between what he has himself invented and what he has taken from the Oracles of truth ; and that if called upon to state what they know respecting the Creation and the Fall, they would unconsciously state more upon the authority of Milton than of Moses ; so indelible are the impressions left upon the mind by that inimitable work.

Having summarily described the origin and destiny of man, the bard proceeds to notice the great outlines of the human character. This is a difficult undertaking, since it requires an almost boundless exercise of the powers of generalization and abstraction. To paint, with distinctness and truth, the character of a single people in a single age, demands a combination of talents and acquirements, possessed only by one in many millions. What then shall we say of the attempt to bring together, into one contracted portraiture, the traits of all mankind in every age ? Pollock has made this attempt. His plan not only permitted but required him to do it ; and the picture is one, we were going to say, of mingled light and shade. But the dark tints are so many and so deep, compared with the light ones, that the whole may be likened to one blot. Satan, in the conception of Milton, though fallen, had still some noble qualities ; he was the ' Sun shorn of his beams.' But man, in the conception of Pollok, scarcely possesses one bright excellence. ' The trail of the Serpent ' covers all. Depravity cleaves to him in every aspect and in all circumstances. The successive generations are born to the inevitable heritage of corruption, and when they pass away, they leave it to their

children. This is the abstract of Pollok's history of man. From the day when the flaming sword was planted over Paradise, to the day when the flaming chariot of the final Judge appeared, evil was constantly prevailing over good, with a most fearful preponderance.

Now the question arises, Is this the view for a poet to take of human nature? As a tenet of religion we do not meddle with it. The poet may believe that men really are those unlovely and polluted beings, which they are here represented to be; but, we ask, need he call in the aid of poetry, to strengthen the impression of their utter unworthiness? Should he not rather employ this divine instrument, to make them appear less odious than they are? When the sculptor throws drapery over his statue, it is to heighten the effect of the nobler lineaments, by concealing those which are least graceful. In like manner, why should not the poet cover the vices of human nature under the folds of fiction, that its virtue may appear more striking and beautiful? Let those, whose vocation calls them to it, uncover the human heart, and expose the base passions and low desires that inhabit there. But the poet lies under no such uncompromising obligation. He is not compelled to do it by his fealty to truth, for fiction is his lawful prerogative. He cannot be tempted to do it, by the agreeableness of the subject, for who can feel complacency in vilifying a nature which he himself shares? And if his aim, in such representations, be to affect powerfully the feelings of the reader, let him remember that in exciting ever so strongly the feelings of disgust and abhorrence, he only effects what the mere exhibition of any loathsome object would do in an equal degree. But, as we have already said, Pollok was in a measure forced, by the plan he had chosen to mark out for himself, to exhibit human nature under a dark and repulsive aspect. He had conceived, for the punishment of men, a hell replete with all imaginable horror. How creatures could deserve such torments, was the question which perplexed the stranger, for whose information this account of man was given. To resolve this doubt, men must be represented as altogether bad. As in the case of the torturing bed of Procrustes, the victims must be fitted to their place of torture; and this required no moderate share of moral turpitude. If men were a shade less vile than this poem paints them, they would deserve a milder hell than it has furnished for them. The only way, therefore,

in which, with a due regard to consistency, mankind could have been represented in a more amiable light, would have been to make their place of punishment less hideous.

We have ventured to express an opinion, that the dark side of human nature is not the one which the poet should contemplate. In the real world, human vices and infirmities must be encountered ; otherwise earth would become heaven. But in the ideal world, we would escape from their contaminating presence ; and by conversing with purer, holier, lovelier beings, than are to be found on earth, we would faintly anticipate the joys of the Christian's heaven. It is true that another kind of poetry than this requires, has of late been fashionable ; and it owes its popularity to the influence of one mighty but corrupted mind. Byron endeavored to be a misanthrope ; and with the exception of those brief intervals in which he forgot himself, and allowed the nobler part of his nature to triumph over the baser, he succeeded wonderfully well. He rails at human nature and his fellow creatures, as if he were in solemn earnest in his hatred ; and if we are to take his heroes as illustrations of what he conceived mankind to be, we should justify him for all his sneers and maledictions ; for most of them are very devils in miniature. But unless we greatly mistake, these heroes are fast ceasing to be favorites in the fashionable world ; and Byron himself begins to be judged by the qualities of his heart, as they are displayed in his works ; and thus, by a retaliation which he might have foreseen, he is now receiving back from the world some portion of that contempt, of which he was so profusely lavish. And this is chiefly, we suppose, to be ascribed to his misanthropy. The individual feels insulted in the abuse of his species. The maxim, *Nil de mortuis*, is in a measure overruled. Men are not willing to show mercy even to the memory of him, whose life was passed in vaunting his scorn for them. The praise they yield him is extorted praise, and while the lips pronounce it, the heart protests against it. The memory of other poets, of vastly inferior powers, is cherished with far more fondness than his, merely on account of their benevolent and philanthropic views of human nature. Because they never vilified mankind, but, on the contrary, made the world appear better than it is, their memory has left a grateful fragrance behind it. When they are eulogized, it is without reservation, for the heart responds to the decision of the head.

Having been thus led to speak of Byron, we shall quote a portion of Pollok's description of him, which occurs in the fourth book. It perhaps deserves to be designated as the most powerful passage in the 'Course of Time.' Our limits will not permit us to give the whole of it.

'He touched his harp, and nations heard, entranced.
As some vast river of unfailing source,
Rapid, exhaustless, deep, his numbers flowed,
And opened new fountains in the human heart.
Where fancy halted, weary in her flight,
In other men, his, fresh as morning, rose,
And soared untrodden heights, and seemed at home,
Where angels bashful looked. Others, though great,
Beneath their argument seemed struggling whales;
He from above descending, stooped to touch
The loftiest thought; and proudly stooped, as though
It scarce deserved his verse. With Nature's self
He seemed an old acquaintance, free to jest
At will with all her glorious majesty.
He laid his hand upon "the Ocean's mane,"
And played familiar with his hoary locks.
Stood on the Alps, stood on the Appennines,
And with the thunder talked, as friend to friend;
And wove his garland of the lightning's wing,
In sportive twist—the lightning's fiery wing,
Which, as the footsteps of the dreadful God,
Marching upon the storm in vengeance seemed—
Then turned, and with the grasshopper, who sung
His evening song, beneath his feet, conversed.
Suns, moons, and stars, and clouds his sisters were;
Rocks, mountains, meteors, seas, and winds, and storms,
His brothers—younger brothers, whom he scarce
As equals deemed. All passions of all men—
The wild and tame—the gentle and severe;
All thoughts, all maxims, sacred and profane;
All creeds; all seasons, Time, Eternity;
All that was hated, and all that was dear;
All that was hoped, all that was feared by man,
He tossed about, as tempest, withered leaves,
Then smiling looked upon the wreck he made.
With terror now he froze the cowering blood;
And now dissolved the heart in tenderness;
Yet would not tremble, would not weep himself:
But back into his soul retired, alone,
Dark, sullen, proud; gazing contemptuously

On hearts and passions prostrate at his feet ;
 So ocean from the plains, his waves had late
 To desolation swept, retired in pride,
 Exulting in the glory of his might,
 And seemed to mock the ruin he had wrought.

‘ As some fierce comet of tremendous size,
 To which the stars did reverence as it passed ;
 So he through learning, and through fancy took
 His flight sublime ; and on the loftiest top
 Of Fame’s dread mountain sat ; not soiled, and worn,
 As if he from the earth had labored up ;
 But as some bird of heavenly plumage fair,
 He looked, which down from higher regions came,
 And perched it there, to see what lay beneath.’

‘ Great man ! the nations gazed, and wondered much,
 And praised : and many called his evil good.
 Wits wrote in favor of his wickedness ;
 And kings to do him honor took delight.
 Thus full of titles, flattery, honor, fame ;
 Beyond desire, beyond ambition full,—
 He died—he died of what ? Of wretchedness.
 Drank every cup of joy, heard every trump
 Of fame ; drank early, deeply drank ; drank draughts
 That common millions might have quenched—then died
 Of thirst, because there was no more to drink.
 His goddess, Nature, wooed, embraced, enjoyed,
 Fell from his arms, abhorred ; his passions died ;
 Died all but dreary solitary pride ;
 And all his sympathies in being died. ✓
 As some ill-guided bark, well built and tall,
 Which angry tides cast out on desert shore,
 And then retiring, left it there to rot
 And moulder in the winds and rains of heaven ;
 So he, cut from the sympathies of life,
 And cast ashore from pleasure’s boisterous surge—
 A wandering, weary, worn, and wretched thing ;
 Scorched, and desolate, and blasted soul ;
 A gloomy wilderness of dying thought—
 Repined, and groaned, and withered from the earth.’

pp. 112—115.

The description of man being finished, the bard approaches the awful subject of his final doom. Here he may well demand an angel’s lyre. The day of judgment, what mortal tongue can adequately sing ! The mind sinks under the over-

whelming sublimity of the idea. The assembling of the universe, the breaking up of nature, the countless retinue of angels, the blazing throne of judgment, and, last of all, the Judge himself; where is the language competent to such ideas! Yet Pollok has fearlessly approached them; and, it must be owned, has combined noble elements in the description. The morning of the last day dawned like that of other days. The sun moved upward in his golden path, without omen of change. All the tribes of men are represented as commencing, secure and unapprehensive, their accustomed employments. All this part of the description, being that of least difficulty, is executed unexceptionably. The picture is crowded, but yet the objects are distinct and vivid. But now comes the trial of the poet's strength. An angel in the midst of heaven has *sworn, that time shall be no more*. How shall the wreck of nature be described? The sun extinguished in his mid career; trees withered in their bloom; birds struck lifeless in their flight; rivers stayed in their rapid course; the tides of the ocean stopped; consternation seizing all the living, and earth and ocean yielding up their unnumbered dead; and then, when all the sons of men are brought together, the consummation of all things by the irrevocable sentence; the wicked driven to everlasting woe, the righteous conducted to the throne of God;—these are the closing topics of the poem. But if the reader has ever attempted to form to himself an image of this solemn winding up of the human drama, we fear he will be disappointed here. For the ideas are too vast and lofty to be expressed by words. In the mind, they rise and swell into undefinable magnitude and sublimity. But to clothe them in language would be like bounding infinitude. Strong language as this poet has made use of, we doubt not that the images existing in his own mind, were tenfold more vivid, and the conceptions immeasurably more grand, than they appear in his verse. And when he looked upon his work, and saw his thoughts thus narrowed down to the limited dimensions of the medium through which he must transmit them, we doubt not that he felt a painful consciousness, how poorly and impotently they represented what was at the moment passing before his imagination. Let us not be thought visionary or mystical in what we are saying. We speak of a fact, of the truth of which every man may find evidence in his own experience. Who has not been conscious of thoughts and feelings, which he could

not by any possibility express fully and perfectly to another? Words might convey some faint intimation of what they were, but their depth, their fulness, their integrity could not be communicated. Nor is this matter of regret. On the contrary, we rejoice that the mind is capable of thoughts, which nothing but consciousness can measure. All human modes of communication must have limits; but in the unutterable, the incommunicable emotions of the soul, we discern glorious evidence of its immortal nature.

We shall close this article by citing the following description of the Ocean, where summoned to cease the heaving of its billows and render up its dead. We ought not, however, to allow the passage to pass without a protest against the ungrammatical form of the second person singular.

‘Great Ocean too, that morning, thou the call
Of restitution heardst, and reverently
To the last trumpet’s voice in silence listened!
Great Ocean! strongest of creation’s sons!
Unconquerable, unreposed, untired;
That rolled the wild, profound, eternal bass,
In Nature’s anthem, and made music, such
As pleased the ear of God. Original,
Unmarred, unfaded work of Deity;
And unburlesqued by mortal’s puny skill.
From age to age enduring and unchanged;
Majestical, inimitable, vast,
Loud uttering satire day and night on each
Succeeding race, and little pompous work
Of man. Unfallen, religious, holy sea!
Thou bowedst thy glorious head to none, fearedst none,
Heardst none, to none didst honor, but to God
Thy Maker—only worthy to receive
Thy great obeisance. Undiscovered sea!
Into thy dark, unknown, mysterious caves,
And secret haunts, unfathomably deep,
Beneath all visible retired, none went,
And came again, to tell the wonders there.
Tremendous sea! what time thou lifted up
Thy waves on high, and with thy winds and storms
Strange pastime took, and shook thy mighty sides
Indignantly—the pride of navies fell;
Beyond the arm of help, unheard, unseen,
Sunk friend and foe, with all their wealth and war;
And on thy shores, men of a thousand tribes,

Polite and barbarous, trembling stood, amazed,
 Confounded, terrified ; and thought vast thoughts
 Of ruin, boundlessness, omnipotence,
 Infinitude, eternity ; and thought,
 And wondered still, and grasped, and grasped, and grasped
 Again—beyond her reach exerting all
 The soul to take thy great idea in,
 To comprehend incomprehensible ;
 And wondered more, and felt their littleness.
 Self-purifying, unpolluted sea !
 Lover unchangeable ! thy faithful breast
 For ever heaving to the lovely moon,
 That like a shy and holy virgin, robèd
 In saintly white, walked nightly in the heavens,
 And to thy everlasting serenade
 Gave gracious audience ; nor was wooed in vain.
 That morning, thou, that slumbered not before,
 Nor slept, great Ocean ! laid thy waves to rest,
 And hushed thy mighty minstrelsy. No breath
 Thy deep composure stirred, no fin, no oar ;
 Like beauty newly dead, so calm, so still,
 So lovely, thou, beneath the light that fell
 From angel-chariots sentineled on high,
 Reposed, and listened, and saw thy living change,
 Thy dead arise. pp. 195—197.

ART. V.—1. *Proceedings and Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Baptist General Convention, at their meeting held in New York, April, 1828.*

2. *A Discourse on the Occasion of Forming the African Mission School Society, delivered in Christ Church in Hartford, Conn. on Sunday Evening, Aug. 10, 1828.* By J. M. WAINWRIGHT, D. D., Rector of Grace Church, New York. Hartford, 1828.

WE have perused these publications with the interest that belongs to the cause of missions, and missionary achievement. And we make use of the occasion to call the attention of our readers to a subject of increased, and increasing importance, to a large and respectable portion of the community ; we allude to the efforts which have been made for the spread of

knowledge and Christianity, among the native tribes within our own territorial boundaries.

More than three hundred years have now elapsed since Columbus first set foot upon the little island of Guanahani, in the New World. And the great moral problem which then began to be discussed, the civilization and conversion of the natives, though materials have been accumulating for its solution, cannot be said to have been satisfactorily solved. It is still questionable whether tribes thus situated can be brought within the pale of civilized and Christian communities by any other means than those, which, operating through the silent and imperceptible influence of general example, continued through long periods of time, converted the rude and warlike hordes of Northern Europe, into statesmen, scholars, and divines. That the well directed efforts of zealous individuals and societies to eradicate error and implant truth (had we evidence that any analogous efforts were made in their case) would have accelerated their emancipation from the bonds of ignorance and superstition, cannot admit of a doubt. And there can be as little question of the policy and effects of sending men of education and practical wisdom, to teach our own wandering and barbarous tribes.

Arguments to enforce the expediency of the measure must be worse than useless, since it is acknowledged by the enlightened of all nations. It has always appeared to us, that the whole question remaining in relation to missionary enterprise, is one which respects the *mode of operation*, the time and place, condition and circumstances of the tribe, the efficiency of the means and their application, and those numerous points of administration and discipline, which present themselves at the outset, and attend every stage of the undertaking. And that these particulars are much more difficult in the adjustment, than is generally supposed, may be inferred from the length of time, and the amount of means and labor, devoted to the object, compared with the known practical results.

To every unprejudiced observer, the tribes that still exist, as tribes, within the forests of North America, seem as far from appreciating the advantages of European manners and customs, maxims and morals, and certainly as far from acknowledging the importance of the Christian dispensation, as were the haughty and spirited cotemporaries of Powhatan, or Miantonomoh. We speak in general terms, and without any

intention to conceal partial instances of better success, wherever they have existed, or may still exist.

These people still retain their primitive theology, a belief in one, great, over-ruling Being, who is, in some of the languages, styled Universal Father, and in others, Great Spirit, Master of Life, Creator or Maker; and in a counteracting Spirit, who concentrates in himself the powers and dispositions of an enemy of the human race, and is hence denominated Bad Spirit. Subordinate spirits are supposed to exist; and there is a general belief that all classes of spirits may be propitiated by sacrifices, such as the fumes of tobacco, or a portion of food cast into the fire. Bits of scarlet cloth, or other esteemed articles, and sometimes a dog hung upon a pole near the dwelling, are also among the number of propitiatory offerings. Magic and sorcery are extensively believed in; and their whole system of medicine (apart from the surgical art) is little more than a system of magic, operating through certain visible signs, which are endowed with the property of causing or curing diseases, mental and physical.

The habits of the hunter and warrior are undoubtedly adverse to the acquisition of book-knowledge, though not particularly so to the introduction of verbal Christianity, and its rites. For, roam as far as he will, the Indian returns periodically to his village, and has his particular and appropriate seasons of feasting and fasting, and, so to speak, religious observances. And Christian duties and discipline, could he be persuaded that they would be equally propitious to the fortunes of his life, might be observed effectually during these periodical intermissions from the chase.

With opinions and customs thus open to the advance of missionary reasoning, and withal a strong bias to penitential feeling, it is matter of surprise that the labors heretofore employed, have produced effects so disproportionate. We propose briefly to advert to the origin and progress of these labors, among our own tribes, in which the French, the English, and the Americans have each participated. And it may be safely said, that they came to the task without having derived any aid from the course pursued by their predecessors in this interesting work in Spanish America.

Wherever the Spanish power manifested itself, among the native inhabitants, a rapid declension of numbers and a state of absolute servitude ensued. The rapacity of gain quenched all the noble aspirations of the soul, and cruelty and misery kept an equal pace with conquest and discovery. Cortez in

Mexico, and Pizarro in Peru, afforded only preëminent examples of a reckless spirit of avarice, which were followed by hundreds of inferior actors in the great drama.

As respects the conversion of the new found tribes to Christianity, whatever may have been felt and desired by certain noble-minded Spaniards from the era of Columbus and Las Casas, it was a secondary object with those entrusted with the administration of affairs, and, like all secondary objects, was often liable to be lost sight of altogether. Those whom the sword spared, were doomed to the mine, or the plantation. And such as were attracted to the altar found themselves in a situation, in which they must address thanks to their bitter oppressors, and supplicate the divine mercy in their favor. That rapid conversions did not take place, under such circumstances, is not surprising. That any accessions should have been made to a church sanctioning such injustice, is rather to be wondered at. Great success was, however, reported by the Catholic priesthood. What this success would have amounted to, had the tests of a Protestant conversion been required of their catechumens, is very doubtful.

But an easier task was set before them. When they had been taught to make the sign of the cross, to kiss the crucifix, and to kneel before the shrine of the Virgin, or some tutelary saint, three essential points of the conversion were accomplished. The history of the Spanish missions affords full testimony, that the baptized natives were allowed to enter the chapel with their drums and rattles, and dance round the altar after the manner practised by their ancestors, and the same which may be observed among the North American Indians at the present day, in their *wabenos*, and other national or mystic dances. But what beneficial effect was produced upon their minds and hearts, by these external observances, is not very clear.

Whether the profession of a religion thus easy in its requisitions, led to the reported triumphs of the Catholic missionaries of New France, or whether their Algonquin and Huron converts had, in reality, taken up a new faith, cannot now be satisfactorily determined. But there is too much reason to believe that the good fathers, in their overweening zeal, went at least half way to accommodate themselves to the existing institutions and manners of the Indians. A Jesuit skilled in the doctrines of *next power* and *probable opinion*, as illustrated by Pascal,* could

* Provincial Letters.

not long hesitate in suggesting conscientious expedients to reconcile Indian idolatry and superstition with the profession of Christianity. And the miracles ascribed to the Iroquois Virgin 'La Bonne Cathérine,' as detailed by Cholence and Charlevoix in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, are sufficient to show, to what means they were willing to resort, to increase the number or settle the faith of their nominal converts.

That zeal, and devotion, and perseverance, such as the Jesuit missionaries evinced, were attended with some useful fruits, is undoubted. But while they were enforcing the observance of the decalogue, and the ceremonies of the Romish ritual, their countrymen, who traversed the Indian country in pursuit of the fur trade, were setting the example of unrestrained licentiousness. Example became more powerful than precept, and they, who were not able to restrain their own countrymen, had not much chance of putting a moral curb upon lawless warriors and hunters. Hence the severe remark of Denonville, 'Those with whom we mingle do not become French, but our people become Indians.'

Kind and indulgent they were to the Indians, palliating their faults, and observing, themselves, many of their ceremonies. And up to this hour, there are no people in America, who pay the same degree of respect and deference to Indian customs as the Canadian French. And hence it cannot excite surprise that the Indians should revert with a fond remembrance to the period of French domination. Whatever effects certain theorists may impute to climate, the French character for courtesy seems not to have deteriorated in the frigid latitudes of the Canadas.

'They please, are pleased; they give to get esteem;
Till seeming blest, they grow to what they seem.'

But we shall not stop to trace the course of the Jesuit missions in this division of the continent, contenting ourselves with the remark, that among most of the tribes with whom they labored and suffered a century ago, few traces beyond the bare tradition of the fact, remain to attest the piety and perseverance with which they devoted themselves to the work.

A hundred and twenty-eight years after the discovery of America, the *Mayflower* landed her adventurous band of Pilgrims on the bleak, snow-clad rock of Plymouth, two months later in the season than Columbus had touched at the Lucayos, and in a latitude of comparative inclemency. They were re-

ceived in a friendly manner by the natives, and their earliest efforts were directed to acquire and perpetuate a friendship, upon which their existence for many years depended. And considering the numerous points of collision that must naturally have arisen between two races of men, so diverse in their manners, and thus suddenly brought into close contact, it is evidence of capacity for self-government on the part of the Pilgrim fathers, that, for more than half a century after their landing, their good understanding with the natives was not interrupted by any act of general hostility. It was the policy of those early times, whenever cause of complaint arose, to settle it by prompt negotiation, and above all, to prevent any combination for purposes of hostility among the various tribes.

The war with the Pequots under Metacam, commonly called Philip, broke out in 1676, and continued three years. The defeat and death of this chieftain gave the first effectual blow to the Indian power in New England. During the latter part of this contest, hostilities also broke out with the Narragansets, their former allies, who had refused to join Philip at the commencement. A tribe which, at the era of the landing, could muster five thousand warriors, was still a formidable enemy; but by delaying to take up the hatchet till the Pequots had been crushed, the Narragansets entered single-handed upon a war, for which the colonists were prepared. Had they supported Philip, says Hubbard, 'it would, according to the eye of reason, have been very difficult, if possible, for the English to have saved any of their inland plantations from being utterly destroyed.'

After some partial successes, the Narragansets were attacked in their favorite position, and defeated with a loss of seven hundred warriors, besides three hundred who died afterwards of their wounds, without estimating their families.* They continued to wage a desultory warfare, however, till the capture of their chief Canonchet, who was carried to Stonington, and shot by two young chiefs of the Mohegan and Pequot tribes. From this period we may date the preponderance of power on the side of the Colonists. It is not necessary for our purpose, further to notice the events of this, and the subsequent wars, which, although they continued to retard the New England settlements, no longer put their existence in jeopardy.

* Mather's *Magnalia*.

About nine years of peace (but not of security) after the Pequot and Narraganset wars, were succeeded by ten of open hostility, bringing down the time within two years of the close of the seventeenth century. In 1702 hostilities were resumed, and notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht of 1713, by virtue of which they should have ceased, they were not terminated till 1725, the close of the Old French war, so called. In 1744 open hostilities again broke out, and scenes of plunder and scalping were renewed upon the frontiers, and continued with more or less activity till the peace of 1763, by which the Canadas were ceded to the British crown. Twelve years of feverish peace terminated in the war of the American revolution, and this being conducted by the British authorities of Canada with the virulence of a family quarrel, in which all the right was assumed to lie on the side of the parent, Indian hostility received a new impetus; and more murders and burnings and scalpings were crowded into the short space of seven years, which preceded the definitive peace of 1783, than were probably known within double that time, during any prior era since the settlement of the country.

It thus appears that during the century that elapsed from the beginning of the general and final Pequot war of 1676, to the declaration of American Independence, the Colonists had not only been able to defend themselves from the almost uninterrupted attacks of the natives, but had so far increased in numbers and resources as to risk a contest with the parent state. During all this time, the feelings created by a state of hostility, the wants and cares of new settlements, and their straitened means, were not favorable to missionary efforts. Yet it was during these early times that Mayhew preached, and Eliot translated the Bible; and there appears to have been but little intermission, at least from 1630, in the labors of pious and benevolent individuals to better and reclaim their aboriginal neighbors.

In 1643 Roger Williams published in London his 'Key to the Language of America,' the result of his observation among the Indian tribes 'wherever English dwell, about two hundred miles between the French and Dutch Plantations.' This is probably the earliest tract upon the New England languages extant, and is a curious and valuable document to the philologist. But it seems to have been regarded by the author in no other light than as affording the means of converting the tribes by

whom this language was spoken. His vocabulary of words and phrases, which is clearly of the Algonquin type, was collected chiefly among the Narragansets, with probably some intermixture of Pequot and Mohegan. 'There is a mixture of this language,' he observes, 'north and south from the place of my abode [Providence] about six hundred miles; yet within two hundred, aforementioned, their dialects do exceedingly differ; yet not so, but, within that compass, a man may by this help converse with thousands of natives all over the country. And by such converse it may please the Father of mercies to spread civility, and, in his own most holy season, Christianity; for one candle will light ten thousand, and it may please God to bless a little leaven to season the mighty lump of those peoples and territories.'

He found them tractable, of ready apprehension, kind and hospitable; believing in a Great Spirit, and other subordinate spirits, and that the souls of men and women, after death, would go to the Southwest; to which quarter their traditions pointed as the source whence they derived their corn, and whence all their temporal blessings emanated. The account he has preserved of their manners and customs, opinions and observances, is sufficient to show, how very little change a hundred and eighty-five years have effected in the manners, opinions, and ceremonies, and even in the *condition*, of the remaining tribes of this stock. So strong is this resemblance, that, striking out names and dates, entire pages of his descriptions, and (with slight changes) of his examples of the language, might be transferred to the affiliated tribes, who, at this day, occupy the borders of the upper lakes and the sources of the Mississippi.

As respects what he terms 'that great point of their conversion, so much to be longed for, and by all New English so much pretended, and I hope in truth,' he speaks with a degree of caution suited to inspire respect for his judgment and veracity. 'For myself, I have uprightly labored to suit my endeavors to my pretences; and of later times (out of a desire to attain their language) I have run through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea. Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to the other.' 'I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another, of their lost, wandering condition. I

know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them, and their desires uttered that way. I know not with how little knowledge and grace of Christ, the Lord may save, and therefore neither will despair, nor report much.'

It is much to be regretted that all writers of the seventeenth century, Protestant as well as Catholic, have not evinced equal caution and discrimination in their reports and descriptions of the apparent conversions among the native tribes, and their supposed avidity to embrace, at once, the doctrines of Christianity and the practices of civilization. It should be borne in mind, that these passages were written at a time when (as Roger Williams remarks) the following questions were in the mouths of all men; 'What Indians have been converted? What have the English done in those parts? What hopes of the Indians receiving the knowledge of Christ?' and when 'an edge' had been put to the question 'from the boasts of the Jesuits in Canada and Maryland, and especially from the wonderful conversions made by the Spanish and Portugals in the West Indies.'

Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Natick dialect was printed at Cambridge (Massachusetts) in 1663, and was subsequently reprinted at the same place in 1685. He appears to have been fifteen years employed on the work, including the previous acquisition of the language. He began to preach about 1646, and five years afterwards the first church of 'Praying Indians' was established at Natick. About this time other churches were gathered together from various tribes. And we find, a few years afterwards, the names of Cotton, Gookin, Thatcher, and others, mentioned by Mather, as persons actively engaged in the work of converting the Indians; besides the Mayhews, father and sons, the former of whom had in fact commenced preaching at Martha's Vineyard, some years before the establishment of the congregation at Natick.

Commissioners sent out by the king in 1665, who were enjoined, among other duties, 'to make due inquiry what progress had been made towards the foundation and maintenance of any college, or schools for the education of youth and the conversion of Infidels,' reported, as Hutchinson states, 'that there was at Cambridge a small fabric of brick for the use of the Indians, built by the corporation in England, in which there were then eight Indian scholars, one of whom had been admitted into college; that there were six towns of Indians in

the jurisdiction, professing the Christian religion, and that they had schools to teach the youth to read and write, and persons appointed to instruct them in civility and religion.*

In 1675 Sausaman, a Pequot, who had been educated for the ministry, was assassinated on a mission to his native tribe, not so much, it would seem, on account of his doctrines and reproofs, which were, however, unpalatable to Philip and his coadjutors, as from the belief that he acted the part of a spy.

In a letter from Dr Increase Mather to Professor Leusden at Utrecht, in 1687, he states that there were then 'six churches of baptized Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens professing the name of Christ;' that there were four English ministers who preached the gospel in the Indian tongue, and 'four and twenty' native preachers.†

Dr Dwight, in referring to this period of active missionary labor among the Indians, states, on the authority of Gookin, that there were in Massachusetts colony 1100 praying Indians, in Plymouth colony nearly 6000, in Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket about 1500, and in Connecticut a sufficient number to bring the sum total 'not far from ten thousand.'‡

In later times, extending through the remainder of the seventeenth and the long and fearful wars of the eighteenth century, strenuous efforts continued to be made, by the inhabitants of Old, as well as New England, for improving the condition of the Indians. And the writers of those times have left copious and minute accounts of these efforts, and the various success which attended them. The formation of separate societies, by royal charter, in England and Scotland in 1701 and 1709, having this object in view; the preaching of Sergeant and Brainerd; and the arduous exertions of Dr Wheelock, which resulted in the establishment of Dartmouth College, primarily with a view to the education of Indian youth,—are sufficient to show, that the obligations of our forefathers to reclaim and enlighten the wandering sons of the forest, were fully felt and acknowledged. Nor was the defeat of their efforts in one quarter, sufficient to deter them from making the attempt in another. They evinced in this, as in other concerns, a resolution, and a patient and careful adaptation of means to ends, which have

* History of Massachusetts. † Magnalia.

‡ Travels in New England, Vol. iii, p. 87.

stamped a practical character upon their times. Nor should we doubt the contemporary evidence which has survived in print, that much good was effected, and much evil prevented. Making every allowance for exaggeration and overwrought zeal, it is hardly to be questioned, that some of the reported conversions were real, and that Indian converts died in the hope of a happy resurrection through the faith of the gospel. The establishment of schools and churches, the dissemination of the precepts of a pure religion, and the examples of piety, order, and religious sobriety set them by numerous gifted individuals, aided by the severe exterior of puritanical morals in the whole people, must have inspired many a contrite and heart-broken warrior with Christian sentiments and feelings.

Of this triumph of the American church, ecclesiastics have written, and poets have sung. Even so late as 1810, the following lines were deemed a fair inference from an inspection of the missionary authors.

‘Where roll Ohio’s streams, Missouri’s floods,
Beneath the umbrage of eternal woods,
The Red Man roved, a hunter-warrior wild;
On him the everlasting gospel smiled,
His heart was awed, confounded, pierced, subdued,
Divinely melted, moulded, and renewed;
The bold, base savage, nature’s harshest clod,
Rose from the dust the image of his God.’

But, apart from the transient and partial triumphs of the period, what permanent and general benefits have resulted to the Indian population of America, from these pious and benevolent exertions? Fame is still pursued as the acme of earthly felicity, and vengeance remains a settled prerogative of individual prowess. Where are the children of the eighty thousand souls* who inhabited the territory of New England alone, on the landing of the Pilgrims? Most of them were numbered with their fathers, before the close of the seventeenth century. A few still survive upon small and solitary reservations of their ancient patrimony,† like those rays of the sun which linger behind, after the setting orb has sunk beneath the horizon.

* Gookin.

† According to a schedule attached to Mr Monroe’s Message, in 1825, on the state of the Indians, 2526 Indians live in 11 villages or reservations, in the states of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

The physical supremacy of the wasted tribes is past away, no more to be renewed. Whether it be possible to fulfil the wishes of philanthropy for the miserable remnant, by shedding moral and spiritual illumination upon their minds and hearts, is a point of more uncertainty.

And the questions which have been so often asked, during the last two centuries, still recur, with a force in some measure proportioned to our extended population and increased means. What steps can be taken to avert the fate which menaces the extinction of our aboriginal population? What measures are best adapted to improve their condition? What well grounded hopes of their being made partakers of the Christian dispensation? And we confess these questions do not admit of a ready solution. It is much easier to declare what has been done, or attempted to be done, than to pronounce, with any degree of certainty, what ought to be done, to secure these important ends. The renewed experiments which are now making upon our frontiers to introduce schools and churches, and teach the natives husbandry and the mechanic arts, as they are made upon a more extended scale and with increased means, promise greater success than those of any former period. The age is peculiarly favorable to efforts of this kind. A noble spirit of philanthropy is awake. Missionaries and teachers are piercing the deepest recesses of our western forests; and missionary houses are rising to cheer and illuminate wastes, where paganism and idolatry have held undisputed sway for centuries. It is a totally new feature in the capacity of the Indian mind, that one of the tribes has invented a system of alphabetical notation, and set up a printing press. On the final success of these exertions, it would be premature to decide, and we shall therefore, in the words of Roger Williams, 'neither despair, nor report much.'

The *difficulties* attending the task, as stated by Brainerd,* whose success entitled him to speak with some authority, may be reduced to the following heads, preserving his order of arrangement.

1. *The influence of bad example set the natives by the white population in their immediate neighborhood.* In specifying instances under this head, he takes no notice of the im-

* Edwards's Life of Brainerd, published by the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. Lond. 1818. See Appendix. p. 498.

moderate use of ardent spirits, which has become so formidable an obstacle at the present day ; although it is evident, from his journal, that this use prevailed to an alarming extent.

2. *Their strong attachment 'to the customs, traditions, and fabulous notions of their fathers'*; which lead them, among other absurdities, to believe, 'that it was not the same God made them, who made the white people.' He also attaches much importance to the pernicious influence of Wabenos and Jossakeeds, or what he denominates 'powwows,' who are supposed to have the power of enchanting, or poisoning, &c.

3. *Their erratic and dispersed state*, inducing habits which are unfavorable to stated preaching, and leading to long intervals of time, during which they roam the forests without restraints of any kind.

To counteract these influences, and to displace savage modes of acting and thinking by the knowledge of letters and religion, is the task, the more than Herculean task, set before us. We cannot command greater piety or devotion than were directed to the object in the last century. But we may hope to command as great, with means and opportunities more auspicious. And it would ill become us, under any circumstances, to be cast down. That charity, which 'hopeth all things,' that faith, which 'can remove mountains,' may bring about ends, which appear both difficult and distant.

For ourselves, we are free to declare, that we have no faith in the preaching to adult Indians, while they remain hunters and warriors. Consequently we deem any measures of removal, or future location, which are fitted to perpetuate their present habits, as hostile to the object. Any changes which it may be in our power to effect in the condition of Indian society, must be of slow growth, and to ensure permanency they must be general. Half a dozen educated Indians, placed among six or eight hundred in a rude state, will be much more likely, upon the ordinary scale of probabilities, to retrograde into barbarism, than to exalt and reclaim their countrymen. And we think the experiments which have been made from the respective eras of Eliot and Wheelock are in favor of the former result. It is not often that native chieftains possessing the influence of a Philip or a Pontiac, can be expected to appear ; and when they do, experience teaches us, that their talents will be exerted rather to preserve and renovate the warlike habits and traditionary rites of their people, than to induce them to listen to the schoolmaster and preacher.

It is not so easy to transform the habits and manners of a whole people, as certain theorists may imagine. And of all people 'under the sun,' our North American tribes seem most firmly attached to practices and opinions, which constitute the distinctive traits of their character. They hate the very idea of labor, and do not separate the idea of a laborer from that of a slave. Freedom constitutes the *beau idéal* of their existence, though it be that kind of freedom, which is enjoyed amidst poverty and wretchedness. Whatever enslaves the mind enslaves the body. This seems to be sufficiently understood among them, and is doubtless one cause of their repugnance to the principles of Christianity and the practices of civilization, which equally impose a system of moral discipline, and physical restraint, very formidable to the mind of a simple hunter.

Another impediment to success may, we think, be found in the limited talents and acquirements, both literary and practical, of some of the laborers to whom, in our own times, the momentous task of civilization and conversion has been committed. Visionaries and enthusiasts have nowhere accomplished much. Practical sound sense is important in this office as well as practical piety, and, if it be possible, the two should never be separated. In the judgment of all Christians, the hope of special works of divine grace, does not dispense from steady and continued exertions on the part of men. The sense that judicious means are to be judiciously pursued, does not exclude, but rather justifies reliance upon extraordinary interpositions of Providence. We speak on this subject, not without having had opportunities of personal observation upon the field of missionary labor; and, were it not invidious, we could cite instances of persons engaged in these high and holy offices, who are not preeminently qualified

'To raise the genius, and to mend the heart.'

The Indian seldom thinks, but when he is compelled to think, and then he is not slow to suggest plausible arguments to fortify himself in heathenish practices. We may be permitted to inquire, Is it just that persons should be licensed to preach the gospel to *Indians*, who would not be deemed suitable or promising candidates to preach among the whites? Can it be expected that he, who is not capacitated to engage the attention of European society, where the doctrines of Christianity are generally acknowledged, should succeed with cavilling Indians,

disposed to controvert first principles? And is such a course dealing fairly with a community, whose sympathies have been excited, and whose contributions have been drawn forth, for the spiritual and moral welfare of the wandering and impoverished tribes that still linger upon our extensive frontiers? We make these strictures without personal asperity, and with the sincerest wishes for the promotion of a great and good end.

ART. VI.—*Definitions in Political Economy ; preceded by an Inquiry into the Rules which ought to guide Political Economists in the Definition and Use of their Terms, with Remarks on the Deviation from these Rules in their Writings.* By the REV. F. R. MALTHUS, A. M., F. R. S., A. R. S. L., Professor of History and Political Economy in the East India College, Hertfordshire. 8vo. pp. 261. London. 1827.

ALTHOUGH we have not the honor to agree with Mr Malthus in his theory of Population, and even entertain doubts of the truth of some of the principles advanced in his treatise on Political Economy, we have been pleased with the candor and urbanity which in general distinguish his writings. The work before us is by no means entirely deficient in these valuable qualities, but it is marked, we think, by a little more asperity towards persons of a different opinion than we have observed in those which preceded it. Whether it be that the frequent attacks made upon the system on which the author's philosophical reputation principally rests, have led him to fear that the ground is shaking under him, and disturbed in some degree the serenity of his humor ; or whether (for either supposition is perhaps equally tenable) a constantly increasing confidence in his peculiar theories induces him to look with diminished toleration on the supposed errors of opponents ; certain it is, that we find in the treatise before us an occasional display of bitterness not exactly proportionate to the nature and aggravation of the offences, and an air of superiority not always perhaps sustained by a corresponding strength of argument. Without meaning to attach too much importance to these superficial blemishes in the style of an eminent philosopher, we

shall nevertheless lay before our readers one or two specimens of the defect in manner to which we allude, before we proceed to remark upon the substance of the work. In the following passage, Mr Malthus while controverting certain opinions advanced by Mr M'Culloch, uses some expressions which we think hardly consistent with the respect due from the Professor at the East India College to the Professor at the London University.

‘The tendency of some of our most popular writers to innovate without improving, and their marked inattention to facts, leading necessarily to differences of opinion and uncertainty of conclusion, have been the main causes which have of late thrown some discredit on the science of political economy. Nor can this be a matter of much surprise, though it may be of regret.

‘At a period when all the merchants of our own country, and many in others, find the utmost difficulty in employing their capitals so as to obtain ordinary profits, they are repeatedly told that, according to the principles of political economy, no difficulty can ever be found in employing capital, if it be laid out in the production of the proper articles; and that any distress which they may have suffered is exclusively owing to a wrong application of their capital, such as “the production of cottons, which were not wanted, instead of broad-cloths which were wanted.” They are further gravely assured that if they find any difficulty in exchanging what they have produced for what they wish to obtain for it, “they have an obvious resource at hand; they can abandon the production of the commodities which they do not want, and apply themselves directly to the production of those that they *do* want, or of substitutes for them;” and this consolatory recommendation is perhaps addressed to a merchant, who is desirous of obtaining by the employment of his capital at the ordinary rate of profits, such an income as will enable him to get a governess for his daughters and to send his boys to school and college.

‘At such times, assertions like these, and the proposal of such a remedy, appear to me little different from an assertion, on supposed philosophical principles, that it *cannot* rain when crowds of people are getting wet through, and the proposal to go without clothes in order to prevent the inconvenience arising from a wet coat. If assertions so contrary to the most glaring facts, and remedies so *preposterously ridiculous* in a civilized country, are said to be dictated by the principles of political economy, it cannot be matter of wonder that many have little faith in them. And till the theories of popular writers on political economy cease to be in direct opposition to general experience; and till some steadiness is given to the science, by a greater degree of care among its pro-

fessors not to alter without improving,—it cannot be expected that it should attain that general influence in society which (its principles being just) would be of the highest practical utility.’

Some of these expressions, we say, appear to us quite as strong as the occasion would require, whether Mr M'Culloch be right or wrong on the point at issue; but even these do not satisfy the zeal of Mr Malthus, who complains in a note, that he can find no language sufficiently powerful to express his feelings.

‘I own I want words to express the astonishment I feel at the proposal of such a remedy. A man under the intoxication of what he conceives to be a new and important discovery, may be excused for occasionally making a rash statement; but that a proposal directly involving the discontinuance of the division of labor should, in a civilized country, be repeated over and over again, by succeeding writers and considered as an *obvious resource* in a sudden fall of profits, absolutely passes my comprehension. What a strange and most inapt illustration too is it to talk about the possessors of broad-cloths wanting to change them for silks! Whoever heard of a great producer of any commodity wishing to obtain an equivalent for it in some *one* other sort of completed commodity? If he is to produce what he wants, it must not be silks but raw materials, tools, corn, meat, coats, hats, shoes, and stockings, &c. &c. and this is the *obvious resource* which is at hand in a glut.’

The language employed by Mr Malthus in these passages would perhaps be considered by most readers as unnecessarily emphatic, supposing him even to be in the right upon the point at issue. Without pretending to decide authoritatively between the two learned disputants, we must nevertheless add that, on our view of the subject, Mr M'Culloch has the best of the argument. The principle to which Mr Malthus takes exception—if we understand the matter rightly—is, that an excess of production in one department of labor regularly produces a transfer of a part of the capital employed in it to some other, which transfer after a while corrects the evil, and equalizes the demand and supply. This proposition is, we believe, as generally admitted by competent judges as perhaps any other within the compass of the science, and may be viewed in fact as one of its elementary axioms. The evidence of it is not, as we conceive, at all invalidated by the objection suggested by Mr Malthus in the first of the above extracts. It is not meant by Mr M'Culloch, that each of the persons who

abandon the production of the commodities which they do not want, and apply themselves directly to the making of those that they *do* want—is to supply in future *all* his own wants by his own personal labor. He does not mean, for example, that if the business of navigation and commerce should happen to be overdone and some of the persons engaged in it should withdraw their capital from it, each of them would afterwards be his own butcher, baker, tailor, bootmaker, and governess. The division of labor would continue to exist as before. Of the persons withdrawing their capital from navigation and commerce, one would invest it in the woollen fabric, another in that of cotton or iron, a third in agriculture, and a fourth in some mechanical art. In each of these branches of business profits, by the supposition, are higher than they were in navigation. Those persons who from the low rate of profits realized in navigation were unable to employ governesses and tutors, having transferred their capital to a line of business in which it yields the ordinary rate of profits, are now at their ease, and are able to indulge themselves in these luxuries, or any others that may suit their condition.

The proposition to remedy the excess of production in one department of labor by a transfer of a part of the capital employed in it to others, appears to us, therefore, a much more reasonable one than those with which Mr Malthus compares it, namely, the assertion that it *cannot* rain at a time when crowds of people are getting wet, or the proposal to go without clothes in order to prevent the inconveniences arising from a wet coat, which, by the bye, as we are told by Humboldt, is the precise method adopted by some of the natives inhabiting the Spanish Missions in South America.* If a person should deny that there was an excess of production at a time when many individuals were notoriously suffering in consequence of it, his error might no doubt be compared to that of one who should assume that it did not or could not rain at a time when crowds were getting wet; but in the case before us no one, we be-

* 'En rencontrant les naturels hors de la Mission nous les vîmes, surtout par un tems de pluie, dépouillés de leur vêtemens et les tenant roulés sous le bras. Ils aimâient mieux recevoir la pluie sur le corps tout nu, que de mouiller leurs vêtemens. Les femmes les plus vieilles se cachèrent derrière les arbres, en jetant de grands éclats de rire lorsqu'elles nous virent passer.' *Humb. Voy.* vol. iii, p. 287. édit. in 8vo.

lieve, denies the possibility of a temporary excess of production in one or more departments of labor. Mr M'Culloch and other writers, in pointing out the way in which such an excess naturally corrects itself, admit of course the possibility of its existence. In the same way, a person who should recommend as a remedy for such a temporary excess in a particular branch of business, that a part of the capital employed in it should be withdrawn and left entirely inactive, might be compared to one who should recommend a return to the completely unsophisticated state of nature as a remedy for the inconvenience of an occasional wet coat. But in the case before us, no one recommends that the capital withdrawn from the line of business in which production is excessive, should be left inactive. The remedy proposed is, on the contrary, that it should be employed in some other line, where it will afford higher profits, and thus enable its possessor to enjoy his usual comforts. It is therefore, to keep up the simile of our author, as if we should advise a man who, from having accidentally got his coat wet, could no longer derive from it the comforts usually afforded by such a garment, to take it off and put on a dry one. We cannot think that the remedy is in either case so 'preposterously ridiculous' as Mr Malthus is pleased to represent it, and we are even compelled to give it as our opinion, that the very strong language used by him upon this occasion—which, were he even in the right, would be rather ungraceful—is not sustained by a corresponding correctness of principle.

The following passage affords another example, though in a less degree, of the same unnecessary emphasis in forms of expression. A dispute appears to have grown up among the economists of the mother country upon the question, whether a person who carries goods to market for sale does it for the purpose of getting the money for which he expects to sell them, or the other goods which he means to buy with the money after he has got it. If for instance (and the case we understand has really occurred) a citizen of New Hampshire catch a large salmon on the Merrimac river early in the season, sell it in Boston market for two dollars a pound, and invest the proceeds in a good yoke of oxen, the question is, whether his object in making the sale was to procure the oxen or the two dollars a pound. Mr Mill and many other writers affirm that his intention is to get his money's worth. Mr Malthus as stoutly maintains that his object is the money itself.

‘The hop-planter who takes a hundred bags of hops to Weyhill fair, thinks little more about the supply of hats and shoes than he does about the spots in the sun. What does he think about, then? and what does he want to exchange his hops for? Mr Mill seems to be of opinion, that it would show great ignorance of political economy to say that what he wants is money; yet, notwithstanding the probable imputation of this great ignorance, I have no hesitation in distinctly asserting that it really is money which he wants, and that this money he must obtain in the present state of society, in exchange for the great mass of what he has brought to market, or he will be unable to carry on his business as a hop-planter; and for these specific reasons; first, that he must pay the rent of his hop-grounds in money; secondly, that he must pay for his poles, his bags, his implements, &c. &c., in money; thirdly, that he must pay the numerous laborers which he employs on his grounds during the course of the next year, in money; and fourthly, that it is in money and in money alone of all the articles brought to the fair, that he can calculate his profits.

‘It is perfectly true that both the landlords and the laborers who are paid in money will finally exchange it for something else, as no one enjoys money *in kind* except the miser; but the landlord who may spend perhaps a good deal in post-horses, dinners at inns, and menial servants, would be little likely to accept from the hop-planter the articles which he could get at the fair in exchange for his hops; and though the expenditure of the laborer is much more simple, and may be said to consist almost entirely in food and clothing, yet it is quite certain that the power of commanding a given quantity of labor can never be represented with any approach towards correctness, by a given quantity of corn and clothing. As a matter of fact, the laborer in this country is paid in money; and while it often happens that for many years together the money price of labor remains the same, the money price of corn is continually altering, and the laborer may perhaps receive the value of twice as much corn in one year as he does in another.

‘What an entirely false view then does it give of the real state of things, what a complete obscuration instead of illustration of the subject is it, to represent the demand for shoes as determined by the supply of hats, or the demand for hops by the supply of cloth, cheese, or even corn. In fact the doctrine that one half of the commodities of a country necessarily constitute an adequate market or effectual demand for the other half, is utterly without foundation. The great producers, who are the great sellers, before they can venture to think about the supplies of hats, shoes, and cloth, on which perhaps they may expend a tenth part of

what they have brought to market, must first direct their whole attention to the replacing of their capital, and to the question, whether, after replacing it, they will have realized its profits. Whatever may be the number of intermediate acts of barter, which may take place in regard to commodities, whether the producers send them to China, or sell them in the place where they are produced; the question as to an adequate market for them depends exclusively upon whether the producers can replace their capitals with ordinary profits, so as to enable them successfully to go on with their business.

The tone employed in this passage is, we think, too decisive not to say intolerant, supposing even Mr Malthus to be in the right. The heresy of his opponents—if such it be—is apparently harmless. To say that the object of a hop-planter in carrying his hops to Weyhill fair, is to procure hats and shoes for his wife and children, seems to us to be a proposition which, even if erroneous, is fraught with no very dangerous consequences to the public; and the warmth of manner with which our author repels it, reminds us of the comic indignation employed by the logician in the play at the *frightful, execrable, and abominable* expression of the *form of a hat*. We must also add, that while we disclaim as before any pretention to decide between these great rival authorities, we must honestly confess that, as far as we can trust our feeble judgment on a point of this importance, our author is with all his confidence clearly in the wrong. It is possible that a hop-planter, while conveying his hops to Weyhill fair, may not be thinking directly about hats and shoes, although in point of fact we believe it to be true that a cultivator who carries agricultural produce to the fair or the market does generally bring home a considerable part of the proceeds of it in manufactured articles for the use of his family; and this being the case, we see no reason why his reflections on the road should not turn upon his intended purchases, as well as on his intended sales. But admitting, for argument's sake, that the money, which is doubtless the first, is also for the moment the exclusive object with the hop-planter, it is nevertheless certain, that it is considered by him as a desirable object merely because it is the representative of hats, shoes, beer, and the other articles which he habitually consumes,—that if he could not exchange it for these articles he would not consider it as a desirable object, while these articles would be equally desirable, were there no such thing as money in existence. From these plain, and, as we suppose, incon-

trovertible considerations, it does seem to us to follow, that the purpose which the hop-planter really has in view, is that of exchanging his hops for hats, shoes, beer, stockings, petticoats, tortoise-shell combs, and other articles of rural comfort or luxury, and that money merely intervenes as an instrument to facilitate this exchange. Mr Malthus suggests, that it would be difficult for the hop-planter to pay his rent in hats and shoes, and that although these articles would answer the purpose of his laborers nearly as well as money, yet that the money price of them is a good deal more variable than that of labor, and that he might often be a great loser by employing them instead of cash in the payment of wages. Now if our author merely meant to affirm, that the precious metals are from the great comparative steadiness of their value a convenient medium of exchange, and may be usefully employed as such in the transaction of all economical business, we should readily concede the point, which would also, we imagine, not be contested by any person, tolerably well versed in the first elements of political economy. But the object of Mr Malthus in assuming that a hop-planter, while carrying his hops to Weyhill fair, is thinking no more of hats and shoes, than of the spots in the sun, and that his whole mind is bent on money, is not, as we understand it, to prove that money is a better medium of exchange than hats and shoes,—a proposition which nobody would dispute,—but to prove that the quantity of hops which the planter can dispose of is not determined by the quantity of hats and other articles that are brought to market at the same time. Mill and most other writers assert, that, in proportion as there are more persons ready and willing to give hats, shoes, &c. for hops, or rather for beer (which is the form under which they consume them), more beer will be called for, and consequently more hops wanted to make it. In a more general phrase, the demand for hops is determined by the supply of hats, shoes, and other articles; or still more generally, the amount of production in one department of labor bears a regular proportion to that which takes place for the time being in all the rest. Mr Malthus (we believe he is nearly or quite alone in his opinion on this subject) warmly denounces this proposition as *épouvantable, effroyable, exécrable*, an ‘entirely false view of the state of things’—a ‘complete obscuration instead of illustration of the subject’—a ‘doctrine utterly without foundation.’ But how does he refute this very dangerous

and alarming heresy? Simply by assuring us, as we have seen, that money is steadier in its value, and of course more suitable for a circulating medium than almost any other article; a well known truth, but one which has not the most remote bearing on the subject. It is quite clear, that what the hop-planter might lose at one time, by exchanging his hops for hats and shoes instead of money, an account of the greater fluctuation in the value of those articles, he would for the same reason gain at another, and that his situation would on either supposition be in general substantially the same.

Mr Malthus afterwards suggests, that the object of the great producer is not to procure hats and shoes for himself and his family, upon which he may not perhaps lay out a hundredth part (or as our author more rhetorically expresses it, *the tenth part of a tenth part*) of his products, but to replace his capital with ordinary profits. This time, at least, the object is not money, but capital, that is, as our author himself describes it in the same connexion, machinery and materials; so that we do not exactly see how Mr Malthus reconciles this new suggestion with his former unhesitating assertion, that money, and money alone, is what the hop-planter wants, and what he must have. Although the hop-planter may not be thinking of hats and shoes, yet if he be thinking of tools and raw materials, he is clearly not thinking of money. Without dwelling on this inconsistency, which is, however, palpable, we may remark that the only way in which a man can replace his capital with ordinary profits, is by exchanging his produce either directly or by the aid of some circulating medium for the produce of an equal amount of labor under some other form, that is, in the present case, by exchanging his hops for hats, shoes, and other articles. The distinction which Mr Malthus seems disposed to take between capital and other articles, that is, between articles intended to be used in reproduction, and those intended for immediate consumption, does not appear to us to bear upon the present question. The quantity of machinery and raw materials, or capital, which a hop-planter wants, depends upon the quantity of hops which he can raise with profit, and this, in turn, upon the quantity of hats, shoes, and all other articles, which are offered in exchange for beer; so that the extent to which he can replace capital with profit, which determines the extent of his production, is itself determined by the extent of the production of the ordinary articles

of consumption intended for the same market. Mr Malthus intimates, apparently with a view of supporting his objection, that a capitalist may send a part of his products to the other side of the globe; but this fact tends, we think, to confirm rather than invalidate the principle, since it shows that in the present state of commerce, the world itself is to a certain extent one great market, and that the amount of production in Europe is regulated in some degree by that which takes place in Asia, Africa, and America, and *vice versâ*. Because a brewer in London sends a part of his porter to the West Indies to pay for the sugar, rum, and coffee consumed by himself and his neighbors, does it follow that the quantity of porter which he can afford to brew is not regulated by the amount of hats, shoes, rum, sugar, coffee, &c. in the market? It is easy to see that the conclusion is exactly the reverse. The more extensive we suppose the mutual influence of the different branches of industry carried on through the world to be, the more evident will be the principle, that the amount of production in any department is regulated by that which takes place at the same time in all others.

But we had nearly forgotten, in following out these trains of thought, that we are still upon the threshold of the work, and have not yet distinctly made known to the reader its nature and object. Our purpose thus far has principally been to indicate a defect in the author's manner, which we have the rather been induced to do, as it forms an unfavorable contrast with that which has generally prevailed in his former productions. It may seem ungracious to commence by pointing out faults, but as the error in question is merely of a superficial kind, it appeared more natural to dispose of it, before we took in hand the substance of the treatise. Without attaching too much importance to any merely external qualities, we confess that we estimate very highly the advantages of conducting philosophical discussions in a cool, good-humored, and polite manner; and we feel it a sort of duty to notice any deviation from propriety in this respect, in the works of a writer whose high reputation naturally holds him up to others as a model.

It appears from the Preface to the little treatise now before us, that Mr Malthus has been for some time past impressed with the opinion, that the obscurity and uncertainty, which, as he says, overhang the science of political economy, are mainly owing to an incorrect use of language by the contemporary

writers on this subject. He conceives that, if the meaning of the most important terms could be clearly stated and generally agreed upon, there would be but little danger of any further dispute upon principles, and that the world would be relieved from the scandal of seeing the most distinguished doctors in the science at swords' points about the most familiar practical truths. The present essay is a well meant effort to aid in the accomplishment of these desirable objects. It consists of a series of chapters, in which the author successively points out the errors in the use of language, that have been committed by the French economists, by Adam Smith, by Messrs Say, Ricardo, Mill, M'Culloch, and by the author of 'A Critical Dissertation on Value;' and afterwards undertakes to correct these errors by furnishing himself a list of definitions of the most important words that occur in economical discussions.

Agreeing, as we do, with our author in the opinion that there is a good deal of confusion and obscurity in most of the economical works of the day, and satisfied, as we also are, of the great importance of correctness and precision in the use of language, we are yet free to confess, that we greatly doubt whether the method of preliminary definitions, which Mr Malthus recommends by precept and example, be the best that can be adopted for remedying the evil of which he complains. A definition, as we understand the matter, must always be substantially the statement of an acknowledged and settled principle. Whether for example we define the *sun* as a luminous body, about half a yard over, that appears in the eastern part of the horizon, passes gradually over our heads, at a great distance from us, and at night disappears in the west; or whether we define it, on the principles of the Newtonian philosophy, as a vast globe situated in the centre of the system to which our planet belongs, we suppose in either case that the facts are admitted, and our only object is to intimate that they are signified by a certain word. If the correctness of either the popular or Newtonian theory be disputed, we cannot determine the controversy by defining the word according to one or the other system, but must do it by an appeal to facts. If, on the other hand, the facts are agreed upon, the more or less imperfect use of language by particular writers will have little or no effect in rendering them doubtful. We incline, therefore, to reverse the order of cause and effect supported by Mr Malthus in undertaking the present work, and

instead of attributing the uncertainty of the science to the incorrect use of language by the popular writers, we should rather attribute their faults to the uncertainty of the science. Let a great truth be once fairly settled, and it soon becomes familiar to all. Different individuals enunciate it with different degrees of correctness and elegance as respects the forms, but all make themselves understood. The silliest girl at a boarding-school (as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* somewhat indiscreetly expresses himself) could instruct Tycho Brahe or Ptolemy in the theory of the solar system. But if facts are still doubtful, and principles unsettled, the same words must, in the nature of things, be used by different writers in different senses; and an attempt by any one writer to induce others to use them in the sense which he prefers, is, in substance, an attempt to induce them to receive, upon his authority, principles of which he cannot satisfy them by his logic. If we suppose it to be doubtful whether the Newtonian or the popular theory of the universe be correct, it is quite evident that a writer who should undertake to force the former upon the public in the shape of definitions would fail in his purpose. The work now before us, we conceive to be substantially an attempt of this description, and we therefore doubt whether it can produce much effect. Nothing short of the bold speculations of Copernicus and Kepler, backed by the rigorous and complete demonstrations of Newton and Laplace, could have fixed the science of astronomy; and with all the respect that we feel for Mr Malthus, we must venture to suggest to him, that if he means to render a similar service to political economy, he must do it by observation and argument, and not by definition.

But although a series of definitions, however excellent as such, could never be of much use in fixing a science, they might, if well drawn up, serve at least to elucidate the peculiar opinions of their author, and enable the public to judge more accurately of their correctness. We have some doubts, however, whether the work of Mr Malthus will answer even this purpose; and we are compelled to say, that even assuming the truth of all his principles, we do not think the statement given of them, in his definitions, peculiarly just or happy. In fact, the framing of a good definition demands a rhetorical and not a philosophical talent, and although Mr Malthus be in the main a very good writer, his turn of mind and habitual occupa-

tions have doubtless led him to cultivate philosophy rather than rhetoric, and to attend to things more than forms of expression. When he follows out naturally the train of his thoughts, he generally expresses himself with perspicuity and correctness; but when he sets about the purely rhetorical operation of formal definition, he succeeds very ill in bringing out his meaning. He seems, indeed, to have a very indistinct notion of the qualities, in which the merit of a good definition consists. 'In all definitions,' he remarks, 'the same meaning may be conveyed in different language; and it is the meaning rather than the mode of expression, that should be the main object of consideration.' Now it is quite obvious, on the contrary, that in a definition, considered as such, the meaning is of no importance whatever, and the form of expression every thing. A word, of which the meaning is unknown and unsettled, cannot be defined. The meaning is therefore in all cases given or assumed, and the object of the definition is to express this given meaning with precision and exactness. In this respect the definitions contained in the present work are far from being faultless, and are indeed among the most remarkable specimens of looseness and inaccuracy of style, that we recollect to have lately met with.

The very first on the list, which is that of *wealth*, will serve to illustrate the truth of these remarks. It appears from other passages in the work, that our author's notion of the meaning of this term is substantially correct. Thus he remarks very justly, that 'when Adam Smith says that a man is rich or poor, according to the quantity of the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life which he can command, he gives a most correct definition of wealth.' Let us now compare with this most correct definition, the one which stands at the head of our author's list.

'WEALTH. The material objects, necessary, useful, and agreeable to men, which have required some portion of human labor to appropriate or produce.'

Independently of the inelegant and even ungrammatical structure of this definition, it not only varies materially from that of Smith, which the author has pronounced to be most correct, but wholly omits the leading and only important idea conveyed by the term, which is also distinctly expressed in the other. This idea is obviously that of *quantity*. The definition given by Malthus is a circumlocutory and rather awkward equivalent

for the more familiar and intelligible phrase, 'necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life,' which is employed by Smith. But the mere possession of the necessities and comforts of life, or of 'the material objects necessary, useful, and agreeable to man, which have required some portion of human labor to appropriate or produce,' does not constitute wealth. The poorest man possesses these as well as the richest, and the only difference between the two in this respect is, that the latter is able to command a large quantity of them, and the former only a small one. *Wealth*, as correctly defined by Adam Smith, is therefore the power of commanding a *large quantity* of the necessities and comforts of life, and our author, in omitting entirely the notion of quantity, has in fact omitted the very essence of the definition. It is rather remarkable that most of the contemporary writers, although they differ a good deal among themselves in the terms of their definitions, have all fallen into this error. But while they omit the only important idea conveyed by the term, they all inquire very curiously, and dispute very warmly among themselves upon the questions, whether wealth do or do not include immaterial as well as material objects, and if material objects, those which are not the produce of human labor, as well as those which are. These controversies appear to us to reflect but little honor on the sagacity and good sense of the disputants, and resemble too nearly the frivolous debates that occupied the cloisters of the middle ages. But however this may be, it is obvious that they are irrelevant to the definition of the term *wealth*. The questions to which we have alluded, if they in fact deserve the name of questions, would be, when properly stated, whether *wisdom and virtue* (immaterial objects, that are useful and agreeable) on the one hand, or *light and air* (material objects, not the produce of labor) on the other, be or be not, in the correct use of language included under the phrase *necessaries and comforts of life*. In whichever way the point might be settled, the definition of *wealth* would remain the same. It would always signify an abundance of the necessities and comforts of life, the particular articles of which these are composed being left for the moment entirely out of view.

So imperfectly has Mr Malthus succeeded in expressing his own correct notions of the meaning of the term *wealth*. Another proof of his want of precision in the use of language, which occurs in the same connexion, may be found in his

anxiety to guard his readers against confounding the terms *wealth* and *value*. After giving a definition of *value*, which, though clumsy, and indeed almost unintelligible, appears to be an attempt to express what is in fact the proper meaning of the term, he adds ;

‘ Value is distinguished from wealth, in that it is not confined to material objects, and is much more dependant upon scarcity and difficulty of production.’

He even accuses Adam Smith of occasionally confounding these terms, remarking that ‘when Adam Smith says that a man is rich or poor according to the quantity of labor which he can command, he evidently confounds wealth with value.’

Some of the other modern writers appear to be equally anxious to guard against this dangerous confusion, and the author of ‘A Critical Dissertation on Value,’ upon which Mr Malthus bestows a good deal of attention, has a separate chapter on *The Distinction between Riches and Value*. Now we beg leave to ask, how it is possible for any one at all accustomed to a correct use of language, or indeed for any person of common education, to confound the meaning of the words *wealth* and *value*. Who, except Mr Malthus and his brother economists of the new school, ever imagined that they could be supposed to mean the same thing? Certainly not the illustrious author of the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ one of the most correct and elegant writers, as well as just and powerful thinkers, that ever appeared. Synonymous terms may be substituted for each other, without altering the sense of the phrase with which they are connected. But who would think of saying that the great work to which we have just alluded might be called, without altering the meaning of the title, ‘An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the *Value* of Nations?’ Who, that was at all acquainted with the English language, would think that he could say indifferently, *the value of this book is five dollars*, or *the wealth of this book is five dollars*. It is quite clear that a writer, who should for a moment deem it possible to confound the two terms, must have a very loose and inaccurate notion of the meaning of one if not both.

The definition of *value* given by Mr Malthus, and to which we have already alluded, is in fact, like that of *wealth*, a curious example of the obscurity that may be thrown over a word, which every body understands perfectly, by an attempt to explain it in philosophical language. Mr. Malthus, like all

the rest of the world, knows well enough what is meant by *value*, and when he uses the word naturally in the course of his composition always uses it correctly ; but when he undertakes to define it, his efforts are not only wholly unsuccessful, but so awkward and laborious as to be almost ludicrous. His definition is as follows.

‘VALUE. The relation of one object to some other or others, in exchange, resulting from the estimation in which each is held.’

Now we greatly doubt, whether a person to whom this definition should be presented without the key, would know what was meant by it. By *the relation of one object to another in exchange*, our author probably intends the capacity of one object to exchange for another ; but in endeavoring to express himself in an abstract and philosophical way he has failed completely in making himself understood. *Relation in exchange*, or *relation of objects in exchange*, are phrases which, if interpreted according to the proper use of the terms, signify nothing. They border too nearly on the refined and elegant style of Mrs Malaprop. Compare now with the above definition, the one given in the ‘Wealth of Nations.’

‘The value of an object, in exchange, is the power of purchasing other goods given by its possession.’

With this simple and satisfactory (though not in form wholly unexceptionable) explanation of the term by the master of the science before his eyes, it is really singular that Mr Malthus should have supposed himself to be promoting the progress of truth by substituting another definition, and such another as the one which he has proposed.

We may add here, that our author has not in our opinion been more fortunate in his attempt to improve the theory of Dr Smith upon the *measure of value*, than in the above effort to amend his definition of the term. It is maintained in the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ as our readers are aware, that labor is the real measure of value, that the capacity of objects to exchange for each other depends upon the quantity of labor respectively laid out upon them, and that every object will always command the same quantity of labor which was employed in its production. If it require, for example, two days’ labor to make a hat, and also to make a pair of shoes, a hat and a pair of shoes will exchange for each other, or will possess equal value, and each will purchase two days’ labor, or any other articles which it requires the labor of two days to produce. These

principles approve themselves to the common sense of every judicious reader, and have been generally admitted for half a century by intelligent men. The somewhat hypercritical acumen of our contemporary economists has detected various supposed errors in this as in many other parts of the work of Dr Smith. Some of these writers affirm, for example, that there is and can be no such thing in nature as an invariable standard or measure of value, and that the worth of labor fluctuates as much as that of any other article. This may be considered as, on the whole, the prevailing opinion at the present day. Mr Malthus rather inclines to admit the theory of Smith, but not without some alterations and improvements of his own, which he considers as being of essential importance. Labor is in general a correct measure of value, but the value of particular objects is determined not by the quantity of labor only, but by the quantity of *labor and profits* invested in them, or employed in their production. If a man purchase a quantity of cotton which is the produce of a hundred days' labor, and employ himself for a hundred days in making it into cloth, the cloth (leaving out of view, in order to simplify the question, the cost of the machinery) will be equal in value, on the theory of Dr Smith, to the ordinary product of two hundred days' labor, and will purchase this amount of labor, or the product of it in money or any other article. Not exactly so, says Mr Malthus; for in order to know the real value of the cloth, you must add to the two hundred days' labor the interest on the value of the cotton for a hundred days. The weaver, when he purchases the cotton, advances the value of it, which is equal to the ordinary product of a hundred days' labor, and he will lose by the operation unless he replace his capital with ordinary profits, and also receive the ordinary produce of his own labor for a hundred days. Hence the sum total of the value of the cloth must be equal to the ordinary produce of three hundred days' labor, and not of two, and it will purchase this amount of labor, or its product in money or any other article.

This objection, which, if well founded, would destroy the simplicity and beauty of the theory of Dr Smith, and which may appear at first view in some degree plausible, is easily shown to be without foundation. The weaver who, by laboring a hundred days, has realized the ordinary product of that amount of labor in money, and exchanges it for cotton, obtains

in the cotton the full reward of his previous labor. His account is balanced, and he has nothing more to expect for his past exertions. He now works a hundred days more in making his cotton into cloth, and obtains, at the end of that time, a quantity of cloth equal in value to the ordinary produce of two hundred days' labor. With this he replaces his cotton, and retains the ordinary product of a hundred days' labor as the reward of his own labor for that time. What more then has he to wish or expect? He has wrought two hundred days, and he has received the ordinary produce of the labor of two hundred days. If he were to receive in addition the ordinary produce of a hundred days' labor, under the name of interest on advances, he would realize the product of three hundred days' labor, after having wrought only two. His profit would exceed the common rate, and competitors would engage in the same business, until the balance were restored. It is clear, therefore, that the value of the cloth, and in general of all articles, is fairly measured by the quantity of labor employed in their production, without making any allowance for profits on advances made for materials or machinery employed in the production. The error of Malthus apparently results from an indistinct notion of the meaning of the word *profits*, which he seems to consider as a sort of spontaneous product of capital entirely independent of the labor bestowed upon it, and over and above the product of this labor. In reality, *profits* are the returns which a man receives for the labor he employed upon his own stock or capital, as *wages* are the returns of his own labor employed upon the stock of others, and *interest* his share of the returns of the labor of others employed upon his stock placed in their hands. It seems quite clear that he cannot employ his capital himself, and place it in other hands at one and the same time. How then can he receive both profit and interest on the same capital? To replace capital with ordinary profits is to obtain from the labor employed upon it a return which will replace it, and leave as profits an amount equal to the ordinary produce of the same quantity of labor. It is not necessary or possible that any capital can yield in addition another return under the name of interest on advances, for the plain reason just intimated that no capital can be employed in two different ways at the same time; and that, if it remain in its owner's possession and yield profit, it cannot also be out of his possession and yield interest. These

considerations appear to us not only quite incontestible, but almost too familiar to require being mentioned; yet it is for want of having noticed them, that our author has brought forward his objections to the luminous theory of Dr Smith on the *measure of value*.

The rest of our author's definitions are generally not much superior in precision and perspicuity to those which we have quoted, and are, in our opinion, of little or no value. We deem it unnecessary to examine them in detail. The real defect of the work, as we remarked before, lies in its plan. A science which is completely settled, and no longer a subject of dispute, may conveniently, for certain purposes, be digested into a list of axioms. But while principles are still unsettled, definitions are obviously impossible, and when we find a writer proposing them precisely as a remedy for this unsettled state of the science, which precludes the possibility of their existence, we are tempted to suspect that he has not defined very exactly in his own mind the meaning of the word 'definition.'

We have been induced to notice this work, which is in itself of no great importance, and has excited little or no sensation in England, in order to give our readers a specimen of the general power of reasoning exercised by Malthus upon the topics which habitually engage his attention, and thus enable them to judge what probability the mere authority of his name ought to give to his theories on population, independently of the direct arguments, by which they are supported.

While writing this article, we have received the *Edinburgh Review* for September last, and we avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the subject we are treating, to notice a passage in the article on *Prussian Political Economy*. The reviewer commences by remarking, that his author, M. Schmalz, a privy counsellor in the service of the king of Prussia, does not appear to be acquainted with the great discoveries in political economy that have been made in England within the last fifteen years, and which have given a new aspect to the whole science. He concludes by intimating, that ignorant as the Prussians may be in this respect, it would be doing them great injustice to compare their commercial system with that of the United States, and affirms, in so many words, that the late tariff is ruinous to the best interest of the people, and disgraceful to the intelligence of the Congress of this country.

Without entering at large into a defence either of the state of political philosophy in Prussia, or of the act of our government to which the reviewer alludes, we cannot but remark that the tone in which he speaks of both appears to us to be liable to the objections which we made at the commencement of this article, to that adopted by Mr Malthus in some passages of the work before us. The reviewer expresses himself, in our opinion, in too overbearing and decisive a way. Admitting him to be as much in the right as he supposes himself to be, in regard to both classes of his opponents, it is nevertheless certain, that the north of Germany, and particularly Prussia, the country of the Jacobis and Schleiermachers, the Kants and Fichtes, the Humboldts and the Schlegels, whatever other faults it may be charged with, has rarely of late been reproached with *ignorance* of any branch of abstract science. We may say perhaps with confidence, that Berlin and Königsberg are on a level, in point of scientific information, with Edinburgh and London. If then the great discoveries in question have not been adopted in the former quarters, is it certain that the reason lies in the ignorance of the Germans, who are proverbially ignorant of nothing, and not in the errors of the British, who may possibly for once be mistaken? As respects the intelligence of the Congress of the United States, it does not of course belong to Americans to fix precisely the reputation of their own government as compared with others; but we cannot help thinking that the general decorum that marks the proceedings of the public functionaries, and the respectful language habitually employed in their intercourse with foreign states, entitle them in turn to expect common civility from a foreign reviewer, who may have occasion to find fault with any of their measures. Politeness and decency have their value as well as truth; and we may add that if the object of the journalist be to propagate his opinions in this country and in Prussia, he will probably succeed much better by employing a civil and conciliatory tone, than by indulging at the outset in contemptuous and insulting language.

But waving this point, which is merely formal, we would also take the liberty of suggesting to the reviewer, that it might perhaps be expedient for the economists of Great Britain, before they treat foreign nations with so much harshness for not adopting their systems, to agree among themselves in the first place about what these systems are. Mr Malthus, the

acknowledged founder of the new school of political economy, informs us in the present work, that it is as yet in a very distracted state. He calls up one after another of the most distinguished among his disciples, and takes them all to task in no very measured terms. The harsh phrase *preposterously ridiculous* is, as we have seen above, levelled at professor M'Culloch, one of the luminaries of the train. If common fame report truly the names of the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*, this ponderous missile must have been aimed at a point not very remote from the head of the author of the article on *Prussian Political Economy*. On the other hand, the disciples of the philosopher of Hertfordshire make pretty free at times with their master, and are all at daggers' drawing among themselves. What then becomes of the great discoveries of the last fifteen years? or how has the aspect of the science been changed, otherwise than by the substitution of acknowledged confusion and obscurity, for the state of comparative certainty in which it was left by Adam Smith, in our opinion the only writer upon it in the language of any real value? When the British economists shall have settled among themselves what their theories are, it will be time enough, as we just remarked, to complain of strangers for not adopting them; and it will even then be too early for an anonymous journalist to treat foreign governments of respectable standing with offensive rudeness, and accuse whole nations of disgraceful ignorance, upon no better ground than that they differ in opinion upon their own affairs with him and his club. We shall not at present enter into a defence of the tariff, against the vague and sweeping denunciations of this reviewer; but should he, as he promises, return to the charge in a future number, we may perhaps improve the opportunity to offer some remarks on the *American Economical System*, which, with all our respect for the doctors on the other side of the water, will, we think, for our purposes at least, bear a comparison with that which the British, very disinterestedly no doubt, are disposed to recommend to us.

ART. VII.—*Histoire de la Louisiane et de la Cession de cette Colonie par la France aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale ; précédée d'un Discours sur la Constitution et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.* Par M. BARBE-MARBOIS. Paris. 1829.

It is so rare to receive from Europe a work of interest and value on the United States, that we have peculiar pleasure in bringing to the notice of our readers a performance on that subject, sanctioned by such a name as that of the Marquis de Marbois. This gentleman has long been known, both in France and America, for his eminent talents, and the important stations which he has filled. Sixty years ago he commenced his public career, and during a large portion of the period since that time, he has been employed in the service of his country. His name and deeds are intimately blended with the events of the American Revolution. To no person are we more indebted for the good understanding which existed between this country and France after the ratification of the alliance ; for although he acted in a subordinate capacity to that of M. de la Luzerne, the French minister to congress, who was also friendly to the interests of the United States, yet it is well known that Marbois was the principal agent in the most important operations of the embassy. At the close of the war, Luzerne returned to France, and Marbois was left in his place, which he filled till he was appointed governor of St Domingo. At the time of the Directory we find him in Paris among those, who voted against the measures of that body, and who were rewarded for this courageous exercise of their prerogative by a banishment to Cayenne. He remained in exile two years and a half. Under the consulate he was minister of the treasury, and after the second restoration he became minister of justice.

The Marquis de Marbois is now first president of the *Cour des Comptes*, a station of dignity, responsibility, and application, which demands much of his time ; and, notwithstanding his advanced age, he is also one of the most active members of the house of Peers, constant in his attendance, and taking a lively interest in all the political movements of the day. He has nevertheless found leisure for other inquiries, not immediately connected with his pursuits, and by no means common to persons of any rank or profession in the old world. The

fruits are seen in the work which he has just published, and which, we do not hesitate to say, contains a wider knowledge and more accurate views of the government, institutions, progress, and political history of the United States, than any other which has appeared from a European hand. This is not high praise, perhaps, when we consider in what manner these topics, whether through real or affected ignorance, have been usually treated on the other side of the Atlantic. We will therefore add, that, although the author touches upon a great number and variety of subjects, relating to our civil and political condition, we know not how he could have been more accurate in his facts, or just in his reflections, or enlightened in his opinions, even if he had lived among us, and gathered his materials from their immediate sources; and the citizen of the United States must be a very fastidious patriot indeed, who is not charmed with the tone of candor and spirit of liberality, which everywhere pervade his remarks. A few years ago M. de Marbois wrote an account of Arnold's conspiracy, containing such authentic particulars as he had collected in America at the time of that event, and also many judicious observations on the revolutionary history and the government of the United States.

The present work is divided into four parts, the first of which is a discourse on the constitution of the United States, with reflections on its principles, operation, and results. Secondly, a brief sketch of the history of Louisiana, both under the French and Spanish domination, from the time of its discovery till the treaty of cession to the United States. Thirdly, a history of the formation of that treaty by M. de Marbois on the one part, and Mr Monroe and Chancellor Livingston on the other, embracing curious details respecting the motives and designs of Bonaparte in making this cession. Fourthly, an account of the proceedings in taking possession of Louisiana, and a continuation of the history to the end of the last war.

As the third part is the one upon which the the author lays the most stress, and is indeed the main purpose of his book, we shall confine ourselves chiefly to that head. That our readers may see, however, in what manner an enlightened foreigner and a peer of France is disposed to view our political system, we shall select a few passages from his discourse on the constitution and government of the United States. He begins with an analysis of our great political charter, and en-

ters into a concise exposition of its principal features in such a manner as to show, that he has not only acquainted himself with the theory and form of this instrument, but has reflected deeply on its principles, examined its internal structure and movements, and watched its effects.

‘All the affairs of the republic,’ says he, ‘are brought as soon as practicable to the knowledge of the people, without any exaggeration of the favorable condition of some or concealment of the adverse state of others. And why, indeed, should Congress and the administration concert together to deceive the public or to conceal from them untoward truths? They are themselves part of this public.

‘Resolutions which concern the state are never adopted till after the most mature deliberation. They are determined on in the presence of the citizens, and during the discussion of them, those who are interested in the result seldom fail to make known their opinions by publications which the government never disregards. Publicity only incommodes those who would wish to make their private interest prevail over that of the public. When the law is once promulgated, no one would dare to prevent its going into effect or to elude it.

‘The history also of every day cites at its bar the Presidents and other rulers, and does not await their death before judging them. Their acts are public; posterity already exists for them, and the powerful, as well as the weak, are disgraced or praised while they are still living.

‘The two chambers profess the same political doctrines. Nothing in the tendency of their speeches distinguishes the one from the other. They are both animated by a desire to render their country happy. The deliberations of the Senate are, however, the most conspicuous for calmness and gravity, and those of the Representatives for warmth and vivacity. There is a cause for this difference. The members of the Senate are in office for six years, the Representatives for only two. The latter are therefore the most anxious to bring themselves into notice.

‘Congress, in its uniform course, is always consistent with itself, and its policy does not vacillate. In order to remain free from those internal agitations from which the most happy country is not always exempt, it practises constantly and sincerely the maxim, that “the end of government is the happiness of society.”

‘There is not henceforth any fear of the triumph of despotism over liberty; the old nations of Europe would never have experienced this calamity, if, instead of simple traditions subjected to human and variable passions, at the will of an ambitious chief and of an ignorant multitude, they had had constitutions written by sages and confided to the vigilance of all the citizens.

‘It is thus that the fundamental laws of the different states of the union are preserved. The sincerity and clearness with which they are expressed remove every opportunity for sophistical interpretations, and their legislators have been careful not to introduce any obscurity of which advantage may one day be taken with a view to an arbitrary explanation. If there are some differences in the constitutions, they exist only in the external forms of the government; they have justice and equality for their foundation; that which is just at Boston, is so at New Orleans.

‘In every township or village, there are some well instructed in the true interests of their country, and if to the intelligence, which is required of those who are engaged in public affairs, they unite the virtues of the citizen, they will infallibly be raised to the first employments. Every man can be called to the highest functions. The great Washington had been a surveyor, Franklin a journeyman printer, Jefferson a planter. Magistrates, chosen by those whom they are to govern, are easily obeyed. The scarcity of crimes and of punishments is the proof as well as the consequence of the docility of these people to the laws.

‘A long peace does not weary them. They do not fear that idleness will render the youth seditious. To undertake a war in order to occupy them, to render them less numerous, or upon futile pretences, would seem to them impious and could not possibly occur. They have at length discovered the solution of this difficulty, proposed several centuries since to the reflection of philosophers and to the experience of statesmen;

‘“To render communities happy with the least constraint and at the least expense possible.”’ pp. 40—43.

After speaking of the revenue, commerce, manufactures, and internal improvements of the United States, he adds,

‘Such, in its political economy, is the conduct, such are the maxims of a new republic, strong in its present greatness, and of so rapid a growth, that every year its friendship becomes more desirable, its enmity more to be feared. It is no longer one of those republics by name, to which was refused an equality with kings, and whose ambassadors were, as if by tolerance, admitted after those of crowned heads. An attempt to assign to this republic a different rank from other powers and to subject it to another law of nations would be made in vain; as independent and sovereign as the monarchs on their thrones, it has on every occasion maintained an equality with them, and without doubt it will be sufficiently wise never to aspire to elevate itself above them.

‘If from the sketch of the condition of the general confederation, we pass to that of the constitutions of the separate states and

of their relations with Congress, we see with admiration these great bodies move without collision, without violence, and without any difficulties arising between the superior and subordinate governments of a nature to lead to a rupture.

‘The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities in the several states are invested with all the powers which have not been delegated to Congress. Every state legislates in civil and criminal matters. During the fifty years that this order of things has existed, its results have been successful. The confederation has been enlarged, and the power of Congress increased at the same time. Some states have voluntarily limited their extent and their population, and abandoned vast territories where other states have been formed.

‘They thus expressed themselves in making these cessions ; “We renounce our rights over these lands, because, after the protection of Providence, nothing can be better adapted to strengthen the union and to advance its honor, power, and dignity, than this proof of a general good understanding.” Those wars which fanaticism, ambition, cupidity, excite among other nations, that distrust which torments them and makes them suppose that tranquil happiness cannot belong to man, will never trouble that which the United States enjoy ; not because individuals in that country are free from human passions, but because the public councils are so formed that their decisions are always dictated by the general interest. A country which will be greater than Europe, and which is composed of many different states, enjoys a peace which promises to be perpetual and to accomplish the bright vision of a friend of humanity.

‘Is it unreasonable to hope that this spirit of moderation will one day penetrate the councils of those monarchs whose states might form several kingdoms? Is it not possible that wise ministers may say to their masters, “Our eyes and our arms cannot extend twelve or fifteen hundred leagues; divide your empire, there will always be a place for you ; the people will be more happy ; you will be more tranquil ; instead of being the terror of your neighbors, you will excite the admiration of the world and be its benefactor.”’

‘It has been for a long time held as a maxim, that elective magistracies of temporary duration are suited only to states of limited extent and small population. The experience of the United States has proved the incorrectness of this impression. If a bad selection happens to be made, the remedy is in reëlection, and the trial of half a century has proved that it is an efficient one. Thus the example of the United States presents itself, whenever the object is to prove that liberty is in every respect good and that it can

never be hurtful. It puts in despair all those, whom this liberty alarms, and who cannot at this day deny its benefits.

‘Judges, senators, ministers are not, however, more wise, more skilful, in these states than in many others. They have weaknesses and prejudices, but they must necessarily have them to a less degree than those who are elevated to magistracies by chance, intrigue, or bribery. They have also an advantage not possessed by men elsewhere placed at the head of affairs. The laws and the publicity of their acts, submitted to the censure of every one, render it necessary for them to be always just, always impartial; not to give employments except to the most worthy, and never to sacrifice the good of the state to private passions or to the interests of individuals. A sincere integrity can alone insure the confidence of the public, ever ready to distinguish truth from falsehood. Knaves and hypocrites would be soon unmasked. Even though accident should have elevated to an important post a vicious individual, he would be obliged to govern in the same manner as one who was excellent by nature, or he would be unable to preserve his office.’

‘The display of all these advantages is not a censure on the old governments, which, formed many centuries since upon other plans, can only be reformed gradually and after mature consideration. We have reason, indeed, to be astonished at the improvements which have been introduced into these last mentioned states, in spite of the many obstacles which they have to encounter. At the same time let us not hesitate to acknowledge, that if the Americans have profited by the lights and wisdom of Europe, she will receive in her turn similar benefits from America. Her example, and recent facts, have taught us that liberty does not diminish the vigor and energy necessary for execution. If it does not enervate republican governments, there is no reason to fear that it will become a principle of weakness in limited monarchies. Already, in spite of resistance from all quarters, laws are improved, and wise monarchs have acknowledged that the throne is firm only when it is established on the united interests of the prince and the people; that placed upon any other foundation, it is constantly liable to be shaken by internal commotions and by attacks from without.’ pp. 47, 49, 52, 64.

The author concludes his observations on the constitution and government of the United States in the following words.

‘The population increases in a degree which surpasses all conjectures. The citizens enjoy an entire liberty of conscience, and nowhere are families to be seen more sincerely religious. Political equality is perfect among them, but it does not exclude the

consideration and respect which are the usual attendants of personal merit and services.

‘To what is this beautiful and advantageous condition of things to be attributed? To the goodness of the laws, and to the wisdom of the government.

‘We have seen Bonaparte overturn and raise up thrones at his pleasure. If these sportings of his prodigious power had for their objects the degradation of royalty, he was thoroughly deceived. It is very true that he has irreparably destroyed that great mystery of power, which gave to monarchs a supernatural and almost divine existence. We now know that they are men like ourselves, but nothing has been capable of taking from them a proud prerogative,—a privilege, the loss of which would have carried with it their ruin. It is the obligation of being just, virtuous, and good under the penalty of being incapable of reigning; and it is thus that this maxim, so often false, has become true; “Kings can do no wrong.”

‘In writing this Discourse it has often occurred to me, that it might seem only to contain allegories imagined by timid moralists to soften the severity of their counsels. Such has not been my intention. How is it possible to assimilate the situation of America with that of Europe? How can we pretend to treat in the same manner a country, where vast and fertile territories will offer themselves for more than a thousand years to the industry and wants of man, and our Europe, where five families out of six are without property? I have desired, however, I say it frankly, I have desired, that it should be admitted that the differences are not great between the principles of monarchies and those of republics.

‘The prince, whether called king, magistrate, or people, can henceforth reign only by the aid of respect for political liberty. There cannot be mischievous rulers in the United States, and it appears to me that there can no longer be mischievous kings in Europe. The love of the people for good kings is as naturally formed, as that of children for their parents. The citizens of a republic do not love their rulers in the same manner; but they have confidence in their wisdom, and are attached to the constitution, of which they every day experience the benefits. It depends now upon the princes who reign over the nations of Europe to unite all these enjoyments. They will then taste the highest happiness which can belong to man upon earth, that of rendering happy numerous generations.’ pp. 98—100.

Before we come to the Louisiana Treaty, some preliminary remarks are necessary to lead the way to that subject. The cession by France of Louisiana to Spain in 1763, had been considered in all the mercantile cities of the former country,

as essentially impolitic and injurious to the interests of navigation in the French Antilles, and it was a general desire that a suitable opportunity should occur for recovering that colony. When Bonaparte took the lead of affairs, it was one of his first cares to renew a negotiation with Spain on this subject ; for he had the wisdom to perceive, that the forced contributions which he imposed on Europe could never hold the place of the immense tribute, that would be voluntarily rendered to the industry and navigation of a commercial people. Besides, this youthful, and ambitious, and successful warrior had another purpose, which was to make himself preponderant in America. The possession of Louisiana was an essential preliminary. He had also at this early period yet another project, which he attempted to realize afterwards, namely, a league of all the maritime powers against the pretensions of England and her empire over the sea. 'France,' said he, 'will never endure that inert existence, that stationary tranquillity, with which Germany and Italy content themselves. The English reply with disdain to my offers of peace ; they have protected, and even freed and armed, the rebel blacks of St Domingo. Be it so, I will make St Domingo one vast camp ; I will have there an army always ready to carry war into their own colonies.' These visionary projects and warlike menaces were gradually abandoned, and Bonaparte himself seemed desirous of a general peace. The battle of Marengo and its fortunate consequences gave him an ascendancy, which he knew how to turn to his advantage ; and the powers of Europe, weary with the disasters and sacrifices of war, were not reluctant to accord terms of peace favorable to France.

At this juncture the first consul commenced a negotiation at Madrid, in which he found it not difficult to convince the Prince of Peace, that Louisiana restored to France would become a barrier to Mexico and a guarantee for the tranquillity of the Gulf. It was never the design of Spain to profit by the navigation and agriculture of Louisiana. She had acquired this territory on the principle adopted by barbarous nations, that their frontiers are not safe except when protected by vast deserts and solitudes, which separate them from neighboring nations. It was thus, that one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the world was to be consigned to the perpetual dominion of savages and wild beasts, to prevent the people of the United States from breaking into the equally desolate soli-

tudes of Mexico ; and it is thus, that the Emperor of China at this day keeps off the wandering hordes of Siberia from his wandering hordes of Tartary, and no doubt values himself, as much as did the kings of Spain, upon his wisdom and policy in these measures of protection.

It seems, however, that the Prince of Peace, and the king his master, had less fear of republican Frenchmen than of republican Americans ; for on the 1st of October, 1800, a treaty was concluded at St Ildephonso, by which 'his Catholic Majesty promised and engaged to retrocede Louisiana to the French republic,' six months after certain conditions should be complied with on the part of France. It was also made a condition by Spain, that in case France should be disposed at any future time to retrocede Louisiana, the preference should be given to Spain. It reflects not much credit on the faith of nations, that little respect was afterwards paid to either of these conditions.

War still existed between France and England, and it was of course the policy of Bonaparte to keep the treaty of St Ildephonso a secret. To this end it was necessary, that he should avoid taking possession of Louisiana, for a maritime peace was absolutely essential to enable France to hold that colony. With her naval superiority, England would have found it an easy acquisition. And in any case, had this treaty been known, it would have thrown fresh embarrassments in the way of a peace with England, which the first consul at that moment deemed important for his interest. The cabinet of St James at last listened to his proposals. The negotiation was commenced at London, and on the 27th of March, 1802, peace was finally concluded at Amiens.

There was no reason for longer concealing the treaty of St Ildephonso. Towards the close of the year it was known to Congress, and it was understood that France was about to take possession of Louisiana. This excited much alarm in the Western states, whose very existence depended on a free navigation of the Mississippi. Difficulties of a serious nature had recently occurred with the Spaniards, and the alarm of the people had raised apprehensions, from which even Congress was not free, that these French neighbors would be even less accommodating than their predecessors. By a treaty concluded between the United States and Spain on the 27th of October, 1795, the right of *entrepôt* at New Orleans had been

granted to the United States for three years. The term expired, but the Spanish intendant did not interrupt the exercise of the right, which continued by tacit consent. All at once, however, the intendant, Morales, conceived the notion, without any advice from the Spanish government, that such a privilege ought not to continue any longer without some equivalent, and on the 16th of October, 1802, he issued a proclamation declaring it to have ceased.

This act spread consternation among the inhabitants of the Western states. Complaints and petitions flowed in from every quarter to Congress. The news of the cession to France, coming at the same moment, redoubled the inquietude, for it was inferred that the intendant had acted in conformity to orders, and that France was to take possession of the colony in its present condition, and thus perpetuate the prohibitive system, which would lead to the ruin of the West. This plan was supposed to have been concerted between the governments of France and Spain, and it was believed that France was about to send an army to ensure its execution. The ferment became general; the strong motives of personal interest kindled and nourished the flame in the West; the spirit of party, ever busy in the work of discord and desolation, wafted it over the mountains and carried it swiftly to the middle and eastern states. The contagion entered the halls of Congress, and even in the senate chamber there was a loud talk of war, of rights encroached upon, dignity degraded, and strength to repel and restore. 'Let us not wait the arrival of the French,' cried an eminent senator; 'and since a solemn treaty has been violated, let us not hesitate to occupy the places, which ought to be ours. The people of the West are ready; and it would be an excess of simplicity to suppose that New Orleans will be spontaneously ceded to us, or even in virtue of a treaty with the first consul.' Such was the state of excitement, which, for the moment, had grown out of the hasty act of the Spanish intendant at New Orleans; but of which, it afterwards appeared, neither the Spanish nor French government had any knowledge.

There were yet other causes, of a deeper nature, which tended to keep alive the irritation. During the mad career of the Directory, in their attempt to govern what was strangely miscalled the French Republic, depredations had been committed on our commerce, and insults offered to our flag.

Commissioners were sent out to procure reconciliation and redress, but without avail. The preparations in the United States for a French war, and the state of public feeling at the time, are well known. The consular government began upon different principles, and showed a disposition to reconcile the difficulties between the two nations. A convention was accordingly signed on the 30th of September, 1800, in which it was stipulated, that a full indemnity should be paid for all prizes that had unjustly been made of our vessels. A minister had been sent out, under the expectation of a prompt compliance with the conditions of the convention. He was at first flattered with hopes of success, and wrote back accordingly to the government. His hopes were not realized; to his demands he received only neglect or vague replies, as disrespectful to the dignity of the minister, as they were dishonorable and unjust in the French cabinet. Naturally dissatisfied with such a glaring breach of good faith and equity, the American government thought it time to rouse from their moderation, and speak in a tone better suited to the exigency of the case. 'The American minister at Paris,' says the Marquis de Marbois, 'had received orders to make known this dissatisfaction, and his communications were drawn up with a firmness to which Bonaparte was not accustomed. If any of the continental powers of Europe had dared to express themselves in the same manner, an invasion of their territory would have been the consequence. The Congress, separated by the Atlantic ocean, might show itself without danger in a menacing attitude, for the first consul took good care not to give evidence of a resentment, which would only have manifested his weakness.' Yet Mr Livingston's letters remained unanswered; our merchants, who had lost their property, became impatient, and murmured against the government. Mr Livingston suggested the cession of New Orleans; he also proposed, that France should cede to the United States the vast regions to the north of the Arkansas river and the right bank of the Mississippi. All these overtures were equally neglected, and in his official and private correspondence with the government and his friends at home, he gave it as his opinion, that New Orleans could not be obtained except by force of arms. The tenor of this correspondence, as well as the recent events in Louisiana, no doubt contributed to fix the resolution of the war party in Congress.

Mr Jefferson had formed an opinion on this subject different from that of the advocates of war, or even of the American minister in Paris. He resolved to make another effort towards a negotiation, and to send Mr Monroe on a special mission for that purpose. 'The first consul,' says the author, 'informed of the contents of Mr Monroe's public instructions, believed also that the president had entrusted it to the prudence of the plenipotentiary to enter into more extensive stipulations relative to the projected acquisition. The possibility of a war between France and England had suggested to Mr Jefferson the measures which he had taken, and it was at the distance of two thousand leagues from Europe, that this statesman foresaw the rupture.'

A war was in fact on the eve of breaking out between the two rival powers. In England the treaty of Amiens had never been cordially received by all parties. Suspicions, and jealousies, and ill blood still existed. The ministry were divided, and the sincerity of the leaders in concluding the peace of Amiens had been doubted. On the other hand,

'It has been pretended that the first consul placed at first little value in its continuance, and only regarded the peace as a truce. He pursued without relaxation his designs in Upper Italy, and united to France under equivocal denominations those countries so long contested between it and Austria. When these changes and those which he was effecting in Holland and Switzerland had given him a great preponderance in the affairs of Europe, he felt that in order to strengthen this new order of things, and to exercise this vast supremacy, he had need in his turn of preserving peace. But he wished it on condition of being in some sort the universal dictator; and he was so much the more removed from every concession, that the revocation of one of the acts of his power would have been followed by demands on the part of his rivals for the revocation of all the others.

'Like all conquerors, this great captain had placed his happiness and his glory in transporting from one country to another a warlike youth, in putting masses of population in movement, in astonishing the world by the rapidity and success with which he executed the most extensive and most complicated designs. But there was then reason to believe, that these convulsions of empires had less attractions for him; he spoke of them with a sort of disdain, and seemed to carry the prodigious activity of his genius into works which in peace embellish society, and give to nations tranquil enjoyments.

'To give to France better civil laws, to meditate in advance

the reform of codes, to reëstablish order in the finances, to reanimate commerce and industry,—such were the objects to which, assisted by skilful counsellors, he consecrated his time, constantly prolonging his labors to midnight. If with these generous sentiments he had thought that liberty under good laws was the most noble present which he could make to men, the age in which we live would be called by his name. Diverted for a period, which was indeed of short continuance, from the designs of a continental war, he did not conceive that his republic could be flourishing without a commercial marine, sustained and protected by great naval forces. He often repeated the following maxims; “Without the freedom of the seas there is no happiness for the world. But, in order to obtain this liberty, it is necessary that the continental powers should impress the English with serious fears for their commerce. Instead of opposing to their maritime force inefficient fleets, instead of constructing vessels of war, which sooner or later increase the English navy, we must, on the first appearance of hostilities, arm privateers, which, from all the ports of the continent of Europe, will go in pursuit of merchant ships, and will be protected by their number, and even by their dispersion. The English cannot have recourse to reprisals, for they have taken possession of almost every branch of commerce. If they leave us some colonies, it is in order to exhaust us in vain expenses for their preservation, and to render us, in spite of ourselves, disposed to peace, through fear of losing them. Finally,” added he, “the liberty of the seas must be odious to the English, because it would reduce them to their natural share in the general prosperity.” pp. 268—270.

It is not to our purpose here to narrate the causes or progress of the new dissention between France and England. It is enough that it happened just at this juncture, and paved the way for the treaty which immediately followed, ceding Louisiana to the United States. M. de Marbois says, that the first consul, although resolved not to yield any point, regretted in the first stages of the contest, that he could not escape with honor from the embarrassment. But as soon as he found war inevitable, ‘he pretended, according to his custom, that this rupture was a gift of fortune, and that had it arrived two or three years later, the vigor of his armies would have been exhausted by repose.’ The following anecdote is curious and characteristic.

‘Bonaparte did not subject himself, like other princes, little initiated in the mysteries of their own policy, to treat with ambassadors and envoys through the medium of a minister. He con-

versed with them *tête-à-tête*, or even publicly, and often employed with too little reserve, the advantage which he possessed of speaking in the name of a powerful nation. Some days had elapsed since the date of the two messages of the king of England. The respective ambassadors of the two countries were not, on that account, less assiduous in going to audiences and formal receptions. At Paris these assemblies were held at the Tuileries; they were numerously attended, and the foreign ministers mixed in the crowd of courtiers. One evening the first consul was seen to enter, surrounded by his usual retinue; he appeared anxious and musing. He shortened the circuit which he was in the habit of making in the saloon, and approaching the ambassador of England, said to him in a loud voice, "You are then determined on war?" "No," replied Lord Whitworth; "we know too well the advantages of peace." To these measured words, the first consul, without being restrained by the presence of many attentive and inquiring personages, replied with vehemence, "We have been waging war during fifteen years; the storm thickens at London, and appears to threaten us. Against whom do you take precautions? For what are your armaments? Is it that another war of fifteen years is desirable? I do not arm. My good faith is manifest. Full of confidence in a treaty, the ink of which is not yet dry, I have not listened to any malevolent rumor, and have banished that uneasiness which would render peace as detestable as war. I have not a single ship of the line armed in my ports. I have shown no hostile dispositions. The contrary supposition is an egregious imposition. I am taken unawares, and I glory in it. If the English are the first to draw the sword, I will be the last to sheathe it. If we must veil with black crape solemn treaties, if those who have signed the peace desire war, they must answer for it before God and man."

'It was by these haughty menaces, rather than by good reasoning, it was by this rough and unmethodical eloquence, that Napoleon intended to establish his claims, or cause that to be apprehended which he had not yet entirely resolved on.' p. 276.

To this anecdote may be joined another of a similar description. They are both the more interesting, as it may be presumed that M. de Marbois, being one of the ministers, was present and heard what he relates. He has just been speaking of the causes of the approaching war, and the general points of difference between the contending powers, and adds,

'These great topics were discussed at the Tuileries, at one of those private conferences, in which the first consul, carried away by the abundance of his ideas, exposed with energy the wrongs

done by his adversaries, without allowing that he had committed any himself.

“The principles of a maritime supremacy,” said he to his counsellors, “are subversive of one of the noblest rights which nature, science, and genius have insured to man; it is the right of traversing the seas of the whole world with as much liberty as the bird who cuts the air; of participating in the use of the waves, winds, climates, and productions of the globe; of bringing together, by a bold navigation, nations separated since the creation; of carrying civilization into countries that are a prey to ignorance and barbarism. See what England wishes to usurp over all other nations.”

“One of the ministers present could speak to him freely. He said, “Have not the English as many motives to fear a continental supremacy, and to be alarmed at your great influence over all Europe?” He appeared to reflect, but instead of replying to so direct an observation, he consulted the extracts which he caused to be made of the debates in the English House of Commons; he there read a passage with which he appeared very much irritated. It was from the speech of one of the most distinguished members of parliament. “France,” said this speaker, “obliges us to remember the injury which she did us twenty-five years ago, in allying herself with our revolted colonies. Jealous of our commerce, our navigation, our opulence, she wishes to annihilate them. The undertakings of the first consul at the termination of a peace too easily made, oblige us to appeal anew to arms. The enemy appropriates to himself, by a dash of the pen, territories more extensive than all the conquests of France during several centuries. He hastens his preparations. Let us not wait till he attacks us; let us attack first.” “Now,” resumed the first consul, “propose your theories and your abstract propositions, and see if they can resist the undertakings of these usurpers of the dominion of the sea. Leave commerce and navigation in the exclusive possession of one people, and the globe will be subjected by its arms, or by that gold which occupies the place of armies.” He afterwards added these words, in which are found the first sign of his policy respecting the United States, and which a sort of inaccuracy renders still more energetic. “To free nations from the commercial tyranny of England, it is necessary to counterbalance it by a maritime power which may one day become its rival; this is the United States. The English aspire to dispose of all the riches of the world. I shall be useful to the entire universe, if I can prevent their ruling America, as they rule Asia.” pp. 280—282.

As soon as Bonaparte became convinced that war was inevitable, he turned his thoughts towards the colonies. On

the continent he confided in his own strength for success ; but his navy was in no condition to compete with that of England, and the colonies could only be defended by a naval force. From that moment he hastened to change his policy relative to Louisiana and the United States. On the 24th of March, 1803, we find Talleyrand, after a long silence, writing to Mr Livingston in a tone strangely altered from anything which this minister had before been so fortunate as to receive from an official source. Talleyrand is surprised that the pacific dispositions of the French republic towards the United States should have been suspected, and assures him that the affection of France for her old friends is unaltered. He alludes to the expected arrival of Mr Monroe, and says he will be received with great pleasure by the first consul, who hopes his mission will terminate to the mutual satisfaction of both nations. It was evident that Louisiana must be lost to France. The object of Bonaparte was to turn it to his own advantage, and prevent its falling into the hands of England. The following description of an interview between him and two of his ministers, explains the subject so fully, and is written in so graphic and interesting a manner, that our readers will be pleased with perusing it in detail. One of these ministers was M. de Marbois himself; the other had likewise been in America, and was well acquainted with the affairs of the colonies.

‘ On the 10th of April, 1803, Easter Sunday, after having given his time to the solemnity of the day, and to the demands of ceremony, he called those two counsellors, and speaking to them with that vehemence and passion with which he was especially carried away in political affairs, said, “ I know the whole value of Louisiana, and I have wished to repair the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. Some lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it, when I must expect to lose it. But if it slips from me, it will one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to deprive myself of it, than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Isle Royal, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the richest parts of Asia. They are at work to agitate St Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their acquisitions throughout the globe ; and yet the jealousy which the return of this colony under the French dominion causes them, proves to me that they desire to get possession of it, and that it is thus that they will commence the war. They have twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico,

they overrun those seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in St Domingo grow worse every day since the death of Le Clerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble of making a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I do not know whether they are not already there. It is according to their practice, and were I in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is yet time for it, to take from them even the idea of ever possessing the colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If I leave ever so little time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to these republicans, whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana; but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing republic, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I attempt to retain it. Tell me each of you his opinion."

M. de Marbois was the first who replied, and he reports his answer in the following terms.

"We cannot hesitate to make the sacrifice of that which is about to escape from us. The war against England is inevitable. How can we defend Louisiana against that power with a naval force so inferior? The United States, justly dissatisfied with our proceedings, will not offer us a single harbor, not even an asylum, in case of a reverse. They are, it is true, on the eve of a reconciliation with us; but they have a difference with the Spanish government, and they menace New Orleans, of which we shall not have even a momentary possession. At the time of the discovery of Louisiana, she had neighbors as feeble as herself; but they are now powerful, and she is yet in her infancy. The country is hardly inhabited; you have not there fifty soldiers. Where are your means for sending garrisons thither? Can we restore the ruined fortifications, and construct a chain of forts along a frontier of four hundred leagues? If England shall allow you to attempt these things, it is because they drain your resources, and she will, with a secret joy, see you exhaust yourself in vain efforts, which will be profitable only to her. You will send out a squadron; but while it is crossing the seas, the colony will succumb, and the squadron will be in peril on its return. On the north, Louisiana is open to the English by the great lakes, and on the south, if they only appear at the mouths of the river, New Orleans will immediately fall into their hands. Of what consequence is it to the inhabitants to what power they are subject, if their country is never to cease to be a colony? This conquest will be yet more easy to the Americans; they will

reach the Mississippi by many navigable rivers, and to be masters of the country it will be only necessary for them to enter it. One of these two neighbors increases every day in population and industry; and the other has maritime means sufficient to make any invasion by which her commerce may be increased. The colony has existed for a century, and in spite of efforts and sacrifices of every description, the recent examinations attest its feebleness. If it receives a new increase and importance after it becomes a French colony, it will contain, even in its prosperity, a germ of independence, which will not be tardy in developing itself. The more it flourishes, the less chance shall we have of preserving it. Nothing is more uncertain than the future lot of the European colonies in America. The exclusive right which the mother countries exercise over these distant establishments, is becoming from day to day more precarious. The people feel humbled in being dependent on a small country in Europe, and will free themselves the moment they are aware of their strength.

“The French have attempted to establish colonies in different parts of the American continent. Every where their attempts have been abortive. The English are patient, laborious; they do not fear the solitude and silence of countries newly settled. The Frenchman, spirited, active, seeks society; he loves to associate with his neighbors. He makes voluntary efforts, but on the first disappointment he quits the spade and axe for the chase.” Here the first consul, interrupting the discourse, asked how it happened, that the French, incapable of succeeding in continental colonies, had always made progress in the Antilles, “It is,” replied the minister, “because the slaves do all the labor. The whites, soon exhausted by the climate and heat, have sufficient vigor of head and body to direct them.” “I am again undecided,” said the first consul, “touching the maintenance or abolition of slavery. By whom is the land cultivated in Louisiana.” “Slavery,” replied the minister, “has peopled Louisiana with half of its inhabitants. An inexcusable imprudence has been committed in suddenly granting to the slaves of St Domingo a liberty for which they were not prepared. The blacks and whites have been the victims of this great fault. But without examining, at present, in what manner this evil can be repaired, let us recollect, that the colonies where slavery exists are rather chargeable than useful to France. In the mean time, nevertheless, let us take care not to abandon them; they have not the means of governing themselves. The creoles are French, they have been encouraged in those modes of culture, and in that system, which at this day operates to their injury. Let us save them from new calamities. It is for us to provide for their defence, the administration of justice, and the cares of government. But to what good

end would you involve yourself in greater embarrassments in regard to Louisiana? You would make the colonial laws incessantly at war with those of the mother country. Of all the evils which afflict the human species, slavery is the most detestable; but humanity itself exacts great precautions in the application of a remedy, and you cannot apply it if Louisiana is restored to France. The governments still partially resist emancipation; they tolerate in secret what they condemn ostensibly, and they are themselves embarrassed with the false position in which they are placed. The general sentiment is favorable to emancipation; it is in vain for the colonists and planters to oppose a movement which public opinion approves. The occupation of Louisiana, peopled with slaves, will cause us greater expense, than it will afford profit.

“But there is another kind of servitude, of which that colony has lost the usage, which is that of a monopoly. Do you hope to reëstablish this in a country bordering on another, where commerce enjoys the greatest liberty? The reign of prohibitive laws is at an end, when a numerous population has resolved to shake off their yoke. Besides, the products so long exclusively possessed by some commercial nations, have ceased to be privileges. The sugar cane and coffee tree are now everywhere cultivated at a small expense. Every people expects to cultivate on its own account the articles peculiar to its territories and climate. There are on the globe, between the tropics, regions a thousand times more extensive than our isles, and susceptible of the same culture. A monopoly is impossible when the products are so multiplied, and the Louisianians will never suffer their commerce to be trammelled. Would you, with arms in hand, subdue resistance? The malecontents will find support in the neighborhood, and you will render France an enemy to the United States, with whom reciprocal interests ought to unite us for centuries. Confide not in the attachment of the Louisianians to your person. They render homage to your renown, and to your exploits, but the love of a people is for those princes only whom they regard as the authors of their felicity; and whatever may be your solicitude, this felicity will be for a long time, and perhaps for ever, sterile. The colonists have lost the remembrance of France; they are a mixture of three or four nations, and hardly regard Louisiana as their country. Laws varying continually, chiefs who know not those whom they govern, and who are not known by them; perpetual changes made according to the interests of the mother country, or the inexperience of ministers; the constant danger of becoming a party in quarrels to which they are really strangers,—these are the causes which, for a hundred years, have extinguished in their hearts every sentiment of affection towards their masters, residing

two thousand leagues from them, and who barter or transfer them as a commodity of traffic. For the existence of a country and citizens, it is necessary that the sentiment of well-being should be joined to the certainty of its continuance. The Louisianians, in learning that they are united to France, will say, *This change will be of no longer duration than the others.* Citizen consul, having by one of the first acts of your government made your intention to give this country to France sufficiently manifest, should you now cease to keep it, there is no person who will not be satisfied that you have yielded to necessity; and shortly our merchants will discover that Louisiana, thus freed, offers them a better chance of profits, than Louisiana subjected to a monopoly. Commercial establishments are preferable at this day, to colonies, and even in default of these, it is best to let commerce take care of itself.” pp. 287—293.

It was next the other minister's turn to express his views of the subject, which proved to be entirely opposite to those just advanced.

“We are as yet at peace with England,” said he; “a colony has just been ceded to us; it depends on the first consul to preserve it. Wisdom will not counsel him to abandon, through fear of a doubtful danger, the most important establishment which we can form beyond the limits of France, and to despoil ourselves of it without any other cause than the possibility of a war. It would be better that it should be taken from us by force of arms. If peace is maintained, the cession can never be justified, and this premature act of an ill founded inquietude will be the subject of the most lively regret. On the contrary the preservation of it will be to our commerce and navigation of inestimable value, and in our maritime provinces a subject of universal joy. The advantages which we have derived from the colonies are present to all minds. Ten flourishing cities have been created by this commerce; the navigation, the commerce, the luxury which embellish Paris, are the effects of colonial industry. There can be no marine without colonies; no colonies without a powerful marine. The political system of Europe preserves itself only by the resistance skilfully combined of many against one. This resistance is necessary as well by sea as by land, if we would not submit to the tyranny of a universal domination of commerce, and the loss of the immense advantages of a free navigation. You will not admit, you will not acknowledge, that England is sovereign mistress of the seas, that she is there invulnerable, and that no one can possess colonies except by her good pleasure. It is not for you to fear the kings of England. If they seize Louisiana, as some pretend to fear, Hanover will be immediately in your hands as the

price of a restitution. France, deprived of her marine and her colonies, is despoiled of half her splendor and a great part of her force. Louisiana will indemnify us for all our losses. There exists not on the globe a single port, a single city, susceptible of becoming so important as that of New Orleans; and already its vicinity to the United States has made it one of the most commercial in the world. The Mississippi brings to its doors the contributions of twenty other rivers, many of which surpass in grandeur the most beautiful streams in Europe. The country is known, the principal discoveries have been made, and expense has not been spared. Spain has paid a large amount of it. Forts exist, the soil is fertile and suited to rich productions, which it already yields abundantly. Other parts require only cultivation; and this colony, open to the activity of the French, will soon remunerate them for the loss of India.

“The climate is the same as that of Hindostan, and the distance is not more than a quarter as great. The navigation to the Indies in doubling the Cape of Good Hope has changed the direction of the commerce of Europe, and ruined Venice and Genoa. What will it be when a canal shall one day be cut across the Isthmus of Panamá, and connect the two oceans? The revolution in navigation will then be more extraordinary, and the circumnavigation of the globe will be more easy than the long voyages which are now made going and returning. Louisiana will be in the middle of this new route; and it will be acknowledged that its possession is of immense importance.

“The country which pertains to us is without limits, and the savages have only an imaginary right to it. They wander over the vast deserts with their bow in hand in pursuit of wild beasts. But the social state requires possession, and these strolling hunters are not proprietors. The savage has a right only to subsistence, and this we can provide for him at a small expense.

“All the productions of the Antilles are suited to Louisiana. This variety of products has already introduced large capitalists into countries for a long time deserted and desolate. If we are obliged to renounce St Domingo, let us retain Louisiana in its place. Consider also the evils which will follow, if this country becomes our rival in productions, of which we have for so long a time enjoyed the privilege. Attempts have been made to introduce the vine, the olive, and the mulberry tree; and these attempts, which Spain has not been able to prevent, have but too well succeeded. If the colony becomes free, it will be necessary for Provence, and our vineyards, to be prepared for the rivalry of a country new and without limits. If, on the contrary, it is subjected to our laws, every branch of agriculture injurious to our interests will be prohibited.

“It is necessary, even for the advantage of Europe, that France should be rich. As long as she has divided with England the commerce of America and Asia, the princes, the cabinets, which have consented to be subsidized, have profited by the enhanced prices which one has imposed upon the other. What a difference to all, if this competition should cease to exist, and if England alone should regulate this tariff of friendship between princes.

“In fine, France, after her long agitations, has need of such a colony for her internal pacification; it will be to our country what a century ago were to England the plantations, which the emigrants from the three kingdoms raised to so high a degree of prosperity; it will relieve us of a part of the evils caused by the revolution; it will be an asylum for our political and religious dissidents; a supreme conciliator of all the parties into which we are divided, you will there find the remedies, for which you search with so much solicitude.” pp. 293—297.

The deliberation lasted till late at night, and Bonaparte dismissed the ministers without making known his intentions. They passed the night at St Cloud, and very early in the morning the first consul sent for M. de Marbois, whom he requested to read the despatches just arrived from London. The ambassador had written, that an extraordinary activity prevailed in making preparations for war both by land and sea.

“The English,” said Napoleon, “demand of me Lampadosa, which I do not possess, and in the mean time they would hold Malta for ten years. This isle, in which military skill has exhausted all its resources in bringing the places of defence to such a degree of perfection as no one could conceive without having seen them, would be for the English another Gibraltar. To leave them there would be to give up to them the commerce of the Levant, and to take it from my southern provinces. They would keep this possession, and have me immediately evacuate Holland.

“But we have no time now for uncertainties and deliberations. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without reserve. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have given sufficient proof of the manner in which I esteem this province, since the object of my first diplomatic act with Spain was its recovery. I renounce it therefore with the greatest dissatisfaction. To be obstinate in attempting its preservation would be folly. I charge you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of Congress. Wait not even for the arrival of Mr Monroe. Open the subject this day to Mr Livingston; but I have need of much money for this war, and I would not commence it by new contributions. It is a hundred years since France and Spain have been expending means for the me-

loration of Louisiana, and commerce has never indemnified them. Sums have been lent to companies and agriculturists, which have never again been returned to the treasury. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I were to regulate my conditions by the value of these vast territories to the United States, the indemnity would be without bounds. I will be moderate, by reason of the necessity I am under to make the sale. But observe well,—I will have fifty millions, and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make some desperate effort to preserve those beautiful countries. To-morrow you shall have your full powers.” Here the new plenipotentiary made some observations of a general nature respecting the cession of the rights of sovereignty and the abandonment of what the Germans call *les Ames*, as whether these should be an object of contract of sale or of exchange. He received for answer,—“Be sure that you maintain in all its perfection the ideology of the right of nature and of nations; but I must have money to carry on a war against a nation who has the most of it. Send your doctrine to London; I am certain it would there be a subject of great admiration; and yet it seems not to be there much regarded, when the question is agitated of seizing the most beautiful countries in Asia.

“Perhaps also it will be objected, that the Americans will become too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace these distant fears. Besides, one may expect hereafter rivalries in the bosom of the union itself. The confederations, which are called perpetual, will endure no longer than till the contracting parties shall find their account in breaking them; and it is against the present dangers, to which we are exposed by the colossal power of England, that I would provide a remedy. Mr Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister, coming two thousand leagues from his constituents, the president must have given, after having defined the object of his mission, secret instructions more extensive than the ostensible ones of Congress for the stipulated payments. Neither this minister, nor his colleague, will expect a resolution, which surpasses infinitely what they are about to demand of us. Begin with them, and come directly to the point of the negotiation. Inform me from day to day, from hour to hour, of the progress you make. The cabinet of London are acquainted with the resolutions at Washington, but they can have no suspicions of that which I am taking. Keep it a profound secret, and recommend the same to the American ministers. Their interest in it is not less than ours. Correspond with M. de Talleyrand, who alone knows my intentions. If I were to follow his advice, France would limit her ambition to the left bank of the Rhine, and would make war only to protect the feeble, and prevent being dismembered. But he ac-

knowledges also, that the cession of Louisiana is not a dismemberment of France. Be careful to inform me of the progress of this affair." ' pp. 298—301.

The French commissioner made no delay in commencing the negotiation with Mr Livingston, but that minister had not the necessary powers for treating in the manner proposed. He had been two years in Paris ; his attempts to gain the object of his mission had been unsuccessful ; he had been turned off with vague replies, and deceived with false hopes. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have little confidence at this time in the advances of the French cabinet. Talleyrand's letter, and the overture made by Marbois, he considered as equally an artifice to gain time and tranquillize the excited feeling, which began to show itself with so much warmth in the United States. He accordingly avoided coming to any decided points on the subject, till Mr Monroe's arrival, and even then he relied so little on the sincerity of the French councils, that, in a letter to Mr Monroe at Havre he expressed his opinion, that the best means of ensuring success would be the certainty of the United States' having already taken possession of New Orleans. When Mr Monroe arrived in Paris, Mr Livingston said to him, ' I could wish the proposition made by Mr Ross to the Senate had been adopted ; I am almost certain we shall never obtain New Orleans by negotiation. We must employ force. Let us first take possession, and negotiate afterwards.' But Mr Monroe, since he had not the same prepossessions to combat, nor the same reasons for distrust, found it less difficult to convince himself that the French commissioner was in earnest. A mutual confidence was immediately established ; no other preliminaries were necessary, and the negotiation was entered upon without delay.

The American plenipotentiaries felt themselves under much embarrassment. They had not been authorized to treat for anything more than New Orleans, and that portion of Louisiana situate on the east side of the Mississippi. For this cession it was proposed to offer two millions of dollars. The project of procuring the entire colony seems never to have been contemplated, or even thought of. At least there was no provision to this effect in the instructions to the plenipotentiaries. Hostilities were on the point of breaking out between France and England ; the treaty, if made at all, must be closed before that event ; no time could be allowed to apply to

the American government for more ample instructions, and there was an absolute necessity for the plenipotentiaries to act with such powers as they possessed, or forego the opportunity of making a negotiation of immense importance to the United States, and which, considering the state of France at that moment, could certainly never again be commenced under circumstances so favorable. These considerations brought the plenipotentiaries to a speedy decision to treat for Louisiana in its fullest extent, and submit the result of their proceedings for the approbation of Congress and the nation.

The negotiation divided itself into three parts, namely, the cession, the price to be paid for it, and the indemnity for the claims of the citizens of the United States against France. These three objects were considered separately, and it was agreed, that a distinct treaty should be made for each.

The particulars of the cession were first discussed. Each party drew up a project as the basis of a treaty for this purpose, but that of the French negotiator was adopted as the text by which the conferences were to proceed. The chief difficulties of this part of the negotiation were in fixing the limits. Maps were examined, charters perused, ancient treaties consulted, but all these only served to increase the despair of the negotiators, and to convince them that they were searching for a thing that had never existed. No one could tell, or even conjecture, where were the western boundaries of Louisiana; and for a very good reason,—they had never been defined. Those regions were as little known as the centre of Africa. The negotiators had the wisdom, therefore, to abandon a search, which only led them more and more into the dark. To solve the difficulty in the shortest way, the American plenipotentiaries proposed to insert the third article of the treaty of St Ildephonso, by which Spain agreed to cede to France the province of Louisiana such as it was in the hands of Spain at the date of the treaty. This was leaving the utmost latitude of construction, and opening the door to a tangled discussion between the United States and Spain, which, in due time, this latter power took care to revive. It was nevertheless obvious that no better plan could be devised by the plenipotentiaries. Upon this clause M. de Marbois observes; ‘ambiguous terms should never be introduced into treaties, yet in the present instance the American plenipotentiaries made no objection; and if, in appearing to resign themselves to general expressions

through necessity, they considered this in effect preferable to more precise stipulations, it must be confessed the event justified their foresight. The shores of the Western ocean were certainly never meant to be comprised in the cession, yet the United States are already established there.' The point of this sentence is not perhaps strictly correct to the full extent in which the author would have it understood. It must be remembered, that the United States had claims growing out of the right of discovery at the mouth of the Columbia river, and that their possession of the territory in that quarter was not in consequence solely of the cession of Louisiana. When this obscurity in the article on the limits, and the inconveniences that might arise from it, were mentioned to the first consul, he replied, 'If there were no obscurity, it might perhaps be good policy to put it there.' M. de Marbois doubts the wisdom of this maxim, and adds, that although circumstances may sometimes render such a case necessary, yet sound policy disavows all obscure stipulations.

The third article of the treaty was drawn up by Bonaparte himself. It stipulates, that, 'the inhabitants of the ceded territories shall be incorporated into the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty and property, and in the exercise of the religion which they profess.' This cession was to produce a most important change in the constitution and laws of Louisiana, and in the condition of the people; and it was considered a duty, it seems, on the part of the French government, to make the best provision possible for the security of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, whose destiny was thus decided by the single act of a power on another continent. In alluding to the above article, M. de Marbois says, 'The first consul, left to his natural dispositions, was always inclined to the side of an elevated justice and generosity. He himself prepared the article in question. The words which he used on that occasion were entered on the journal of the negotiation, and they deserve to be perpetuated. 'Let the Louisianians know,' said he, 'that we separate ourselves from them with regret, that we stipulate in their favor everything which they can desire; and hereafter, happy in

their independence, may they remember that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them away, has secured to them advantages, which they never could have obtained under a metropolitan government in Europe, however paternal it might have been. Let them preserve for us, therefore, sentiments of affection; and may their common origin, relationship, language, and manners perpetuate the ties of friendship.

The other articles of the treaty of cession were in their order discussed and adopted.

The negotiations came next to the second treaty, which relates to the amount of money to be paid by the United States. Bonaparte, as we have seen, fixed this sum at fifty millions of francs, but the negotiator deemed this amount much too small. Without consulting further with the first consul on this subject, M. de Marbois first spoke of a hundred and twenty millions as the probable value of the ceded territory, but the definite sum, which he proposed, was eighty millions. 'Our citizens,' observed Mr Livingston, 'have an extreme aversion to public debts, and how can we, without incurring disgrace, charge them with the enormous contribution of fifteen millions of dollars?' This was not, perhaps, a very easy point to settle by any of the common modes of valuing property. The sovereignty of a people, the works and fortifications heretofore built at the public charge, and the right to a territory undefined, but of almost immeasurable extent, were to be exchanged for a specified quantity of gold or silver. How to measure this quantity with much approach to exactitude, might well have puzzled the science of more adroit and practised financiers than our negotiators may be supposed to have been. The American plenipotentiaries at last agreed to the eighty millions, reserving the condition that twenty millions of this amount should be appropriated in payment of the claims held by the citizens of the United States against France.

M. de Marbois supposes, that the American ministers fixed upon this round sum of twenty millions with the expectation, that a reduction in the amount would be demanded. But no discussion of this nature took place. It was immediately conceded, that twenty millions should be deducted as an indemnity for such captures as should be proved to be real. 'The intention to extinguish all past claims,' says he, 'was sincere on both parts. The gross sum of twenty millions

was evidently an estimate formed on reasonable conjectures, and could not be an absolute result established on accurate knowledge. But the American plenipotentiaries agreed in opinion, that if there was any difference, it rather exceeded than fell short of the exact amount ; and the French negotiator gave an assurance, that, in case of an excess, no part of it should be reclaimed by France.' This important part of the negotiation was thus amicably settled.

The third treaty, defining the mode of payment, was attended with some difficulties, and was unfortunately not very successful in its execution, by not having provided for a *pro ratâ* division of the money among the claimants, according to the principle afterwards followed in liquidating the Spanish claims.

'The first consul,' says M. de Marbois, 'had followed with a lively interest the progress of the negotiation. It will be recollected, that he had announced fifty millions as the sum for which he would make the cession, and it is believed he did not expect a larger amount. He learnt that eighty millions had been agreed to, but that it had been reduced to sixty, by the amount withdrawn to extinguish the debt of France to the Americans. Forgetting, or feigning to forget, the sum he had mentioned, he replied with vivacity to the French minister ; "I would have these twenty millions rendered to the treasury. Who has authorized you to dispose of the effects of the state ? The rights of the claimants should be second to our own." This first excitement was calmed, when he was reminded of his previous consent to treat for a sum much less, and that the treasury would receive one much larger, without comprehending the twenty millions of indemnity for captures. "It is true," he rejoined, "the negotiation has left me nothing to desire. Sixty millions for an occupation, which will endure perhaps only for a day ! I would have France enjoy this unexpected capital, and profit by it in her marine." At that moment he dictated a decree for the execution of five canals, the projects of which had occupied him for some time. But other cares caused him in a few days to forget this decree. The following words indicate the thoughts of the first consul at that time. "This cession of territory," said he, "confirms for ever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will humble her pride."'

'The acquisition of Louisiana,' adds M. de Marbois, 'that of the Floridas, and the extinction of certain grants and original titles, have cost the United States about a hundred and sixty millions of francs. The territories acquired contain three hun-

dred millions of acres. About eighteen millions only have been sold. That which remains unsold will, in less than a century, be worth many thousand millions to the United States. The value of these lands when in the possession of individuals is not to be calculated.

‘The cession of Louisiana was followed by judicious and enterprising explorations. Expeditions were fitted out by Congress, and others were undertaken by private travellers and merchants. They arrived at the shores of the West, across a country till that day unknown to civilized people. They found hospitable and pacific nations, and they met with no obstacles except those of nature. These regions are more extensive, than the previous territory of the whole of the United States. There is space for numerous republics, and ages will pass before population and civilization will there arrive at their full developement. It would be idle to examine what form of government will be adopted by these societies; what ties will unite them, either among themselves, or with a metropolis. It is enough to foresee, that they will be formed on the model of the United States, that they will be certainly happy, and that the new world will see, what the old has never seen, societies founded for the advantage of all the members, and not for that of the founders alone, either to augment their riches, increase their power, or feed them with vain glory. Even should they detach themselves from the confederation, they will remain united by the preserving laws of peace, and by all that assures public felicity.’ pp. 316, 334.

In the fourth and last part of his work, M. de Marbois continues the history of the chief events in Louisiana down to the close of the late war, with remarks on the changes in its form of government, and its political and civil condition. He also mentions the fact, which we believe has never before been published, that, after Mr Monroe’s mission was known in England, the British ministry proposed to Mr King, the American minister then in London, to join with the United States in taking possession of Louisiana. Mr King’s letter to the American plenipotentiaries in Paris, informing them of this overture, arrived a short time after the signing of the treaty. It was proposed on the part of England to cede Louisiana to the United States, after it should be taken, but there seems to have been no hint as to the terms of the cession.

From the long extracts with which we have indulged our readers, they will be able to form an idea of the character and spirit of M. de Marbois’ performance. The outline which we have drawn, however, does very scanty justice to the merits of

the whole work, which, we repeat, is, in our judgment, the best that has recently appeared, either at home or abroad, on some of the most important topics of American history and politics. If we do not agree with all the author's opinions, we cannot but accord to him unqualified praise for his fairness, liberality, good judgment, and enlightened views. The volume will be a treasure among the historical annals of the country. We are glad to know that a translation of it, by a competent hand, is in progress at Paris, and will speedily be published in the United States.

ART. VIII.—*Pelham ; or the Adventures of a Gentleman.* In two vols. 12 mo. New York. 1828.

INSTEAD of giving our readers the trouble or the privilege, whichever they might consider it, of reading two or three leaves of speculation about novels in general, and this in particular, we will make the author supply an introduction from his two first chapters, which, besides being the key of some subsequent parts of his story, will, we think, bear reading two or three times, and so will be as acceptable to those who have read the work but once, as anything we could say, and probably more so to such as have not read it at all. It will be perceived that Mr Henry Pelham, the hero of the story, is speaking.

‘I am an only child. My father was the younger son of one of our oldest earls, my mother the dowerless daughter of a Scotch peer. Mr Pelham was a moderate whig, and gave sumptuous dinners ; Lady Frances was a woman of taste, and particularly fond of diamonds and old china.

‘Vulgar people know nothing of the necessities required in good society, and the credit they give is as short as their pedigree. Six years after my birth, there was an execution in our house. My mother was just setting off on a visit to the duchess of D— ; she declared it was impossible to go without her diamonds. The chief of the bailiffs declared it was impossible to trust them out of his sight. The matter was compromised ; the bailiff went with my mother to C—, and was introduced *as my tutor*. “A man of singular merit,” whispered my mother, “but so shy !” Fortunately the bailiff was abashed, and by losing his impudence he

kept the secret. At the end of the week, the diamonds went to the jeweller's, and Lady Frances wore paste.

'I think it was about a month afterwards that a sixteenth cousin left my mother twenty thousand pounds. "It will just pay off our most importunate creditors, and equip me for Melton," said Mr Pelham.

"It will just redeem my diamonds, and new furnish the house," said Lady Frances.

'The latter alternative was chosen. My father went down to run his last horse at Newmarket, and my mother received nine hundred people in a Turkish tent. Both were equally fortunate, the *Greek* and the *Turk*. My father's horse *lost*, in consequence of which he pocketed five thousand pounds; and my mother looked so charming as a sultana, that Seymour Conway fell desperately in love with her.

'Mr Conway had just caused two divorces; and of course all the women in London were dying for him; judge then of the pride which lady Frances felt at his addresses. The end of the season was unusually dull, and my mother, after having looked over her list of engagements, and ascertained that she had none remaining worth staying for, agreed to elope with her new lover.

'The carriage was at the end of the square. My mother, for the first time in her life, got up at six o'clock. Her foot was on the step, and her hand next to Mr Conway's heart, when she remembered that her favorite china monster and her French dog were left behind. She insisted on returning, reëntered the house, was coming down stairs, with one under each arm, when she was met by my father and two servants. My father's valet had discovered the flight (I forget how), and awakened his master.

'When my father was convinced of his loss, he called for his dressing-gown, searched the garret and the kitchen, looked in the maids' drawers and the cellaret, and finally declared he was distracted. I have heard that the servants were quite melted by his grief, and I do not doubt it in the least, for he was always celebrated for his skill in private theatricals. He was just retiring to vent his grief in his dressing-room, when he met my mother. It must altogether have been an awkward *rencontre*, and, indeed, for my father, a remarkably unfortunate occurrence; for Seymour Conway was immensely rich, and the damages would, no doubt, have been proportionably high. Had they met each other alone, the affair might easily have been settled, and Lady Frances gone off in tranquillity; those d——d servants are always in the way!' Vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

'Not long after this occurrence, by the death of my grandfather, my uncle succeeded to the title and estates of the family. He paid my father's debts, and established us in the secure enjoyment of our former splendor.' p. 5.

Mr Pelham has been blamed by some persons, and especially by some good mothers, for want of filial respect and affection, of which the above passages certainly do not give a very laudable example ; but though he is not, in this respect, the most dutiful of sons, we must admit that he portrays Lady Pelham, and makes his own *début*, with great spirit, and satirical poignancy ; and the character in which the lady is thus introduced, is most successfully and admirably sustained throughout the work, more particularly in her letters to her son when abroad in France.

This work is entitled, 'The Adventures of a *Gentleman*,' with stress upon the latter word. Now there are various sorts and definitions of gentlemen ; the Sir Charles Grandison, Sir Roger de Coverly, Uncle Toby, Chesterfieldian, the respectable, the fine, the fashionable, the popinjay gentleman, and so forth, down to the 'Tom and Jerry' gentleman. Mr Ford gives a catalogue of gentle qualifications in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.' 'Now, Sir John, you are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable discourse, of great admittance, authentic in your place and person, generally allowed for your many warlike, court-like, and learned preparations.' The title is sometimes considered as exclusively belonging to such as either have fought, or are ready to fight, a duel. A travelled friend relates, that he overheard a conversation between two cockneys in a London street, upon this very question, on which one of them said, 'You may distinguish a gentleman by his reposing, complacent assurance of the sufficiency of his own qualifications.'

We meet, in social intercourse, with quite a variety of criteria of gentility ; some referring it to the art of the tailor, hair-dresser, or boot-maker, or the tie of the cravat ; some to the carriage of the body ; others to the qualities and endowments of the mind ; and, what seems a little singular at first thought, a person of ordinary mind will most probably hit upon that quality or circumstance, as a *sine quâ non* of gentility, in which he is either almost or altogether deficient ; the reason of which seems, upon reflection, to be, that his mind, being a little troubled upon this point, runs upon it a good deal, and thus magnifies its importance, and it is sure to be the first idea that offers itself when the subject is started.

When therefore the author announces his story to be 'The Adventures of a *Gentleman*,' our curiosity is first excited to

know what description of this character he has in hand ; and he proves to be a person of good birth and connexions, who, being educated and trained for a man of the world, still seizes from time to time upon some useful branches of study ; a Chesterfieldian in studying and humoring the foibles, and flattering the vanity and self-love of those he intends to gain or use, but deviating from that school and conforming to the modern notions, in waving all parade, pretension, and bustle, steadily aiming at and maintaining the distinction, without any apparent assumption or vindication of it. One essential characteristic of our gentleman consists in his being a man of fashion ; a man, like Sir John Falstaff, ‘of large admittance.’ He moves in the highest circles, of which the manners, characters, and modes of living, make a great part of the materials of the work, contrasted, however, as usual, with the underplot of vulgar *personæ dramatis*, knaves, gamblers, blackguards, and assassins. Our hero is then a member of high life, a man of *ton* ; and this, though a very common characteristic among invented heroes, is insisted upon, in his case, as a weighty circumstance.

At the age of ten we find him at Eton, where he falls in with a schoolfellow, Reginald Glanville, whose ‘mother made her house one of the most *recherché* in London. Seldom seen at large assemblies, she was eagerly sought after in the *well winnowed soirées* of the elect. Her wealth, great as it was, seemed the least prominent ingredient of her establishment. There was in it no uncalled-for ostentation, no purse-proud vulgarity, no cringing to great, and no patronizing condescension to little people.’ This a well drawn sketch, which is the reason of our going a little out of our way to bring it in, for it is the son, Master Reginald, who is our subject ; who rescued young Pelham from the drudgery of washing tea-cups ; and who ‘used to wander by the river in the bright days of summer, when all else were at play, without any companion but his own thoughts ; and these were tinged, even at that early age, with a deep and impassioned melancholy.’ He was reserved in his manners, but to those he loved, open and warm ; watchful to gratify others, indifferent to gratification for himself ; of a slight frame, yet of great strength, and athletic skill, and a lion-like courage. This Reginald will make some figure in our story, being in fact the hero’s hero.

At the age of eighteen Pelham leaves Eton for Cambridge,

when he makes the following inventory of his acquirements, in compliment, as he says, to the modern system of education.

‘I could make twenty Latin verses in half an hour; I could construe, *without* an English translation, all the easy Latin authors, and many of the difficult ones *with it*; I could *read* Greek fluently, and even translate it through the medium of a Latin version at the bottom of the page.’ ‘I was never *taught* a syllable of English during this period; when I once attempted to read Pope’s poems out of school hours, I was laughed at and called “*a sap.*”’ p. 8.

His whole stock of historical knowledge was comprised in the story of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Essex, which his mother used to repeat to him, and then sinking back on the sofa, in a languid voice tell him of the blessings of a literary taste, and admonish him never to read above half an hour, for fear of losing his health. We give this schedule of acquirements, because we presume the author intends it as a stricture upon the actual state of education at Eton.

After two years spent at Cambridge, he does not exactly know how, in the blue and silver of a fellow commoner of Trinity, with the help of a piano-forte in his room, and a billiard-room in a neighboring village, he quits that venerable university, which he says ‘reeked with vulgarity. The men drank beer by the gallon, and ate cheese by the hundred weight; wore jockey-cut coats, and talked slang; rode for wagers, and swore when they lost; smoked in your face, and expectorated on the floor. Their proudest glory was to drive the mail; their mightiest exploit to box with the coachman; their most delicate amour to leer at the bar-maid.’ On taking leave of his *Alma Mater* he was complimented by his tutor as an honor to his college; his conduct ‘had been most exemplary, for he had not walked wantonly over the grass plats, set his dog at the proctor, driven tandems by day, or broken lamps by night, nor entered the chapel to display his intoxication, or the lecture-room to caricature the professors.’

Thus accomplished, being now twenty, he makes his *entrée* in fashionable life at Sir Lionel Garrett’s, in the country, furnished with his mother’s instructions and hints to her ‘dear Henry,’ to ‘gain as much knowledge *de l’art culinaire* as he could; pick up a little acquaintance with metaphysics, if he had an opportunity, that sort of thing being much talked about just now;’ and by no means to neglect to have a ‘*liaison* (quite innocent

of course) with a woman of celebrity in the world.' We are here joined by a new bevy of characters, some enlisted during the war, others only for this short campaign at Garrett Park. First, the host and hostess, belonging to a set called 'respectable,' whose members are above *ton*, whenever they do not grasp at its possession, but who, whenever they do, fall below it. 'They might have chosen *friends* among persons of respectability and rank; they preferred being chosen *as acquaintances* by persons of *ton*. Society was their being's end and aim.' Then the guests;—a dull political economist; a quick, sharp little woman, all sparkle and bustle, with small, gray, prying eyes; and a *noli-me-tangere* literary lion, Mr Wormwood, 'who sowed his conversation, not with flowers, but thorns.' These are introduced to make out the train, and some of them not well managed; as but little is made of the literary lion, and nothing of the economist, whose person is described, and his character given, that we may learn how a short, dark, corpulent man, with a quiet, serene, sleepy countenance, and short neck, all head and shoulders, like a cod-fish, is horror-struck at having eaten truffles. The economist and Wormwood are in fact supernumeraries, who should not have entered, without a more considerable part to act. They are merely what the painters call *studies*, the rude materials gathered up in the first invention, which ought to be rejected, unless more space is found for them in the piece. We apprehend Wormwood to be a defective conception, that could not be wrought into anything tolerable, as a lion of good society; for on saying he had been in a company where every one said a good thing, and being asked by Vincent, whose figure was rather inelegant, 'And Mr Wormwood what did you say?' he replied, 'I thought of your lordship's figure, and said—*grace*.' Now this was one of the good things the author had treasured up for his novel; as he did that of J. Smith's 'largest grant I ever saw from the crown,' to wit, the fat Mr Grant from the Crown Tavern; and he must needs put it into the mouth of one of his characters, though the admitting of such an expression, in an acid manner, was reducing the whole company below the degree of *ton*, and a character into whose mouth it is put, cannot be managed in society of this sort.

We meet also, at Garrett Park, Lady Roseville and Lord Vincent, both well imagined, and both admirably sustained

through the book. The former is described as possessing 'great sensibility, and even romance of temper, strong passions, and still stronger imagination; but over all these deeper recesses of her character, the extreme softness and languor of her manners threw a veil, which no superficial observer could penetrate.' This is a fine combination, it is true, and at the same time not over frequent in fiction; though in actual life we meet with persons who have softened and polished manners, and a ready and superficial play of the faculties, which, to an indiscriminating observer, or even acquaintance, may be taken for the whole character, while deep feelings and strong impulses are in reserve, discoverable only to those who have kindred traits, and drawn out only on trying occasions, often to the surprise of the unconscious possessor. We do not intend to imply that this kind of character is novel. It occurs in fact and in fiction, and in either case it is of a high species.

Lord Vincent is a more unusual character, the filling out and sustaining of which constitutes much of the merit of this book. He is a man of fashion, and at the same time the organ for displaying the author's classical and elegant literature. He not only quotes abundance of Latin and French besides a good deal of English, but makes puns and plays upon words in the two former languages. Vincent is rarely introduced without a quotation or classical allusion, not usually commonplace, but carefully sought out, and selected. It is accordingly a character rather perplexing to readers not sufficiently skilled in those languages to understand the quotations and allusions, that is, to a great majority of the readers and admirers of the work; and it is a strong testimony of its power, that it is read and admired by so many to whom so much of it must be unintelligible. As an actor in the scene, Vincent does not excite nor indeed call for great interest. Amid the whirl and frivolity of fashionable amusements, he is making steady and laborious preparation for political eminence; and yet he gains no partisans among his readers, who care but little whether he shall be found in the ministry or opposition, or what shall be his fortunes.

But the most important incident, during this residence at Garrett Park, is the reappearance of Reginald Glanville, Pelham's former melancholy school-mate, whom he crosses at the grave-yard late at night, where he finds him *incognito*, in a slouched hat and French cloak, attended by his black dog

Terror, sobbing audibly at a new made grave, distinguished by a small grave-stone marked G. D., which proves, in the sequel, to be that of Gertrude Douglass, a lovely girl to whom Glanville had been devotedly attached, whom he had seduced, lived and travelled with in England and on the continent, for many months; and finally left in England, to go abroad and attend upon his mother, who was taken ill at Thoulouse. The attachment continued with the utmost intenseness on both sides; but during Glanville's absence, Tyrrell, a gambling companion of his, made addresses to his mistress, and being repulsed, he perpetrated personal violence. The girl becomes crazed and dies. This shocking incident is introduced to make Tyrrell to the last degree odious and execrable, and justify the black hate and thirst of vengeance in Glanville, which are the moving principle of the highest wrought scenes and leading catastrophe of the story. Towards the conclusion Glanville is made to describe his visits to the grave of Gertrude where Pelham encountered him.

“Night after night I wandered to that lonely place, and longed for a couch beside the sleeper, whom I mourned in the selfishness of my soul. I prostrated myself on the mound; I humbled myself to tears. In the overflowing anguish of my heart I forgot all that had aroused its stormier passions into life. Revenge, hatred, all vanished. I lifted up my face to the tender heavens; I called aloud to the silent and placid air; and when I turned again to that unconscious mound, I thought of nothing but the sweetness of our early love and the bitterness of her early death. It was in such moments that your footstep broke upon my grief;—the instant others had seen me—other eyes penetrated the sanctity of my regret; from that instant, whatever was more soft and holy in the passions and darkness of my mind seemed to vanish away like a scroll. I again returned to the intense and withering remembrance which was henceforward to make the very key and pivot of my existence. I again recalled the last night of Gertrude's life; I again shuddered at the low, murmured sounds, whose dreadful sense broke slowly upon my soul. I again felt the cold—cold, slimy grasp of those wan and dying fingers; and I again nerved my heart to an iron strength, and vowed deep, deep-rooted, endless, implacable revenge.” Vol. II. p. 148.

The workings of his mind in plotting schemes for tormenting Tyrrell, and making his life and death the most excruciating, are described with great power.

“Among the thousand schemes for retribution which had
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chased each other across my mind, the death of my victim was only the ulterior object. Death, indeed—the pang of one moment—appeared to me but very feeble justice for the life of lingering and restless anguish, to which his treachery had condemned me; but *my* penance, *my* doom, I could have forgiven; it was the fate of a more innocent and injured being, which irritated and fed the sting and venom of my revenge—that revenge, no ordinary punishment could appease. If fanaticism can only be satisfied by the rack and the flames, you may readily conceive a like unappeasable fury, in a hatred so deadly, so concentrated, and so just as mine—and if fanaticism persuades itself into a virtue, so also did my hatred.

“The scheme which I resolved upon was, to attach Tyrrell more and more to the gaming-table, to be present at his infatuation, to feast my eyes upon the feverish intensity of his suspense—to reduce him step by step, to the lowest abyss of poverty—to glut my soul with the abjectness and humiliation of his penury—to strip him of all aid, consolation, sympathy, and friendship—to follow him, unseen, to his wretched and squalid home—to mark the struggles of the craving nature with the loathing pride—and, finally, to watch the frame wear, the eye sink, the lip grow livid, and all the terrible and torturing progress of gnawing want, to utter starvation. Then, in that last state, but not before, I might reveal myself—stand by the hopeless and succorless bed of death—shriek out in the dizzy ear a name, which could treble the horrors of remembrance—snatch from the struggling and agonizing conscience the last plank, the last straw, to which, in its madness, it could cling, and blacken the shadows of departing life, by opening to the shuddering sense the threshold of an impatient and yawning hell.” Vol. II. p. 150.

Hurried away by the unhallowed fever of these projects, he repaired to Paris where he learned Tyrrell then was, put on a disguise, engaged the coöperation of a blackguard, Thornton, to excite Tyrrell’s passion for gambling, and being introduced to Tyrrell as a young Englishman of great wealth and still greater inexperience, his acquaintance is eagerly grasped; and Glanville thus pursues his prey by all the arts of circumvention, and under his disguise, stands by and watches and revels in the slow excruciating tortures by which he sees his victim drawing towards his fate. In one of these scenes Glanville is thus described.

‘After dinner, I strolled into the various gambling houses, with which the Palais Royal abounds.

‘In one of these, the crowd and heat were so great, that I should immediately have retired, if I had not been struck with the

extreme and intense expression of interest in the countenance of one of the spectators at the *rouge et noir* table. He was a man about forty years of age; his complexion was dark and sallow; the features prominent, and what are generally called handsome; but there was a certain sinister expression in his eyes and mouth, which rendered the effect of his physiognomy rather disagreeable than prepossessing. At a small distance from him, and playing, with an air which, in its carelessness and *nonchalance*, formed a remarkable contrast to the painful anxiety of the man I have just described, sat Mr Thornton.

‘At first sight, these two appeared to be the only Englishmen present beside myself; I was more struck by seeing the former in that scene, than I was at meeting Thornton there; for there was something *distingué* in the mien of the stranger, which suited far worse with the appearance of the place, than the *bourgeois* air and dress of my *ci-devant* second.

“What! another Englishman?” thought I, as I turned round and perceived a thick rough great coat, which could possibly belong to no continental shoulders. The wearer was standing directly opposite the seat of the swarthy stranger; his hat was slouched over his face; I moved in order to get a clearer view of his countenance. It was the same person I had seen with Thornton that morning. Never to this moment have I forgotten the stern and ferocious expression with which he was gazing upon the keen and agitated features of the gambler opposite. In the eye and lip there was neither pleasure, hatred, nor scorn, in their simple and unalloyed elements; but each seemed blent and mingled into one deadly concentration of evil passions.

‘This man neither played, nor spoke, nor moved. He appeared utterly insensible of every feeling in common with those around. There he stood, wrapped in his own dark and inscrutable thoughts, never, for one instant, taking his looks from the varying countenance which did not observe their gaze, nor altering the withering character of their almost demoniacal expression. I could not tear myself from the spot. I felt chained by some mysterious and undefinable interest; my attention was first diverted into a new channel, by a loud exclamation from the dark-visaged gambler at the table; it was the first he had uttered, notwithstanding his anxiety; and, from the deep, thrilling tone in which it was expressed, it conveyed a keen sympathy with the overcharged feelings which it burst from.

‘With a trembling hand, he took from an old purse, the few Napoleons that were still left there. He set them all at one hazard, on the *rouge*. He hung over the table with a dropping lip; his hands were tightly clasped in each other; his nerves seemed strained into the last agony of excitation. I ventured to raise my

eyes upon the gaze which I *felt* must still be upon the gambler—there it was fixed and stern as before; but it now conveyed a deeper expression of joy than of the other passions which were there met. Yet a joy so malignant and fiendish, that no look of mere anger or hatred could have so chilled my heart. I dropped my eyes. I redoubled my attention to the cards—the last two were to be turned up. A moment more!—the fortune was to the *noir*. The stranger had lost! He did not utter a single word. He looked with a vacant eye on the long mace, with which the marker had swept away his last hopes, with his last coin, and then, rising, left the room, and disappeared.

‘The other Englishman was not long in following him. He uttered a short, low laugh, unobserved, perhaps, by any one but myself; and, pushing through the atmosphere of *sacrés* and *mille tonnerres*, which filled that pandæmonium, strode quickly to the door.—I felt as if a load had been taken from my bosom, when he was gone.’ Vol. i. pp. 70—72.

Glanville was unwilling that Tyrrell should have even the consolation of the sympathy of one being in the world. ‘There was one that still clung to him with affection, and for whom he still seemed to harbor the better and purer feelings of less degraded and guilty times. This person (you will readily guess, reader, it was a woman), ‘I made it my especial business,’ says Glanville, ‘to wean away from my prey. I would not suffer him a consolation he had denied me. I used all the arts of seduction to obtain the transfer of her affections. Whatever promises and vows—whether of love or wealth—could effect, were tried; nor at last without success. I triumphed.’ Having contrived to strip Tyrrell of his last shilling and reduced him, as he supposed, to the last extremity of misery, he says, ‘Flushed, heated, and almost maddened with my triumph, I yielded to the exultation of the moment, I discovered myself.’ After describing the scene of this discovery, he proceeds.

“‘I went joyfully home; and for the first time since Gertrude’s death, I was happy. But there I imagined my vengeance only would begin; I revelled in the burning hope of marking the hunger and extremity that must ensue. The next day when Tyrrell turned round in his despair, for one momentary word of comfort from the lips to which he believed, in the fond credulity of his heart, falsehood and treachery never came, his last earthly friend taunted and deserted him. Mark me, *I was by and heard her.*”’ Vol. ii. p. 153.

He supposes his victim soon after to perish, and has a par-

ticular account of his sufferings and miserable end. But on returning to England, after some time, he learned that 'Tyrrell yet lived!'

"*Lived* in honor, prosperity, and the world's blessings. This information was like removing a barrier from a stream hitherto pent into quiet and restraint. All the stormy thoughts, feelings, and passions so long at rest, rushed again into a terrible and tumultuous action. The newly formed stratum of my mind was swept away, everything seemed a wreck, a chaos, a convulsion of jarring elements; but this is a trite and tame description of my feelings; words would be but commonplace to express the revulsion which I experienced; yet amidst all, there was one paramount and presiding thought, to which the rest were as atoms in the heap—the awakened thought of vengeance! and yet, how was it to be gratified?' Vol. II. p. 156.

He challenged Tyrrell who returned a contemptuous reply; upon which Glanville took an oath that before three days expired 'hell should no longer be cheated of its prey.' He accordingly pursues him, intending to bring him to a close encounter in which both should fall; but on the night of the third day, as he is approaching Tyrrell and seems to be near to the accomplishment of his purpose, his prey is intercepted by two ruffians, Thornton and Dawson, gambling companions of Tyrrell, who rob and murder him. Glanville arrives at the spot after the fatal deed, and gratifies his still unrelenting thirst of vengeance with the sight of his fallen enemy; and that he may seem to appease the manes of his lost mistress, he dips her portrait in the wretch's blood.

The story we have been sketching, includes the main plot of the novel, though mostly distinct from the adventures of Pelham, who all the way hovers on his main action, in which he does not directly mingle until, in the close, he undertakes to clear Glanville from being convicted of murder. The subordinate characters who have mingled in this main action, and figure very much in the conclusion, namely, Tom Thornton, Dawson, and Job Johnson, are well conceived and ably sustained. Job Johnson and Thornton are capital in their kind, and Thornton and Dawson are fraught with a good moral lesson; which is some atonement for the latitudinarian cast of the rest of the story. In many parts of it the connexions which involve the most reprehensible violations of social and moral obligation, are spoken of as matters of course, and exalted and beautified by the highest coloring of sentiment; and these de-

fects are the more glaring by contrast with the high-wrought lessons of political integrity, inculcated in the parliamentary episode,—as we may call it, for it has no connexion with the main action,—where great pains are taken to raise the hero, Pelham, above all corruption and subserviency to the leaders of his party or its antagonists, when the principles, opinions, and measures, in question, are very indistinctly and crudely set forth; plainly indicating the writer to be laboring with a subject too large for him to grasp, and too heavy for him to wield. There is nothing in this political digression to bear out the high and energetic tone of the writer, and it is decidedly the least successful part of the work.

If the introduction of so much *flash* language is justifiable, in excuse of which the writer would probably refer his readers to the dictionary of *flash* terms, of which, if we remember rightly, we have seen some notice; the night adventure to rescue Dawson from the prison and infirmary of the thieves, is one of the best things in this book, and reminds the reader of the Waverley novels. If we admit the probability of such a private state prison and asylum of thieves in London, to which they may retire in case of danger, and in which they may immure and make away with troublesome confederates, the whole of this scene,—the long and crooked way to reach this pandæmonium,—the circumspection in admitting the visitors,—the portrait of Brimstone Bess, the priestess of this temple,—the group assembled in the council-room of this infernal society,—the sick man in his chamber,—and all the incidents of the rescue and escape, are done in admirable style.

Though Job Johnson among the knaves, and Glanville of the better class, are both arduous characters to sustain, they are not so much out of the common track, as Pelham and Thornton, each of which seems to us to be somewhat novel, and to make a new variety in fictitious portraits, both of them being sufficiently natural and true. For an affected languor, levity, and effeminacy of manners, with a studied, artificial, insincere style of conversation, and a sneering and contemptuous regard to the phantasmagoria of fashionable life, united with fixed purposes, steadiness of pursuits, real opinions, and sincere attachments, is by no means an improbable and *outré* combination; and yet we do not remember to have met with one, except Vivian Grey, to which Pelham has any close resemblance. And among all the villains with which the world of fiction is peopled, we do not remember any one who may be considered

a precedent for the vulgar high-life manners, *flash* accomplishments, vicious dexterity, malicious cunning, remorseless non-chalance, and innate constitutional turpitude of Thornton.

The writer seems to be most at ease in extremes and exaggeration ; and it is not with him an indication of want of talent and invention, and a subterfuge to hide a deficiency of thought, and want of force of expression. There is something of harshness and overdoing throughout the story, which is carried, in some instances, to an outrageous violence, that passes the mark. Thus Pelham is, as he naturally should be, shocked, and his stern honor is awakened, at the thought of Glanville's being the murderer of Tyrrell, and in danger of being, and too much deserving to be, hanged on this account ; but the making this sentiment control, and, for the time, blight his love for Ellen, is ungrateful and grating. It is that species of slow torture to the reader, which is the *forte* of a feeble writer, and the feebleness of a powerful one. And the defect is the more glaring, since the author does not rescue Pelham from the dilemma except by a mere sophism and evasion. When he learns that Glanville did not actually commit the murder, the barrier to his love is removed, and he hastens to make his declaration, never relenting through fear that Glanville may be hanged for a murder which he did not commit, of which he is in great danger. The lesson is, that he is shocked at the guilt, rather than the imputed infamy ; and yet, by his own showing, his friend has sought the life of his victim, through a long series of schemes and adventures, and finally taken an oath too solemn to repeat, that his enemy shall not live three days. And the reader's sympathy with Glanville, and desire of the success of his scheme of vengeance, are secured by the high and generous qualities with which he is endowed, and the atrocity of Tyrrell's offence, and the long tissue of meanness, cowardice, and loathsome depravity by which it is followed ; so that when Glanville falls upon the trail of this miscreant, most devoutly bent upon the execution of his deadly purpose, the reader is inclined to regard him as a minister of justice, executing the vengeance for which the laws would arm him, if they could reach his case. He intends, it is true, to fall himself a sacrifice to the vengeance to which he has devoted his victim ; but this is no atonement for his crime, from which he is only saved by the intervention of Thornton and Dawson, who do the murder which he had been meditating so long. It

is clumsy in the author to load Glanville's conduct with so much infamy, and then affect to purify and vindicate him, on the ground that he did not discharge his pistol at his victim, as he would have done had he been a few minutes earlier. The atrocity of Tyrrell, which gives rise to the concentrated, deadly, unmitigable hate and thirst of vengeance in Glanville, is also too odious to be an admissible incident in a novel ; so that the origin and catastrophe of this tragical part of the story, are both exceptionable. But the conduct and progress of this plot, the workings of this vindictive, burning hate, in the mind and on the frame of Glanville ; his devout consecration of his victim to its appeasement ; the gleams of satisfaction and exultation at its partial gratification ; the redoubled and accumulating turpitude and loathsomeness of its object,—are all portrayed with a masterly hand.

This work is less dramatic in the conduct of the action, than the best English novels, holding an intermediate place, in this respect, between them and the stories of Godwin and Maturin. Scott, and the other ablest novelists, though they sketch their characters, by way of introduction, do not frequently interrupt the narrative, and suspend the action, with comments and dissertations. Pelham's so frequently reminding you that he has strong nerves, and is not apt to be frightened at anything, dead or alive, is, after all, too much like writing under the picture, ' This is a lion ; ' which is superfluous, if the picture is well drawn, and a poor apology for its defects. These are conclusions, and inferences which should be developed in the course of the action and dialogue, and not expressly inculcated and reiterated by the author. The characters should move and bear a part in the action throughout, and not, like stenographers, step aside to take notes of its progress. At the commencement of a literary conversation at Lady Roseville's, for instance, we are favored with a new introduction of the characters, explaining why such a conversation should be had at her house ; all of which ought to be superfluous, in regard to persons who have been your companions through a whole volume.

The dialogue sometimes takes up subjects of literary discussion and criticism, too general and abstruse. The conferences between Pelham and Gulo seton—a well drawn character, by the way—on the subject of gastronomy ; the discussion of collars with Russelton ; the dissection of vanity at Lady Roseville's ; the piquant sketches of character at the Cheltenham

party, and a hundred others, are all good materials for a novel; but when we come to a contrast of French and English literature, and dip into philosophy and metaphysics, in other parts of the book, comparisons are suggested to the prejudice of the novel.

In a work containing so much good writing, we are surprised to find the following phrases, which are wholly new to us, and seem to be as paltry an innovation in the use of words, as we remember to have met with in any respectable book; viz. '*directly* I or any other of his friends was injured, his anger was implacable.' (Vol. i. ch. 2.) 'She pressed me to come and see her *directly* she returned to London.' (Vol. i. ch. 8.) '*Directly* Glanville's door was opened, I saw that I had come too late.' (Vol. ii. ch. 23.) 'Thornton said, *directly* we had passed him, "He is Tyrrell's enemy."' (Vol. ii. ch. 28.) The author is evidently smitten with admiration of this poor grammatical deformity; for he studiously introduces it, though there are enough equivalent phrases, as well sounding, and at the same time good English.

Were a good novel a more rare production, we should have much more to say of the excellencies and defects of this, which, liable as it is to the gravest exceptions on account of its moral lessons, is certainly one of very high character for striking portraits, richness of thought, strength and originality of conception, and vivacity and energy of style.

ART. IX.—*An American Dictionary of the English Language; intended to exhibit, I. The Origin, Affinities, and Primary Signification of English Words, as far as they have been ascertained. II. The genuine Orthography and Pronunciation of Words, according to general Usage, or to just Principles of Analogy. III. Accurate and discriminating Definitions, with numerous Authorities and Illustrations. To which are prefixed, an Introductory Dissertation on the Origin, History, and Connection of the Languages of Western Asia and of Europe, and a Concise Grammar of the English Language.* By NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D. In two volumes. 4to. New York. S. Converse. 1828.

WHEN it was announced to the public, that this work, which was known to have been so long in the hands of the author, was

at length ready for the press, we determined to hold ourselves free from all previous bias, either for or against it; and to form our opinion of its merits solely from actual examination. More than usual caution seemed to be demanded by the somewhat peculiar circumstances which had attended the progress of this undertaking. The author, it is well known, met with much opposition at the commencement of his labors; and it is equally notorious, that as he proceeded in the accomplishment of his design, he was seldom cheered with the voice of encouragement and approbation.

At first it was objected by many, whose stations in the community, and whose literary character, claimed from the public more than ordinary attention, that a new dictionary of the English language was not wanted; that the language, so far as words were necessary or convenient, or even of allowable use, was already embodied in the dictionary of Johnson; that to enlarge the vocabulary would be to debase the pure sterling of English speech; and that anything additional, therefore, in English lexicography, would be both superfluous and injurious. Others, without denying that a new English dictionary might be useful if properly executed, were strongly impressed with the opinion, that the business of improving on those already in use, belonged, by a kind of exclusive right, to the scholars of the parent country. Lexicography, it was said, was a species of literary labor, which could be successfully prosecuted only where literature and the arts had attained a greater maturity than they could hope to reach on this side of the Atlantic, for a long time to come; and, as an obvious consequence from this position, it was maintained, that the attempt in question savored of presumption unbecoming our years. But what was especially condemned, was the proposition to introduce into the contemplated dictionary, new words and new senses of words, of American origin. This was loudly denounced as a project, the plain tendency of which was to corrupt our speech, the noblest part of our inheritance from our ancestors, by giving currency and show of legitimacy to local vulgarisms. A not less formidable obstacle existed in a general, but not very accurately defined apprehension in the public mind,—how this originated it is not now important to inquire,—that in this dictionary some plot was contriving against the purity of the language; and that the great landmarks of our mother tongue were about to be shaken or removed. In the face,

however, of all objections, and amidst many discouragements more strictly personal, the author has persevered steadily and resolutely in his work to its final accomplishment.

There is something in this firmness of purpose, which commands respect. A work executed amidst embarrassments, and in despite of censure, and even obloquy, presents claims to a candid examination, which it would be difficult to resist. Not that perseverance in any literary project is of itself sufficient to excuse, much less to conceal, real faults. All that is claimed on this score, is, that as such perseverance shows strong conviction in the author, of the correctness of his course, more than common attention is due in settling the justness of his pretensions.

Whether all the objections at first raised against this undertaking, were well or ill founded, we will not now inquire. One of them, which originated in the belief that the subject of English lexicography was exhausted by Johnson, would probably now be urged by no one. A late English editor has added so many words to the vocabulary, words in many instances of ordinary and necessary use, that the evidence on this point is complete. A little reflection will show, that the fact cannot be otherwise. The language of a people active and enterprising, free in the choice of their pursuits, and unrestrained in their discussions, must constantly become more copious. New words will be introduced, and old words will be used in new senses. If this were not the case, if the English language were now the same in all respects, as when Dr Johnson compiled his dictionary, and if it could be found in books which had then been published, still the supposition that nothing of importance to the student of English, could be gleaned from the volumes which Johnson examined, has little appearance of probability, and is unsupported by any analogous case. The lexicon of the Latin language, by Facciolati and Forcellini, the product of long and laborious study, though published nearly twenty years after the English dictionary of Johnson, has yet received, since its first appearance, a valuable addition in the supplement of Cognolato. Nor has the progress of improvement in Latin lexicography stopped here. The late London edition of this great work contains a further supplement, equal to almost a tenth part of the whole; and in the third Italian edition, now in the press, the editor promises five thousand words not to be found in the second, with

ten thousand corrections and additions in the definitions. But here is a language, which had dictionaries already existing in a highly improved state, which is contained in comparatively a few volumes; and these, through the labors of critics and commentators, affording every facility for rapid as well as thorough research.

Considering, therefore, the wide range of the English vocabulary; the greatly diversified character of the authors who have written in our language; and the new and ever-varying applications of words, from the changes constantly occurring in objects of general pursuit and interest, the author of the 'American Dictionary of the English Language' must be allowed to have engaged in an undertaking, which, considered by itself, argues neither vanity nor presumption. He has entered a field, cultivated but in part, and constantly enlarging, and in which there is abundant room and demand for additional labor.

In thus maintaining that Johnson's dictionary, when first published, was imperfect, nothing more is intended, than that its author did not do, what no human powers were ever able to accomplish; and in asserting that his work is insufficient for present use, whatever might have been its merits at first, we say no more than that it is not what it is impossible such a work should be. To derogate from the just praises of Johnson is no part of our object. We claim to be considered among his ardent admirers, and to have a due sense of the obligation the English language is under to his labors; and if we dissent from the commendations bestowed upon him, it is only when we hear ascribed to his work the attribute of perfection. To see the real value of what Johnson has done in lexicography, his dictionary should be compared with those which preceded it. By such comparison, the advance which he made in this department of literature appears in its true light; and it is then that his deserts are distinctly recognised and acknowledged.

The 'American Dictionary of the English Language' claims attention on the ground, that it exhibits a more full and correct view of the etymological part of our language, than has before been published; that it furnishes a larger vocabulary than the dictionaries which have preceded it; and that it contains valuable improvements, not only in the definitions of words, but in orthography, and the rules of pronunciation. To give a full and detailed account of what the author has undertaken in

each of these departments, much less to decide on the exact value of what he has accomplished, is not aimed at in the present notice of the work. Amidst subjects so multifarious as enter into the composition of a copious dictionary, the time and labor requisite to settle every question which might arise, even if the attention should be confined to points of acknowledged importance, approximate in some degree to the time and labor expended by the author himself. There are also in a dictionary peculiar difficulties in the way of a hasty decision on its merits. The etymologies may be erroneous, and the definitions correct; or the etymologies good, and the definitions bad. Or the definitions may be accurate in certain departments, and faulty in others; and the same may hold true of the etymologies. Such a work, from its very nature, may admit of great defects, in union with great excellencies; and this, not only in the etymological and defining parts, but in the extent and nature of its vocabulary, and in its orthography and pronunciation.

The danger, or rather the folly, of condemning a work so extensive as a dictionary of a cultivated language, when the examination has proceeded no farther than to a few words or classes of words, was never perhaps more fully exemplified than in the literary history of the dictionary of Dr Johnson. Here the labor of years was weighed in the short space of days, or even hours, and declared to be wanting. In despite, however, of such criticism, the work has found its true level in English literature; and the revilings of its violent and precipitate opponents are remembered only to warn others, who may be tempted to enter on so rash a career. With these views of the difficulty of instituting a full and thorough examination of so elaborate a work, and of the probable failure of an attempt at once to satisfy all inquiries, much more to anticipate the judgment of the next generation, very little more will now be attempted than a few general remarks, designed rather to invite attention to the subject of English lexicography at large, than to decide absolutely, in all respects, on the merits of the work under review.

Etymology deserves to hold a conspicuous place in an English dictionary. Our language is, perhaps, more than that of any other people, compounded of various, and, as might have been thought beforehand, jarring materials. Dr Johnson indulges in no exaggeration when he says, that 'in search of the progenitors of our speech, we may wander from the tropic

to the frozen zone, and find some in the valleys of Palestine, and some upon the rocks of Norway.' The Teutonic part of our language, and that portion of it introduced through the Norman-French, make up a great majority of our words. Our obligations to these two great sources of our vocabulary are stated somewhat quaintly, but still in an amusing manner, by Howell, a lexicographer in the early part of the reign of Charles the Second. 'The Englishman,' says this author, 'is High-Dutch, *cap-à-pie*, from top to toe; go to the parts of his body, inward and outward, together with his coverings and cloths; he is Dutch in drinking, in eating, at bed and at board, by sea also, and by land, when he steers a ship or drives the plough; in his numbers, in the days of the week, in his kindred, in the church and holy things. But in hawking, in hunting, in heraldry, in fencing, in riding, in painting, in dancing, in music, in *aires*, he is all French; insomuch that it cannot be denied but if the English tongue should repay unto the Dutch and French all she owes, she would prove a stark bankrupt, and be as bare as Æsop's crow.' To console us, however, for what might be thought the disgrace of shining in borrowed plumes, he adds; 'Nor is it any derogation for the English language to be descended of the High-Dutch or Teutonic, which is so ancient a maternal tongue, that Becanus thinks it was the language of Paradise; and the Italian did merrily twit him in that opinion when he said, that it was the tongue wherein Adam was cast out thence, being a rough and cartilaginous or boney speech, in regard to the collision of so many consonants, that if a man were to be worded to death, or stoned to death by words, the High-Dutch were the fittest.'

But though etymology is highly important, in giving a full exhibition of a language, and especially of such a language as the English, still it has long had to contend with many obstinate and deep-rooted prejudices. Even in the time of Varro, the sentiment of the learned of the age must be considered not very favorable to this science; as this distinguished author, whose reputation might be supposed sufficiently high to silence ordinary opposition, found it necessary, in his work '*de Lingua Latinâ*,' to begin with answering objections to etymological inquiries, before he proceeded to the subject itself. In the introduction to his fourth book, addressed to his friend Cicero, referring to what he had written on etymology in the books which preceded it, he says he had already considered '*quæ*

contra eam dicerentur, volumine primo ; quæ pro eâ, secundo ; quæ de eâ, tertio ;' thus giving his defence of etymology twice the extent of the exposition of the topic itself. It would afford no common gratification to the lovers of etymological research, to be indulged with the perusal of these volumes, the loss of which we have to deplore. But that etymology has need of able defenders, and that even the talents and learning of Varro were insufficient to stop all cavil, may be inferred from what later writers among the ancients have incidentally remarked. Even St Augustine, in his *Dialectics*, speaks of the investigation of the origin of words as a vain pursuit, being in his opinion no less uncertain in its result, than the interpretation of dreams. 'Ut somniorum interpretatio, ita verborum origo, pro cujusque ingenio prædicatur.' The estimates, likewise, which etymologists have formed of each other's labors, have had no tendency to exalt them in the opinion of those who were not adepts in this science. If they have ever been listened to with undivided attention, and gained general credit, it has been in their attempts to detect each other's errors, and to demonstrate the false principles on which particular etymologies have been grounded. Sir William Jones, referring to Bryant's '*Analysis of Ancient Mythology*,' remarks concerning that work of his 'learned friend,' that 'the least satisfactory part of it seems to be that which relates to the derivation of words from Asiatic languages ;' meaning, no doubt, that this part of the work has failed to afford any satisfaction whatever ; in which opinion there are others who would agree with him. That Sir William himself has not sufficiently guarded his language on the use of *vowels* in tracing etymologies, has been shown by Dr Webster. But it is unnecessary to go into details here.

The principal reasons of the disrepute and even contempt into which etymological inquiries have sometimes fallen, appear to be these ; the want of proper qualifications in those who have often taken it upon themselves to judge of their value ; and the extravagancies into which some celebrated etymologists have been carried. These reasons have mutually strengthened each other. The want of a thorough acquaintance with the subject has led many to suspect extravagance and fancy where none existed ; and, on the other hand, real etymological errors have deterred scholars from pursuing a subject, in which they have been led to believe, that not merely certainty, but that even probability is unattainable. Etymology, likewise,

has been a favorite subject of caricature, and attempts in this way have not always been without success. A few wild etymological speculations, somewhat distorted if necessary, brought forward in an imposing manner, have been sufficient to throw an air of ridicule over the whole pursuit; nor is it strange, that the effect should be to alarm and discourage those, who might otherwise be disposed to cultivate this branch of philology. Perhaps likewise truth requires it to be said, that in etymology there are more than usual dangers of being misled by fanciful analogies. In all inquiries, where conjecture is in any degree allowable, and the results are matters of opinion rather than of knowledge, the human mind has been prone to overleap the barriers of common sense, in the pursuit of a favorite theory. It would be strange, then, if in etymology, where the guides to investigation are so few and uncertain, the same mental obliquity should not be observed; if fancy should not often be found without the control of reason, and grave decisions should not occasionally be made, so obviously wrong as justly to be exposed to the ridicule of the mere sciolist. We need not wonder, therefore, that the etymologist, opposed by ignorance from without, and urged on by a heated imagination from within, should be looked on by multitudes as a learned trifler; and that it should be said of him as has been said of commentators on the Apocalypse,—that his subject either finds him mad or leaves him so.

But here it should be asked, Is this popular dislike or odium really deserved? Is it true that etymology is wholly a creature of fancy? or that there is so large an admixture of caprice and whim in its composition, as to place the study of it without the pale of rational pursuits? Let the subject be viewed more closely. No person acquainted with the English language, and who has even a moderate knowledge of the Latin, can entertain a doubt that many English words are of Roman origin. Not to insist here on such words as are the same in both languages, as *honor, labor, favor*, nor such as have been introduced into our language with only a slight change, as *felicity*, from *felicitas*; *eloquence*, from *eloquentia*; *music*, from *musica*; *regal*, from *regalis*; and innumerable others of the same kind; none, with the smallest qualifications for judging, would probably hesitate in admitting a relationship, more or less near, between *sit* and *sedeo*, *seal* and *sigillum*, *sect* and *seco*, *identical* and *idem*, &c. As little doubt is there,

with those who know any thing of the subject, that such words as *eclipse*, *ecstasy*, and *energy*, are from the Greek. If we refer to the French, the relation between that language and the English is at once manifest, there being many words in the latter, which are undeniably derived from the former. A similar connexion appears, from a comparison of many English words with corresponding words in the remaining dialects of the Celt and Goth. About the general fact, therefore, that words can be traced from one language to another, there is, and can be, no dispute. The only difference of opinion which exists, when the subject is fairly presented, respects particular words. The amount of the difficulty is, that different persons have come to different results in certain etymologies, and entertain different opinions as to the extent to which the science of etymology can be relied upon. But no principle is better established, or more universally admitted, than this,—that occasional disagreements as to the details of a science, form no valid objection to the science itself.

The question now presents itself, Are there any sure principles to guide the etymologist in his inquiries,—any rules by which he can distinguish what is certain from what is doubtful, and what is merely probable from what is conjectural or fanciful? On this point Dr Webster remarks, ‘The governing principles of etymology are, *first*, the identity of radical letters, or a coincidence of cognates, in different languages, no affinity being admissible, except among words whose primary consonants are articulations of the same organs, as B, F, M, P, V, and W; or as D, T, Th, and S; or as G, C hard, K, and Q; R, L, and D. Some exceptions to this rule must be admitted, but not without collateral evidence of the change, or some evidence that is too clear to be reasonably rejected. *Second*. Words in different languages are not to be considered as proceeding from the same radix, unless they have the same signification, or one closely allied, or naturally deducible from it. And on this point, much knowledge of the primary sense of words, and of the manner in which collateral senses have sprung from one radical idea, is necessary to secure the inquirer from mistakes.’

How far these rules are founded in truth, and are entitled to be considered ‘principles of etymology’ will perhaps appear from a cursory view of the manner in which diversities in language originate, and of the nature of these diversities

themselves. If a tribe but little advanced in the arts of civilized life, should be divided, and thus become the stock from which new and distinct communities proceed, the language at first common to the whole body may be supposed to change very greatly in the course of a few ages, in some such manner as this. Those vowel-sounds, which are not very distinct, would be interchanged, as the *a* and the *e*, and the *o* and the *u*. The vowel-sounds would likewise be varied by interchanging *long* and *short*, *broad* and *flat*. Sounds also, which are represented by the consonants, would be soon varied. An aspirate might easily become more or less rough, be entirely omitted, or introduced where there was none before. Consonant-sounds of the same organ could hardly fail to be substituted for each other, as the sound of *d* and *t* dentals, of *b*, *f*, *m*, and *v*, labials, and the same of the letters of the other organs. If alphabetical writing be supposed to be now introduced, the primitive words as written in any one branch of the original community, would have little resemblance to the corresponding words in the other branches, partly from a change in the words as spoken, and partly from a difference which would exist in the application of the alphabet. Even where the alphabet is the same, and the sounds to be expressed the same, different persons will not agree in all cases in the selection of letters. But the alphabets themselves would vary; the same letter being used among the different tribes as a representative of a very different sound. The changes which are made in words by being written in alphabets where the powers of the letters are not the same, is exemplified in dictionaries of our own language for the use of foreigners. As our sounds are there expressed by a foreign alphabet, we are often hardly able to recognise our most intimate acquaintance. Thus, in a dictionary in which our pronunciation is given according to the sounds of the German letters, after the word *birth*, the author has put *berrdh*; after *queen*, *kwihn*; after *squeeze*, *skwihs*; after *judge*, *dschodsch*; and after *church*, *tschohetch*. Yet here it is the author's object to express the sound of the word exactly, and no doubt to a German ear he has accomplished his object.

But differences in words as written, would originate not only in the fact, that a difference of pronunciation had been brought about, and different powers assigned to the letters; but likewise from carelessness in spelling, or neglect of all analogy in some cases, and too close adherence to it in others. This dis-

regard of rule is often found in those who undertake to write English, and who are determined in the choice of letters by the ear only. Words, in these circumstances, are sometimes so written, that a pretty accurate analysis of sounds must be instituted, before it can be determined what the writer intended. Perhaps the English are more exposed to mistakes in this case, than most other people, from the great irregularity of their orthography. That this is not a gratuitous and unsupported theory, will appear from the induction of a few particulars.

Our language is largely derived from the Saxon. Many words, now used in English, are undeniably the same as are found in other languages, which, like our own, are of Teutonic origin. We will give a few examples of the changes in words, which have actually occurred. *Better* is in German *besser*; the letters *t* and *s*, which are pronounced by nearly the same organs, having been interchanged. The substitution of one *dental* for another occurs frequently in these languages. Thus we have *God, Gott*; *bread, brot*; *thank, dank*; *think, denken*; *thick, dick*; *thing, ding*; *this, dieser*; *thorn, dorn*; *throng, drang*; *thin, dünn*; *thirst, durst*; *dance, tantz*; *dear, theuer*; *door, thor*; *daughter, tochter*; *drink, trinken*; and so on, through the two vocabularies. If there was a single instance only of this species of change, it might be said, that it was the result of chance; but the examples being so numerous, and occurring everywhere in the two languages, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the corresponding words, here enumerated, were originally the same. We might now proceed to illustrate, by a like comparison, the interchange of letters of the other organs; but this is unnecessary. Perhaps, even now, an apology is due for the particularity in reference to this subject, we have indulged in. Those who are familiar with such inquiries will probably look upon our remarks as too elementary; we will add, therefore, on this point, merely, that changes take place in words, not only in single consonants and consonants of the same organ, but in several, and those of different kinds. Thus our word *deep* is in the German, *tief*; *dentals* being interchanged at the beginning, and *labials* at the end. Let a comparison also be made of *deaf, taub*; *deed, that*; *death, tod*; *washing, tushing*; *like, gleich*; *drive, treib*; *do, thun*; *to burn, verbrennen*; *to hold, verhalten*; *can, können*; *come, kommen*; *coal, kohle*; *day, tag*, and thus through the two languages, in a large proportion of the words.

From this exhibition it is manifest, that the cognate letters, as stated by Dr Webster, afford important aid to the etymologist; and that the first of the two 'governing principles' given above, has abundant support. It is admitted, that there is here sometimes room for mistake; resemblances may exist, which are merely accidental; but this circumstance authorizes no conclusion against the whole system. It shows only the necessity of cautious examination and comparison. We would here remark, that, in the examples given above to illustrate a single principle in etymology, references have been limited to modern languages, and to two which, we know historically, sprung from the same stock; as it is important towards satisfying all scruples, that the fact should be prominently exhibited, that, within comparatively a few centuries, a great diversity of dialect has come in among those who before used the same speech. Now, if, in modern languages, changes have arisen by a commutation of cognate letters, it is certainly no very rash inference, that similar changes were made in the languages of antiquity. If tribes, in modern Europe, when separated from each other, form different dialects of their original tongue, we may conclude it has been so in all countries and in every age. And if changes among the cognate letters are a safe rule to go by, in tracing a connexion among the modern languages of Europe, no valid objection lies against the same rule in tracing a connexion among the ancient languages of Europe and the East.

The principle of etymology, which we have been now considering, extends much farther than to single letters. It would be easy to show its application to syllables. Among the analogies which are discoverable between the words of two kindred languages, and which are important to the etymologist, we will notice a few, included perhaps in the rule just illustrated, and subordinate to it. Thus, the omission or addition of letters or syllables in words which have passed from one language to another, may have such uniformity, as to throw light on their derivation, and render etymologies, which might otherwise be doubtful, highly probable or certain. That the French *écume* is from the Latin *spuma* is rendered much more probable by observing that the letter *s*, with sometimes the consonant or consonants which follow it in the Latin, is often omitted, and in its place is substituted *e*, *ec*, &c. The Latin *scalæ* becomes, in this way, the French *échelle*; *schola*,

école ; *scribere*, *écrire* ; *scopulus*, *écueil* ; *scintilla*, *étincelle* ; *spina*, *épine*. The *s* is sometimes retained, as in *scapha*, *esquif* ; *spatium*, *espace*. We are now prepared to see other analogies, as *aperire*, *ouvrir* ; *operarius*, *ouvrier*, &c. The addition of a syllable also in French words derived from the Latin, is found in certain cases with such uniformity as not to obscure their origin. We have an example in the addition of *eil* or *il* to many nouns ; as *sol*, *soleil* ; *par*, *pareil* ; *acus*, *aguille* ; *somnus*, *sommeil*, &c. The fact also that words are generally abridged in passing from the Latin to the French, throws light on particular etymologies. Thus, *ridere*, *rire* ; *manducare*, *manger* ; *ambulare*, *aller* ; *scribere*, *écrire* ; *pater*, *père*, &c. This contraction may sometimes be traced through several stages ; as *homo*, *homme*, *om* (old French), *on* ; *on dit*, in French, corresponding in meaning exactly to the *man sagt* of the German. Any one who has attended to those languages of modern Europe, which are extensively derived from the Latin, must have observed innumerable analogies of this kind, which, though scarcely noticed at first, yet, by their frequency become clear and undoubted. But it is unnecessary here to particularize farther.

As to the second principle or rule in etymology laid down by Dr Webster as quoted above, that ‘ words in different languages are not to be considered as proceeding from the same radix, unless they have the same signification, or one closely allied, or naturally deducible from it ;’ some few remarks will be made by way of illustration. This rule likewise has a wide extent, and needs some qualifications. The rule applies especially to words which are the same in form, but differ wholly in signification ; as in the French words *pêcher*, *to fish*, and *pécher*, *to sin*. The etymologist, who should attempt to bring these words together by tracing out some primary or collateral sense, however he might amuse his readers, would undoubtedly err. The first of these two words is evidently contracted, in the common mode of the French, from the Latin *piscari*, and the second from the Latin *peccare* ; though they are distinguished in French only by the accent. Now if words can be thus separated, which are in form so nearly alike, much more should we be on our guard against confounding those which have less resemblance. It is important here to know the history of each word ; and this brings us to the dividing line between certain and conjectural etymology. The highest

degree of proof is, where the successive variations in a word can be historically traced, and each of them referred to some well established analogy; and the force of evidence is diminished, as we recede from this rule of rigid comparison.

We have now to ask the indulgence of those of our readers, who have followed us thus far, while we adduce several examples of words, to illustrate more fully the two rules of etymology which have been now considered, with several of their modifications, and the use of historical notices in relation to this species of research. We are not about to give a system of etymology; but as far as we go, we choose to be understood; and examples seem necessary for our purpose.

Recluse is defined by Dr Webster, 'a person who lives in retirement or seclusion from intercourse with the world,' &c. He says 'it is derived from the Latin *recludo*, but with a signification directly opposite.' How this change has occurred is obvious from looking at the history of the word. The prefix *re*, as is well known, is used in Latin, both in an *intensive* and a *negative* sense. It is probable, therefore, that the word *recludo* had not a fixed meaning. It is true, that in the writers of the Augustan age, there is no example remaining of the use of this word in any other sense, than the opposite of *claudo*. Hence in our common dictionaries, it is defined, 'to open, to disclose,' &c. But in the writers of the succeeding ages, examples are numerous of the use of *recludo*, where *re* has merely an intensive signification. Thus the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, in his account of the emperor Constantius, says, 'Constantius, tanquam *recluso* Jani templo, stratisque hostibus cunctis, Romam visere gestiebat.' This is the general meaning of the word in the Latin Fathers. *Reclusi* meant persons shut up; hence, persons shut up in a monastery,—hence the French word *recluse*, from which our word is derived.

Stationery is defined to mean *paper, ink, quills*, &c. This is as remote from the meaning of that word in our language, which *stationery* most resembles, as *pêcher*, to *sin*, from *pêcher*, to *fish*. But it is undoubtedly the same word as *stationary*, *fixed*, and this appears from its history. Roman soldiers, who were placed in garrison, were denominated *stationarii* from *statio*, because they did their duty in one place. The word *stationarii* is used in this sense in the Roman Digest. In the later periods of the empire, persons were stationed at different places, on the great roads, to aid travellers

with horses and carriages in the transportation of their goods. These persons, as their duties were limited to particular districts, were likewise called *stationarii*, as may be seen in the code of the emperor Theodosius. A word already in use was here extended to include something analogous, a fact common in language. *Stationarii*, from being used to designate soldiers on garrison duty, and persons employed in particular districts to assist travellers, was applied to other classes of men, whose business confined them to one spot. Thus, on the revival of literature in Europe, shops were opened in the neighborhood of the universities, particularly at Padua, and Paris, where the universities were the most frequented; in which shops, books were kept for sale, and especially to *let*. In these places, also, numerous transcribers of books were employed, and conveniences of every kind were furnished to students for making extracts from authors,—a thing very necessary, as the art of printing was not yet discovered. These shops were emphatically denominated *stationes*, those who kept them were called *stationarii*, and the articles in which they dealt were designated by the law-Latin word *stationarium*, a word which seems to have been coined at this period. Hence, the word *stationery*, in due time, appeared in England. From the explanation of *stationer* in Todd's Johnson, it should seem, that it was first used to distinguish *stationary* from *itinerant* vendors of books. This, however, is disproved by the quotation given in the same place from Sheldon, where '*standing stationers*' are mentioned. *Stationers* was a general term including both classes. The true origin of the word, it is believed, is given above. In French, the Roman *stationes* were called *postes*, a word derived from the Latin *positum*. Those who past as couriers from one *poste* or *statio* to another, were likewise called *postes*, which explains the double meaning of *post* in English.

Our word *squirrel* is from the Greek *σκίουρος*. This might be doubtful from simple inspection, but every step of the change from the one word to the other may be demonstrated. *Σκίουρος* is compounded of *σκιὰ*, a shadow, and *οὐρά*, a tail, and like most names in primitive languages, was, no doubt, used as descriptive of the animal designated. The Romans received the word into their language, by merely adapting it to their own orthography; it is therefore, in Latin, *sciurus*. In French it is *écureuil*; *e* being prefixed, *s* omitted, and *il* added,

according to analogies explained above. In the old French the *s* is retained, and we there find *escureil*; and from this form of the word is our word *squirrel*. The *e* prefixed in French is often omitted in English; as Latin *status*, French *état*, English *state*; *stomachus*, *estomac*, *stomach*, &c.

Our word *bishop* and the French *évêque* have not a letter in common; yet they are both from the Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*. The Romans made no other change in the word than to give it the proper Latin termination. It is in their language, therefore, *episcopus*. The French by commuting the first *p* for its cognate *v*, and contracting the word, as is common with them, gave the word some such form as *evesc*. As words, which in Latin terminate in *c* with a vowel, are generally spelled with *que* in French, *evesc* would be written *evesque*, as it is in the old language. The *s* was afterwards omitted, probably because it was not noticed in pronunciation; and hence the word is now written *évêque*. There is a similar commutation of *p* and *v* in Italian; where the corresponding word is *vescovo*. Among the Saxons, *episcopus* was changed to *biscop*; *p* here being commuted for its cognate *b*. From *biscop*, by a very easy transition, is the English word *bishop*.

It is abundantly manifest from the etymologies now given, that the history of a word is often an important auxiliary in tracing its genealogy with correctness; and that the mere form is not in all cases sufficient. The historical *data*, necessary to produce conviction, may be more or less full. In languages nearly related, when a word falls within certain general analogies, it may be considered as well ascertained; but when the change is great, and the analogies slight, and especially in languages where but few words are known to be common, strict historical proof is indispensable. Where this is wanting, or the proof is weak, etymology is conjectural.

Perhaps no single etymology has been more frequently spoken of contemptuously, than that which Varro gives of the name of his own country, deriving *Italia* from *vitulus*, a calf. His account of the matter is this; ‘*Italia a vitulis, ut scribit Piso.*’ (*De Re Rust.* lib. ii. cap. 1.) And again, ‘*Bos, in pecuariâ, maximâ debet esse auctoritate; præsertim in Italiâ, quæ a bubus nomen habere sit existimata. Græciâ enim antiquâ, ut scribit Timæus, tauros vocabant ἰταλούς; a quorum multitudine, et pulchritudine, et foetu vitulorum, Italiam dixerunt.*’ (Cap. 5.) Now, what is there objectionable in this ety-

mology? There is nothing, certainly, in the form of the words which forbids the supposition, that *Italia* has proceeded from *ἰταλός*. There is no interchange here even of cognate letters. Besides, it must be well known to any one, who has busied himself at all in Latin etymologies, that very many words employed by the Romans on the subject of the breeding of cattle, and on agriculture in its various departments, are of Greek descent. Thus we find, *aratrum, ager, bos, ovis, sus, agnus, mel, cera, olea, vinum*, all clearly Greek; and besides these many others, whose resemblance to the corresponding Greek words is less obvious, but still so apparent as to leave no doubt of the identity, to a great extent, of this part of the two vocabularies.

The plain inference from all this is, that the Greek colonists in Italy were an agricultural people; probably much farther advanced in the arts of civilized life, than the rude inhabitants of the country to which they came. They seem to have made a permanent impression on the character and social condition of those with whom they mingled; nor is it impossible, that a name given these foreigners, at first perhaps as herdsmen and agriculturists of superior skill, may have been ultimately changed to a designation of the country in which they had become conspicuous. Heyne, following Isidore, supposes that Italy was so called from *Italus*, one of its kings; and Niebuhr says this word is derived from *Itali*, the name of a tribe; neither of which opinions is inconsistent with the etymology reported by Varro. But the truth is, we are here in the region of conjecture; and without historical elucidations, which are now unattainable, it is impossible to come to any certain conclusion in this particular inquiry. As a conjecture, however, this etymology of Varro is certainly entitled to more respect than that of Bochart, who derives Italy from a Phœnician word signifying *pitch*.

This example may serve to illustrate what we mean by conjectural etymology. There may be conjecture where words consist of nearly the same letters. If *Italia*, from the mere resemblance of the words, and with slight circumstantial support, is allowed to have been derived from *ἰταλός*, it will be difficult to set bounds to the fancy in future speculations of the same kind. On these principles, we might soon be prepared to trace *cælibes* to *cælites*, though *b* and *t* are not cognates, especially when we are told by way of confirmation, that the former are included under one common notion or conception

with the latter, 'quod onere gravissimo vacent;' and we might believe that *avarus* is from *avidus auri*, and *locuples* from *loculi pleni*, and so on without end.

In noticing a work of which etymology forms so conspicuous a part, it seemed necessary to premise some general observations, exhibiting an outline of our opinions, at least on the leading principles of this branch of philology. We are aware that what has been said is imperfect, and needs much farther illustration; but our limits will allow no more, and few readers, perhaps, will have followed us thus far. We come, then, to the Dictionary.

The author, in a very elaborate Introduction, has first explained his views of the origin of language; and from this topic has passed to another, which, if more within the limits of investigation, from fact and experience, is still involved in considerable obscurity; that is, the affinity or relationship of languages to each other. The theory which he has adopted, to explain this very difficult part of his researches, is, that the languages of the East and West were originally the same; and that all variations have arisen from the dispersion of tribes and wandering hordes into distant parts of the world. Many words of the primary stock he supposes still to exist, at least in the principal branches of what he styles the Japhetic and Shemitic families. To detect these common words, requires a very careful and accurate analysis. As the two great divisions of language, the Eastern and Western, exhibit much diversity in the inflections of words to express relation, time, and manner of existence, and in the mode of forming compounds and derivatives, the resemblance to be looked for must be in the *roots* consisting of the same or of cognate letters, and conveying the same ideas, or such as have an obvious affinity.

As, from the absence of almost all records of the early ages, an exact historical exhibition of the progressive changes of words is impracticable, the proof of identity in particular cases must consist chiefly in the number of resemblances which can be pointed out, and the extent of the analogies which can be ascertained. Lists of words supposed to be common to the European and Oriental languages, have been heretofore compiled, which show so many words in the two branches, alike in form and in signification, as to afford very plausible reasons to believe in their primitive identity, even without very extensive research. The longest catalogue of this kind, with which we

are acquainted, is that of Ogerius. Some words, indeed, which he brings together, seem to have been communicated at a later period, from one branch to the other, by means of war or commerce ; still there are resemblances in numerous words of common use and of primary necessity, which no occasional intercourse will explain.

In discussing this part of his subject, Dr Webster has gone into an extended examination of the particles of the ancient and modern languages of Europe and of Western Asia. Many of these particles he finds used separately, some in one language, and some in another, or as prefixes to nouns or verbs. Some are found in the same language both in a separate and in a compound state, with such changes in the letters as take place among cognates, or in the process of composition. In this part of the introduction, as well as in what he has said of the changes of consonants and vowels, the change or loss of radical letters, and the change of the signification of words, with the various incidental topics discussed, the author will bear an advantageous comparison with any one who has before gone over any part of the same ground, and whose writings are known to us. We are not acquainted with the writer on these subjects, who is more entirely original, who has relied more on his own investigations, and who has been less swayed by mere authority ; and we have seen no indications of a disposition to differ from others, from the mere love of singularity. If in a few instances he does not produce conviction, if some things appear to rest too much upon conjecture and accidental coincidences, and now and then a conclusion is hazarded, which will be adopted only by the deeply initiated,—let him who is dissatisfied turn to Vossius, Bochart, and other celebrated etymologists of modern days, and he will hesitate to complain. Quintilian could ask in defence of the writers on etymology in his time, ‘*Cui non post Varronem sit venia ?*’ The same question will occur to such as will peruse the authors now alluded to ; and after even a moderate examination, they will hardly think it worth their while to talk much of fancy, whim, or conjecture, in the introduction to this dictionary.

Of this preliminary discourse it is impossible to give an intelligible abstract, without greatly exceeding the limits we have prescribed to ourselves in this review. We would add only, that we think the author has contributed somewhat to the previous probability, that the Hebrew triliteral roots are com-

pounds, and so far strengthened the theory, which is supported by plausible reasons, that the original language of mankind was monosyllabic. In this point of view, what he has said on the Hebrew word **נר** in its relations to certain words in other languages, to show that **נ** is a prefix, is deserving of peculiar notice. The striking coincidences of this word with others, we believe to have been here pointed out for the first time. This example needs only a few like it brought to its support, to be the foundation of important conclusions. That many of the triliteral Hebrew roots are compounds, appears probable likewise from their terminations; a circumstance to which Dr Webster, so far as we have noticed, does not allude. To understand what is here intimated, let the words **חַרַם** *the sun*, **חָרַה** *to burn*, and **חָרַב** *to be dry or dried up*, be compared; as likewise **גָּלַה** *to uncover*, **גִּלַּח** *the skin*, **גָּלַח** *to shave*, and **גַּל** *a barber*, and other similar classes of words. If a conjecture may be here allowed, we would say, that as a connexion between the languages of Western and Eastern Asia, particularly the Shemitic and Sanscrit families, seems now to be admitted, among other elucidations to be looked for, as inquiries proceed, the subject of biliteral roots may come in for a share. But we have not space to enlarge here.

In the etymologies annexed to the several words in this dictionary, we find the comparison of languages carried to a much greater extent than in any preceding work of the kind, which has fallen under our observation. The author professes to have compared twenty languages, and to have found each language to throw light on every other. Of course, very considerable changes have been made from the etymologies of words as they stand in Johnson, even with the improvements of Mr Todd. Advantage has been properly taken of the investigations of Tooke, whose general system of tracing words to their roots has been adopted; though variations from Tooke occur in stating the origin of words, and occasionally in the details of following out the branches of the principal stocks. In noticing this part of the work, we can only produce a few examples of what the author has done; beginning with such etymologies as will give the most favorable view of his labors.

Address, taken in connexion with *Dress*, is accompanied with an etymology, which will serve as a specimen of a large class in this department. We have first the French *addresser*, from which, no doubt, the word came directly to the English.

Next follows the Spanish *enderezar*, the Italian *dirizzare*, and the Latin *dirigo*. It is added, that there is here a coincidence with words in the Chaldee, Arabic, and Syriac, which signify *to direct, to rectify, to fit*. Under the word *dress*, besides the French *dresser*, to make straight, to set up, to erect, the Armoric is given, *dreċza, dreċzein*; the Italian *rizzare*, to erect, to make straight; the Spanish *enderezar*, and Portuguese *endereçar*, to direct; the Norman *adrescer*, to redress. From this comparison, the inference is made, that the primary sense of the word is, *to make straight, to strain or stretch to straightness*. It is added, that the Italian *rizzare* is supposed to be formed from *ritto*, straight, upright; Latin, *erectus, rectus*, from *erigo, rego*. From the primary meaning of these words, as thus deduced, the various significations in which they are used are given.

This account of the word is more satisfactory than that in Todd's Johnson. The comparison of the corresponding words in other languages being more extended, and the primary sense, as it is called by the author, being more distinctly exhibited, the transition in the various uses of these words is more easily understood and remembered. There is, indeed, a prevalent opinion, that etymology generally is of little value in ascertaining the meaning of words. Their signification, it is said, must be settled by their use, and not by tracing their genealogy. But that a correct etymology of a word may be so employed as to render its definition more exact and clear, is obvious from the use which has been made of the very etymology now under consideration. From the primary sense of the word *dress*, to make straight, or reduce to straightness, as drawn from its etymology, the first meaning given is, to adjust to a straight line, as in the military phrase, '*dress your ranks*.' Hence the other senses of the word,—to put in order, to adjust; to prepare, *in a general sense*; to put the body in order; to put on rich garments, where *dress* is used emphatically; to dress up, &c. This arrangement of the several significations of a word shows their mutual dependence; the limits within which a word may be employed are more clearly defined, and the danger of its being perverted to express that for which it is not adapted, and for marking which there may be other words altogether appropriate, is much diminished.

This particular advantage, in attending to the etymology of

words, towards fixing their definitions, may be seen more distinctly, by turning to this same word *dress* in Todd's Johnson. Here the first meaning of the word is, *to clothe, to invest with clothing, &c.*, which, being a secondary signification, has little apparent connexion, as thus placed, except in form, with the French *dresser*, which is given as its etymon. Dr Webster has, therefore, very properly changed the order of the definitions. Mr Todd, however, under the word *dress*, has given the old Welch *trwsio*; and under *address*, the low Latin *addretiare* vel *addressare*, which are omitted by Dr Webster. The several significations of the word *address*, follow naturally from *dress*, as modified by the preposition *ad*. The primitive sense of this word is seen in the mercantile expression, 'to *address*, that is, to *direct* goods to the care of another, as agent or factor;' a sense which we have found in this dictionary only.

We would here make a single remark as to the derivations from the Eastern languages. Most of this class of etymologies are, as here stated, mere *coincidences*. Of proper historical proof of the connexion between the Oriental and Occidental languages, we possess but little. The evidence that words in these two great divisions of language, or as Dr Webster denominates them, the Shemitic and Japhetic families, have a common origin, must arise from resemblance in form and in signification; and especially in the number of words which will bear such comparison. We are inclined to believe, that to this part of the etymologies of the work under review, most exceptions will be taken. Not that we suppose such connexion unsusceptible of proof. The view of Oriental words in this dictionary is sufficient to evince, that the supposition of a community of roots, to a considerable extent, between the language of the East and of the West, has very plausible support. But the relation of the Eastern languages to our own is less manifest; and as the progressive changes in the transition of words cannot here be distinctly marked, there is more room for conjecture, and, by necessary consequence, for mistake. These Oriental words are, we think, very properly inserted among the etymons. They will contribute to encourage inquiry in this branch of philology; and if further investigation should show, that some are incorrectly classed, it will undoubtedly add confirmation to the assignment of others. It must be admitted, however, that any important advantage from these Eastern derivations, in the defining part of the

dictionary, can hardly be looked for. They may aid occasionally in detecting the original sense of a word, but such instances must be rare.

Array. Under this word, the etymology is much extended and improved; and the definition is, in consequence, more lucid. The connexion suggested between this word and *ray*, *rod*, *root*, *radius*, &c. is ingenious. The whole is given as matter of opinion, and is deserving of consideration. Such intimations serve at least to direct inquiry. If they should prove erroneous, no harm is done.

Assay and *Essay.* The etymologies and definitions of these words give a favorable impression of the dictionary; but it is difficult to abridge them.

Bird. The original meaning of this word is *chicken*, as stated likewise in Todd's Johnson. But the etymology is here carried farther. The remarkable fact is likewise noticed, that the proper generic name of flying animals, *fowl*, has been laid aside; and the name of the young of those animals has been substituted for it. In Todd's Johnson it is said, 'In common talk, *fowl* is used for the larger, and *bird* for the smaller kind of feathered animals.' Yet among the authorities, we find quoted from Milton,

'The *bird of Jove* stoop'd from his airy tour.'

The whole account of this word by Dr Webster, is more consistent and satisfactory.

We might proceed to notice particularly a long list of words which we have marked, in the etymologies of which there is much that is curious, much that throws new light on the origin of our vocabulary, on the connexion of different languages, and on the general or primary ideas under which words may be comprehended. Among these we have room only to refer to *beseech*, *brace*, *forest*, *foreign*, *hate*, *heat*, *seek*, and *suit*, which show very extensive research; and where the lovers of etymological lore will find abundant materials for instruction and amusement. Under the word *feud*, we are told, that the word is not Teutonic or Gothic, as has been generally supposed, being found among none of the northern nations of Europe; but that it originated in the south of Europe, probably among the Franks, or in Lombardy or Italy, and certainly among those who studied the civil law. The author, by tracing this word, in its several forms and significations, through the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and

Norman-French, comes to the conclusion, that *feud*, as also *fee*, which is a contraction of it, is a word formed from the Latin *fides*, Italian *fede*, Spanish *fe*, Norman *fei*, signifying *faith*, *trust*, with *had*, signifying *state*, or *ead* or *odh*, signifying *estate*. A *feud*, therefore, is an estate in trust, or on condition. From the origin of this word, it is thought by the author, that the peculiar propriety is manifest, of calling the donee *fidelis*, and his obligation to his lord *fidelitas*, whence *fealty*. This account of the word *feud*, is, we believe, new, at least in part, and deserves particular attention.

Under the word *thing*, as connected with the name of the third day of the week, Tuesday, there is an etymology, which is, so far as we know, altogether original; and it is certainly ingenious and plausible. The primary sense of *thing*, by a long deduction through the northern dialects, is concluded to be, *that which comes, falls, or happens*, like *event* from the Latin *evenio*. *Dings-day*, otherwise *Ding-day*, in some of the dialects, signifies *Tuesday*, and this from the circumstance that that day of the week was, as it still is in some states, the day of opening courts; that is, *litigation-day*, or *suitors'-day*, a day of strife for justice; or perhaps *combat-day*, the day of trial by battle. This, in the view of the author, connects itself with another curious fact, that among our ancestors, *Tig* or *Tiig* was the name of the deity of combat and war, the Teutonic Mars; that is, strife, combat deified. This word was contracted into *tiw*, or *tu*, and hence *Tiwes-dæg*, or *Tues-dæg*, Tuesday, the day consecrated to *Tiig*, the god of war. It was natural that trials by battle should be assigned to this day; and hence, as other forms of litigation took their place, that Tuesday should be appropriately *litigation-day*. That *res*, in Latin, is connected in the same manner with *reus*, accused, as intimated by the author, seems more doubtful.

Though the etymologies in this dictionary show extensive and laborious research, and contain important improvements on the etymological works which have preceded it; and though they will often, perhaps generally, afford entire satisfaction to the inquirer; yet in some cases the evidence on which the author has founded his opinions, is not very obvious; and in running over a variety of articles, we have experienced all the states of mind from full credence in what we found, through the gradations of doubt, to entire disbelief. It is indeed stated in the advertisement to this dictionary, that the

etymological part is given to the world under great disadvantages. The brevity required in a dictionary, will not allow of the exhibition of all the facts, which have led to particular conclusions. It is with a full view of these difficulties, that we propose any objections to this part of the dictionary; and we are aware of the liability we are under to see the weakness of our criticisms exposed by the publication of the 'Synopsis,' which the author has in hand. Still, whether the doubts we shall suggest, have any just foundation or not, the author will have an opportunity of seeing what points need especial elucidation; and will have it in his power to make that portion of his labors which is still in manuscript, more complete, and less exposed to misapprehension or perversion. We shall now, as in noticing what we approved, or considered as supported by very plausible reasons, give, as specimens of their class, a few examples of etymologies which do not satisfy us; for in neither case do we make any pretensions of furnishing a full list. The first word we have selected with this view is

Copy. This word is referred, first, to the French *copie*, which, with the corresponding words in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, is supposed to be from the Arabic, and to coincide with the root of *cope* and *cuff*. That *copy* came to us directly from the French *copie*, there can be no doubt; but that this latter word, and the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese *copia*, are from the Latin *copia*, seems more probable. From the use of such phrases as *dare copiam*, *facere copiam*, *habere copiam*, with reference to *possession*, *permission*, *opportunity*, &c. the transition was not very abrupt to the meaning of our word *copy*. But whether this was the precise mode in which this word received a new signification, or not, it is certain that *copia* in low Latin, had sometimes the meaning of *exemplum*. *Copia*, with this latter meaning, passed into the French, and from the French to the English, and left its original signification behind. In the Italian and Spanish, *copia* has the two senses of *abundance*, and *copy* or a *transcript* from an original. We seem to have here the link which connects this word with the Latin, and that historical support which etymology so often needs. The intermediate steps between *cope*, *cuff*, and *copy*, are not obvious; or if this connexion is allowed, the question will arise, how the Italian and Spanish *copia*, acquired the meaning of *abundance*. We would, however, add, that in tracing the origin of *cope*, Dr Webster, in deriving it from the

northern languages of Europe, has evidently the advantage of Mr Todd, in his etymology of the same word. Whether *cope* has any connexion with the Arabic, and *cuff* with the Greek *κόπτω*, rests, we suppose, on conjecture, though the conjecture is ingenious.

Bladder. That this word has any other connexion with *blaze*, *blade*, &c. than what is accidental we do not at present see. The objection is not, that words used to designate things so diverse, are claimed to have come to us from the same *radix*, for, that such things may be, there is most abundant proof in language; but, that the coincidences in the northern languages, on which this common descent is predicated, seem to be fortuitous.

Father. That this word has any other relation to *fodder*, than that which has arisen from casual coincidence, in the present state of our knowledge, we do not see.

Key is derived, by the author, from the Saxon *coeg*. The tenth signification given this word, is 'a ledge or lay of rocks near the surface of the water.' *Key*, a ledge of rocks, is rather from the Spanish *cayos*, which has been gradually corrupted in pronunciation and orthography to *key*. The word *cayos* may be seen on Spanish charts. This is a striking example of the accidental resemblance of words originally distinct; and of the danger of relying too much on the fact, that words may be included under some general idea.

Queen seems to have no other connexion with *quean*, than that both names may sometimes be justly applied to the same individual. Of this kind of coincidence we have had a flagrant example in our times. We should rather think *quean* only to be from the Saxon *cwæn*, and *queen* to be from the German *koenigen*.

Romance. That the appropriate meaning of this word came from the use of the Roman or Romanish dialect by the Troubadours, who translated into it the wild and extravagant tales of the Moors and others, we supposed to rest on indubitable proof. The connexion between this word and the Welch *Rham* seems to want that historical illustration, of which we have before spoken. That Rome did not receive its name from Romulus and Remus, and that the history of these personages is fabulous, is probable enough; but for the proof of it we should rely little upon an etymology, which rather needs the support of history than furnishes history any elucidation.

We might proceed to enlarge the list of etymologies whose correctness we consider as doubtful, and likewise that of etymologies in which we generally concur ; but there is little apparent advantage in this course. Our limits will not allow of many specifications ; and the examples already produced, furnish abundant foundation for all the remarks we are disposed to add. The etymological part of this dictionary, then, shows evidence of great toil, extensive inquiry, and a very careful comparison of words. Words from many different languages are here brought side by side, which shed light upon each other, and an attentive consideration of which will suggest hints for still farther discoveries and improvements. We are inclined to believe, that so far as errors and mistakes exist in this part of the work, they will be found to have originated from the fact, that the similarity of words in their letters or cognates has sometimes been too much relied upon in settling their common descent ; that occasionally too little allowance has been made for caprice or accident in the formation of words, and in the change of significations ; and, in some cases, not improbably, from the fact, that the examination of a language has been confined to the vocabulary, without that intimate acquaintance with grammatical forms, and with phraseology, which is sometimes necessary for a full and accurate analysis. But in all the great divisions of knowledge, there are departments, in which speculation and conjecture are allowable ; nor does any sufficient reason suggest itself, why, in etymology, similar indulgence should not be granted. We would add, that though there are many places in this work, where attention to the etymology of words, has enabled the author to improve his definitions ; we have fallen upon no instance, where the etymology appeared doubtful, in which the definition appeared to be affected by the supposed error.

As to the extension of the vocabulary, we are informed, in the advertisement to the work, that, 'the dictionary of Walker has been found by actual enumeration, to contain, in round numbers, *thirty-eight thousand* words. Those of Johnson, Sheridan, Jones, and Perry, have not far from the same number. The American edition of Todd's Johnson contains *fifty-eight thousand*. In the work now submitted to the public, the number has been increased to *seventy thousand*.' Among the words added, it is stated, that there have been brought into the vocabulary, many words of common use, as important as any

in the language ; participles of verbs ; terms of frequent occurrence in historical works, especially those derived from proper names ; legal terms ; and terms in the arts and sciences.

There is room for some difference of opinion in respect to the range, which the lexicographer ought to take in forming his vocabulary. Some, no doubt, would prefer a dictionary, which should contain such words only as are of reputable use on subjects of common life, and general literature ; in which there should be no word really obsolete, no word which is not found in some author of established character, and no words properly scientific ; words of this latter class being assigned to a separate work. That a dictionary compiled on these principles, which should contain only the undoubted classical part of the language, supported by proper authorities, would be useful, is not denied ; but its circulation would be necessarily limited. Unusual words are in fact met with among authors of no mean name, and many readers wish them explained ; scientific words occur in books on common subjects, and their signification is not always known. A dictionary is of course in such cases referred to ; and that work will be preferred by most persons, which least frequently disappoints them. Hence it has long been the custom of lexicographers, to recommend their works by stating the number of words which they contain, and the variety of subjects to which the vocabulary extends. Thus Howell speaks of his dictionary as containing a ‘longe nomenclature of the peculiar and proper terms belonging to several arts, to the most generous sort of recreations, to all professions both liberal and manual, from the engineer to the mouse-trap-maker, from the merchant-adventurer to the cryer of matches. Here you have the terms of heraldry, of horsemanship, of hunting, of hawking, of war, the terms of chemistry, of architecture, of navigation, not a cable or a rope in a ship but you have it here ; you shall find here all the knighthoods and religious orders of christendom, with fifty several distinct sections, a work most useful for all that pretend to knowledge, curiosity, and true eloquence, &c.’ Whatever may be thought of a dictionary containing only select words, a copious vocabulary has, in some respects, the advantage, and will be sought for by the greatest number of readers.

Of the words which have been added among the several classes mentioned above, it is impossible within our limits to give many specimens. We shall restrict ourselves here to a

few cited by the author himself. Among words in common use, he has enumerated as examples the following. Nouns—*grandjury, grandjuror, eulogist, consignee, consigner, mammoth, maltreatment, iceberg, parachute, malpractice, fracas, entailment, perfectibility, glacier, firewarden, safety-valve, savings-bank*. Adjectives—*gaseous, lithographic, peninsular, repealable, retaliatory, dyspeptic, missionary, nervine, meteoric, mineralogical, reimbursable*. Verbs—*to quarantine, revolutionize, retort (v. i.), patent, explode (v. i.), electioneer, reorganize, oxidize, magnetize*. Many hundred words of this kind are stated to have been added. They are to be found on every page of the dictionary, and it would be superfluous to cite many as specimens. Few objections, probably, will be urged against these additions. Such words as have been introduced into the language, to mark what is novel in the situation and institutions of the United States, are in the strict sense, necessary, and are adopted by the English themselves in speaking of our concerns. They cannot do otherwise, if they would be understood. Thus *land-office* and *land-warrant* are as necessary and as legitimate words, as *savings-bank* and *powerloom*, the two former of which originated with us, and the two latter with the English.

That some few words in the 'American Dictionary' will be thought not sufficiently authorized, is not improbable. *Lengthy* may be pronounced not English; but the author has given his authorities, and it must rest upon those. Without undertaking to defend this word, we would say, that it may be seen much more frequently in English, than in American, publications. A number of a periodical work* of high literary pretensions, published in London during the last year, is now before us, in which we find the following sentence. 'Mr Scott appears to have searched the road-books with exemplary diligence, in many instances transcribing several consecutive pages from Robertson, in others, translating *lengthy* paragraphs from Seckendorf and Sleidan, &c.' In a language so anomalous as the English no valid objection lies against *lengthy* from the manner of its formation; but, if it is attended with vulgar associations, this may be a reason for not using it. In this respect, however, it is in the same predicament with other words,

* The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record; No. 5, p. 65.

whose claim to a place in our vocabulary has never been questioned.

As to new words, whoever will compare the productions of the American, with those of the English press, and especially of the periodical press, will soon be satisfied that much more attention is paid to the authority of good writers, and to the decision of lexicographers, in the United States, than in England. We will take only the two last numbers of the *London Quarterly Review* (seventy-five and seventy-six), for illustration. Words are here employed, in great numbers, which are in no dictionary, or in the '*American Dictionary*' only. We will give a list of a few.

Abrahamitical, in the phrase, 'an Abrahamitical family,' is found in none of the dictionaries. The astronomical tables of Alphonso, king of Arragon, are referred to as the *Alphonsine* tables. This adjective is not in Todd, but is supplied by Webster. Then follow, *absenteeism*, *beflattered*, *buccaneered*, *cacodemon*, *chief-justiceship*, *choric*, *cognizant*, in the sentence 'a bar intent upon the subject, and scarcely less *cognizant* of all its bearings, than the judge himself,'—*concessionist*, a new word which has originated from the Catholic question,—*consubstantially*, *coxcombry*, *demented*, *devilets*, a diminutive of *devil*, though we had already in the dictionaries the nouns *deviling*, and *devilkin*,—*dupery*, *emancipationist*, another new word from the controversy about Catholic claims,—*faithworthiness*, *filiated*, in the sentence, 'a fine of two thousand pounds of sugar was exacted from any person, upon whom a mulatto child should be *filiated*,'—*fire-maker*, *finger-post*, *fruit-garden*, *game-laws*, *governor-general*, *grindingly*, *hierocracy*, *huge-limbed*, *hymn-writing*, *ill-advised*, *ill-augury*, *ill-lodging*, *ill-placed*, *ill-planned*, *ill-requited*, *ill-suited*, *ill-treatment*, *ill-timed*, *ill-wounded*, *intervisit*, *koffila*, *law-office*, *law-officer*, *land-crab*, *land-owners*, *life-interest*, *life-owners*, *long-established*, *long-backed*, *maherrie*, *metapolitics*, *mispolicy*, *mother-government*, *mud-built*, *mud-cabin*, *mystify*, *neologism*, in Todd and Webster, but not in the sense in which it is here used,—*new-found*, *non-interference*, *non-existent*, *over-drawing*,* as 'over-drawing a metaphor,' *partisanship*,—*perilled*, as an active verb,—*personalty*, *pheasant-covers*,

* *Quære*—whether *over-drawing*, as used in the business of banking is not entitled to a place, at least in an American dictionary.

public-house, power-loom, qualified, as a neuter verb; *rabbitrained, recitation-room, recriminative, relet, sea-rover, self-application, self-identification, seminude, sensualization, shillelah, socializing, statesboys, sub-commission, sheik, theopathic, unamalgamated, unapostolic, undegenerate, ungentlemanness, unobtruding, &c. &c.* are in none of the dictionaries. We find, likewise, in the same numbers of this Review, *agitator*, for one who excites sedition or revolt, a word used in the time of the Commonwealth, and now current in all discussions of Irish affairs,—*autocratic, international, inappropriate, mansion-house, nebula, rabbinism, redemptioners*, which the reviewer calls a ‘barbarous appellation,’ but he could evidently find no substitute except in a periphrasis,—*ricketty*, in the sense of weak, feeble, *shirkings*, or, as Dr Webster spells the word, *sharkings, steam-vessel, unscrupulous, undercurrent, and unilateral*, which are in the dictionary of Webster only. This is not given as a complete list. It is made up of such words only as were selected in rapid reading. The periodical press of Great Britain is actually running riot in language. We have nothing like this in the United States. More new words, it is believed, have been brought into use in England within comparatively a few years, most of which are wholly unnecessary, than in this country, with all its new institutions, from the time of its first settlement. Dr Webster should not be reproached for not picking them all up. They are as thick as Claudian’s ghosts;

‘quantas truculentior Auster
Decutit arboribus frondes.’

He has added very greatly to the number of compound words, the compounds of *un, sub, &c.* On the compounds of *ill*, he remarks, that this word may be prefixed to almost any participle. That he should have omitted some few words of sufficient authority is not to be wondered at. We were somewhat surprised, we confess, in not finding the word *forever* in this dictionary; it so often occurs as a single word, that we should suppose it would have forced itself upon the attention of a lexicographer, who had been twenty years over his work. But the ‘American Dictionary’ is not singular in this respect; we can find the word in no other dictionary within our reach.*

* On further examination we find Dr Webster has defined *forever* under *ever*, but not *in loco*.

We now pass to consider this work as a *defining* dictionary ; and it is in this view chiefly, that a work of this kind is either interesting or valuable to the public at large. Etymological inquiries may instruct and amuse the few, who have leisure and ability to pursue them ; but to the great mass of readers a dictionary is useful only as it furnishes a copious vocabulary, and is a safe guide to the purity and precision of their mother-tongue.

In examining Dr Webster's labors in this department of his work, it will be natural to consider, in the first place, the *new significations* which he has introduced in his definitions. These occur on every page ; and amount, as he informs us, to between thirty and forty thousand. As far as we have been able to examine them, they consist, to a great extent, of the most common and important senses of words, according to the best usage of the present day. Thus, the sense of *achievement* for the *action* performed, *donation* for the *thing* given, *excitement* for the *effect* produced, *celebrity* for *renown* or *distinction*, a *premium* for a *reward* or *prize*, *magistracy* for the *body* of magistrates, *orientalist* for an *oriental scholar*, *gazetteer* for a *dictionary of geography*, *muscular* for *strong*, an *acceptance* for a *draft* accepted, an *action* for a *military engagement*, a *manifest* for one of the *papers* of a *ship*, *anchorage* for the *place* where a ship may *anchor*, the *marine* of a country for its *navy*, *tact* for nice *discernment* or *taste*, *calculated* for *fitted*, *failure* to denote *insolvency*, *original* and *originality* to denote *mental* qualities, *speculate* and *speculation* in the *mercantile* sense of those terms, are examples of the additions in this part of the work, and are to be found, we believe, in no other English dictionary.

So likewise, the peculiar significations of the words, which are *italicized* in the following expressions, have been given, we believe, for the first time in a dictionary, by Dr Webster. The *docket* of a court, an *organ* of conveyance, to *invest* capital, to *protest* a draft, to *libel* a ship, the *locality* of a mineral, the *investment* of a fortress, *moral* certainty, the *execution* of a deed, a *lucid* arrangement, the *lock* of a canal, *menial* offices, to *address* a letter, to *adopt* an opinion, to *affirm* the decision of an inferior court, the *album* of a friend, the *alcove* of a library, a *cordon* of troops, *minute* investigation, *minuteness* of inquiry, the *validity* of a will, &c. It is useless, however, to multiply examples of this kind, since they occur on almost every page.

The number of definitions is also increased by a distinction between the senses of qualifying terms, when applied to *persons* and to *things*. Thus, Dr Johnson's definition of *learned*, 'versed in science and literature,' does not apply to a 'learned treatise.' In the expressions, 'a *charitable* man,' and 'a *charitable* society,' 'the *pious* donor,' and 'a donation for *pious* uses,' there are two distinct applications of the terms used, which we have seen marked by no one but Dr Webster.

The definitions in this work are rendered still more numerous and valuable, by the addition of important *technical* and *professional* senses, which belong to a large class of words or phrases. Thus, we find explained the meaning of a bill of exchange, course of exchange, balance of trade, bill of sale, bill of entry, bill of rights, animal magnetism, excommunication the greater and less, benefit of clergy, duplicate ratio, compound and double affinity, together with the legal sense of an affray, challenge of jurors, writ of error, bail common and special, bond, judge advocate, forgery, bill of exceptions, &c. These additions are very numerous, and present a great variety of useful information.

Besides increasing the number of his definitions, Dr Webster seems to have aimed, in the second place, at an increased fulness in describing the object or action in view. Thus, under the word *bishop*, after defining the term, he adds a statement of the mode in which bishops are elected and consecrated to office, both in England and in this country. Under the word *earth*, he enumerates the primitive earths, refers to their metallic bases as discovered by modern chemistry, and he likewise describes the orbit, figure, diameter, and revolution of our globe. Under the word *blockade*, he states in what cases a port may be considered as truly blockaded. In this respect, the work before us presents not merely the signification of words in their popular import, but, to a certain extent, a scientific enumeration of the properties and relations of the thing described. As examples of Dr Webster's mode of defining, compared in this respect with Dr Johnson's, we give the following.

Telescope. Johnson.—'A long glass by which distant objects are viewed.' Webster.—'An optical instrument employed in viewing distant objects, as the heavenly bodies. It assists the eye chiefly in two ways; first, by enlarging the visual angle under which a distant object is seen, and thus magnifying that

object ; and, secondly, by collecting and conveying to the eye a larger beam of light than would enter the naked organ, and thus rendering objects distinct and visible, which would otherwise be indistinct and invisible. Its essential parts are the *object-glass*, which collects the beam of light and forms an image of the object, and the *eye-glass*, which is a microscope by which the image is magnified.

Pursuing the same course in *Natural History*, Dr Webster defines the most important terms by a specification of the properties of the objects which these terms designate, and the less important, by referring the several objects to their respective *genera*. It is unnecessary here to quote examples. In *Chemistry*, *Mineralogy*, and *Geology*, Dr Webster has added a great number of words to his vocabulary, and has conformed his definitions to the existing state of knowledge on these subjects. In these and other departments of science, the definitions, he informs us, have been submitted to professional gentlemen, whose character is a pledge for the correctness of the statements made. We would remark, however, that the space allotted to different articles in these departments, is not in every instance proportioned to what appears to us to be their relative importance. *Historical terms* have been added, to a great extent, in this work, and their definitions are in general given with a fulness, which will preclude the necessity of a reference to other works for the true meaning of such words. Where this exact information in the different branches of knowledge can be given within the space allowable in a dictionary, it is desirable, and adds to the value of the work.

Dr Webster, in the third place, has aimed at a more nice and accurate *discrimination* as to the signification of the terms defined. The leading and important words are not defined by *synonymes*, which serve only to confuse the mind, but by a brief enumeration of the properties which belong to the object in question. Thus,

Frugality is defined by Johnson to be equivalent to 'thrift' or 'parsimony'; by Webster, to be 'that careful management of money or goods, which expends nothing unnecessarily, and applies what is used to a profitable purpose; that use in which nothing is wasted. It is not equivalent to *parsimony*, the latter being an excess of frugality and a fault. *Frugality* is always a virtue. Nor is it synonymous with *thrift* in its proper sense; for thrift is the *effect* of frugality.'

Admiration is defined by Johnson to be 'wonder, the act of admiring or wondering.' By Webster, to be 'wonder mingled with pleasing emotions, as approbation, esteem, love, or veneration; a compound emotion excited by something novel, rare, great, or excellent; applied to persons and their works. It often includes a slight degree of surprise. Thus we view the solar system with *admiration*.'

Magnanimity is defined by Johnson to be 'greatness of mind; bravery, elevation of soul.' By Webster, to be 'that elevation or dignity of soul, which encounters danger and trouble with tranquillity and firmness, which raises the possessor above revenge, and makes him delight in acts of benevolence, which makes him disdain injustice and meanness, and prompts him to sacrifice personal ease, interest, and safety, for the accomplishment of useful and noble objects.'

Obstinacy is defined by Johnson to be 'stubbornness, contumacy, pertinacity, persistency.' By Webster, to be 'a fixedness in opinion or resolution, that cannot be shaken at all, or not without great difficulty; firm and usually unreasonable adherence to an opinion, purpose, or system; a fixedness that will not yield to persuasion, argument, or other means. *Obstinacy* may not always convey the idea of unreasonable or unjustifiable firmness; as when we say, soldiers fight with *obstinacy*. But often, and perhaps usually, the word denotes a fixedness of resolution, which is not to be vindicated under the circumstances.'

Adjournment is defined by Johnson to be 'an assignment of a day, or a putting off till another day; delay, procrastination, dismission to a future time.' By Webster, to be 'the putting off to another day or time specified, or *without day*; that is, the closing of a session of a public or official body.' And likewise, 'the time or interval during which a public body defers business; as, during an *adjournment*. But a suspension of business between the forming of a house and an adjournment, for refreshment, is called a *recess*. In Great Britain, the close of a *session* of parliament is called a *prorogation*; as the close of a parliament is a *dissolution*. But in Great Britain, as well as in the United States, *adjournment* is now used for an intermission of business, for any indefinite time; as an *adjournment* of parliament for six weeks.'

Acumen is defined by Johnson to be, in general, 'quickness of intellect.' By Webster, to be 'a quickness of *perception*, the faculty of nice *discrimination*.'

Acquire is defined by Johnson, 'to gain by *one's own* labor or power; to obtain what is not received from nature, or transmitted by inheritance.' By Webster, 'to gain by *any means*, something which is in a degree *permanent*, or which becomes vested or inherent in the possessor; as to *acquire* a title, estate, learning, habits, skill, dominion, &c. Plants *acquire* a green color from the solar rays. A mere temporary possession is not expressed by *acquire*, but by *gain*, *obtain*, *procure*; as to *obtain* (not *acquire*) a book on loan.'

Obtain is defined by Johnson, 'to gain, to acquire, to procure.' To *receive* is defined by him, 'to take or obtain any thing.' By Webster these words are thus distinguished, under the word *obtain*. 'This word usually implies *exertion* to get possession, and in this it differs from *receive*, which may or may not imply exertion. It differs from *acquire*, as genus from species; *acquire* being properly applied only to things permanently possessed; but *obtain* is applied both to things of temporary and of permanent possession. We *obtain* loans of money on application; we *obtain* answers to letters; we *obtain* spirit from liquors by distillation, and salt by evaporation. We *obtain* by seeking; we often *receive* without seeking. We *acquire* or *obtain* a good title to lands by deed, or by a judgment of court; but we do not *acquire* spirit by distillation; nor do we *acquire* an answer to a letter or an application.'

Besides discriminating the signification of words with greater exactness, Dr Webster has corrected numerous errors into which Dr Johnson had fallen, through inadvertency, or a want of accurate information. The following may serve as examples of a large number, which we had marked as belonging to this class.

Peculation. Johnson—'Robbery of the public; theft of public money.' Webster—'The crime of defrauding the public by appropriating to one's own use the money or goods *entrusted* to one's care for management or disbursement.'

Lens. Johnson—'A glass, spherically convex on both sides.' Lenses are not only convex, but concave, plano-convex, &c. The proper correction is made by Webster.

Lemma. Johnson—'A proposition assumed.' Webster—'A proposition demonstrated for the purpose of being used in the demonstration of some other proposition.'

Coral. Johnson—'A plant of a stony nature.' This is corrected by Webster.

Focus. Johnson—'The place where rays meet after refraction.' Webster—'after being reflected or refracted.'

Flame. Johnson—'Light emitted from fire.' It is more than light; it is 'burning vapor,' as defined by Webster.

Earn. Johnson—'To *gain* as the reward or wages of labor, or any performance.' But a man may *earn* money, who never *gains* it. To *earn*, is 'to merit by service,' according to Webster.

In the definitions of legal terms especially, Dr Johnson has fallen into many errors, which Dr Webster's professional knowledge has enabled him to correct. Thus *larceny* is defined by Johnson to be 'a petty theft.' It is shown by Dr Webster to be a generic term, including all kinds of theft, and even burglary and robbery, and is distinguished by him into various classes, as *petty* and *grand* larceny, *simple* and *mixed* larceny.

Burglary and *house-breaking* are confounded by Dr Johnson. Burglary is defined by Dr Webster to be the crime of house-breaking, when committed in the night.

Robbery. Johnson—'Theft perpetrated by force or with privacy.' '*Robbery*,' says Dr Webster, 'differs from *theft*, as it is a violent felonious taking from the person or presence of another, whereas *theft* is a felonious taking of goods privately, &c. These words should not be confounded.'

That Dr Webster has added all the proper senses of words omitted by his predecessors, or corrected all their mistakes, is not to be supposed. We had marked what appeared to us in some places mistakes of his own; but it is unnecessary to insert them. He observes very justly, that 'the defining part of a dictionary, embracing, as it does, the whole circle of ideas embodied in the language of a people, the utmost efforts of the lexicographer are only an approximation towards the end in view. No single mind can enter, with perfect exactness, into all the multiplied distinctions of thought and action, among a highly civilized people. For his information on many subjects, the author of a dictionary must rely on the statements of others; and he is liable to be misled, either by a want of accuracy in these statements, or by an erroneous conception of their meaning.' A lexicographer is therefore entitled to much indulgence.

Many of the authorities of Johnson have been properly omitted, and space has been left for new matter; but we have sometimes wished for an authority for a new sense, where

none is given. We hope the author will devote his attention hereafter to improving this part of his work. From his extensive and minute acquaintance with the standard authors of English literature, he can easily find authorities for insertion, where he now has none; authorities, also, which may be advantageously substituted for some which he now has; and may detect senses of words which have hitherto escaped his notice. This is mentioned the more particularly, as it is here that English lexicography has been quite as deficient as in etymology, or in the number of words. In this department the English themselves have accomplished little since the time of Johnson; which may well excite surprise, considering the character of the nation. Dr Webster has done much; we hope he will be encouraged to do still more.

The next subject we would notice is *orthography*; which, in our language, is extremely irregular, and has long been, and will probably long continue to be, the opprobrium of English philology. The great difference between our spelling and pronunciation, is an evil of no ordinary magnitude, and is, indeed, the principal obstacle to the general diffusion through Europe of the English language and literature. Accustomed, as we are from childhood, to associate certain combinations of letters with certain words as pronounced, the eye and the ear, by time and use, are so far reconciled, that the excessive discordance between our written and spoken language is not perceived. To a foreigner, however, who is endeavoring to familiarize himself with English, and to one especially, who has been accustomed in his own speech to see the spelling of words settled by a few general rules, our orthography appears an inextricable maze, and to be characterized by the most glaring absurdities. 'Si un Anglois,' says Rousseau, 'lit à haute voix, et qu'un étranger jette les yeux sur le livre, l'étranger n'apperçoit aucun rapport entre ce qu'il voit et ce qu'il entend. Pourquoi cela? parce que, l'Angleterre ayant été successivement conquise par divers peuples, les mots se sont toujours écrits le même, tandis que la manière de les prononcer a souvent changé.*' This appears to be a just account of the fact, and a true explanation of it.

To go back no farther than the Norman conquest, it is well known, that the language and literature of the Saxons were

* Essai sur l'Origine des Langues, ch. vii.

odious to William and his Norman followers; and as a means of rendering his dominion more complete and lasting, the conqueror established the French as the language of the court, of the halls of justice, and, where the Latin was not used, of the schools. The native inhabitants, however, adhered with surprising firmness, not to say obstinacy, to their mother-tongue. As the Norman-French and the Anglo-Saxon gradually united, and books began to be published in this new dialect, the orthography of words was regulated partly by the ear and partly by authority. But in accommodating the spelling to the pronunciation, the French sounds of the letters were sometimes used, and sometimes the sounds peculiar to the Saxon alphabet. In this confusion of alphabets, rendered still greater by provincialisms, both in language and pronunciation, our present very irregular, and in many respects absurd, orthography originated. One object in the early writers of English is abundantly manifest; they aimed at having, at least, letters enough in their spelling; and through fear, as it should seem, of omitting some which might have claims to be used, they often foisted into their words mere supernumeraries. Thus, after the language, as to words and construction, became in a good measure fixed, it was greatly overcharged, and actually borne down under the weight of its orthography. It may be useful to introduce here as specimens, a few words from Sir Walter Raleigh. *Hee, wee, doe, sonne, farre, finde, convey, moderatour, kindes, basenesse, evill, easie, naturall, downe, &c.* This is the spelling of one of the most correct as well as most elegant writers of the reign of James the First.

The excrescences, which so encumber these words, were gradually lopped off; so that in the history of Clarendon, the improvements in spelling strike us as great. This author wrote most of his words as they are still written; but we find *perswaded, suddain, frolique, alarum, &c.*; which orthography, in the late edition of his works, has been altered. He wrote *error* without the *u*, and *scepter*, though we find *lustre*. He reduced *publicke* to *publick*, &c. Dryden was irregular in his orthography; but he threw off some of the lumber of his predecessors, which, in a few instances, has been laid upon him again by his editor, Malone. But there is no advantage in dwelling longer on the history of these changes.

As to the variations in orthography proposed and adopted by Dr Webster, we shall say but little. We see no possible

use in retaining the *u* in the few words which are still extensively written with the termination *our*, as *honour*, *favour*, &c. If the reason for retaining the *u* in these words is, that this letter is in the French words *honneur* and *faveur*, the *u* is likewise in many other French words, and is dropped very generally in the corresponding words in English; as *auteur*, *inférieur*, are seldom now seen written in our language *authour*, *inferiour*. Besides, what use is there in retaining the French *u* in words of this class? Or if words, which come to us through the French, are to be accommodated to French orthography, why is it that those who write *honour*, write also *honourable*? when the French write *honorable*, wisely varying their spelling to suit their pronunciation.

As to retaining the letter *k* at the end of many words, where it is still often placed; we see no objection to Dr Webster's rule, to retain the *k* in such words only as have sometimes a syllable added, beginning with *e* or *i*. The reason here is plain; the *k* preserves the pronunciation. But why should any one write *publick*, when no one writes *publication*? The *k* in this case, is necessary neither to the pronunciation of the word, nor as a guide to its etymology. To take another example of a single word; we know of no good reason for writing *connexion* with an *x*; as it is an anomaly, which has been excluded from writings of the highest authority. Thus Gibbon, and Fox, in his life of James the Second, write this word analogically, *connection*.

In some other cases of proposed emendation, we are more doubtful. Dr Webster, following Milton, prefers *highth*; and the translators of Niebuhr's history of Rome, which was published in London during the last year, have the same spelling of this word. The same translators write *sovrán* and *sovranty*; and Dr Webster proposes *suverán*, and *suveranty*; though he gives likewise the common orthography of these words. We have no space to enter upon a full consideration of this subject. No one now doubts that the substitution of *ai* for *oi* in many cases, in French orthography, has been for the advantage of that language; and in Spanish orthography, where, in comparison with our language, improvement was scarcely needed, some slight changes have been made for the better. The great objections to changes in spelling lie in the eye; we have been accustomed to see the word *worshipping* with a double *p*, and *worshiping* appears strange, and perhaps odious. But a *p*

might be here as easily spared as an *e* in *kindes*, or an *l* in *evill*, and an important analogy of the language would be preserved. Sir Walter Raleigh wrote *conveigh*, but to us *convey* appears better; we write *inveigh*, and *invey* is displeasing. So entirely does this feeling depend on association, that we see no ground for believing, if the chief anomalies in this part of our language were removed, that the next generation would not look upon our present method of spelling with the same wonder, and the same self-congratulation on their relief, as we now view that of the time of Elizabeth and James the First; and that they would not find as much difficulty in reconciling our boasted improvements in other respects, with our abuse of the alphabet, as we experience in conceiving of the accomplishments of Sir Philip Sidney, in union with the barbarous orthography of the 'Arcadia.' As little inconvenience, likewise, would probably be then felt from the change, as we now suffer from the changes of the last two centuries.

We do not say that we are now ready for any extensive alteration in our spelling. Our only object in what we have written on this topic, is to show that there are great evils in our present system, and that Dr Webster is not of course to be condemned, because he has ventured here to suggest what he considers as improvements. That there are difficulties on the other side, and such as are truly formidable, is not denied; but these we cannot now discuss. If we look back a quarter of a century only, we shall be convinced that there has been a progress in public opinion, as well as in the practice of writers, in respect to orthography; that the tendency is plainly towards analogy, and that, sooner or later, a reform will be achieved. That this may be accompanied with the least inconvenience, it is important that the object should be often and fully contemplated, in all its bearings; and especially, if permanency is ever to be looked for, that, in the language of the author, '*principles* should be substituted for the authority of *names*.'

On the subject of *pronunciation* we shall not enter; because we have already exceeded our intended limits. A separate article would be necessary for a proper discussion of that topic. Dr Webster maintains, that any attempt to indicate by characters the exact sound of vowels in our unaccented syllables, is calculated, in most cases, to mislead the speaker. From the rapidity of these sounds, they are to a certain degree

indefinite ; and he who should pronounce the *y* in *duty* precisely like *e* in *me*, or the final syllable of *affectionate* like the word *fate*, as marked in most of our dictionaries, would be thought affected, and would totally misconceive the exact sound intended by the notation. The author prefers, therefore, to leave such sounds to be caught by the ear, and conceives that our pronunciation has been vitiated, in many instances, by too great minuteness in marking them.

In *accentuation* we have noticed comparatively few peculiarities of our author. He inclines, with Johnson, to throw the accent back towards the commencement of the word ; and therefore favors the pronunciation of *com'pensate*, *dem'onstrate*, &c. as very commonly heard in this country. Some alterations in this kind of words of direct classical origin, we imagine will not prevail ; for example, *hor'izon*, *dec'ollate*. In various instances, Dr Webster gives both modes of pronouncing, as he does of spelling ; and this plan, we think, should be carried to a greater extent in a future edition. No two English dictionaries agree in pronunciation. Dr Webster differs from them in some cases, but not perhaps more frequently than they do from each other ; and as to the rule of usage, the diversity of pronunciation in England is greater than in this country.

Before closing our remarks, we would add a few words on the English Grammar appended to the Introduction to the dictionary. This grammar is, with few alterations, the same as that first published by the author in the year 1807. The changes which he introduced into the grammatical nomenclature, and a few other peculiarities, created a strong feeling of opposition to the whole work on its first appearance, and prevented its merits from being generally known, and duly appreciated. The necessity for all the changes which were made, was not apparent. Some of the new terms were thought to require as much explanation as those whose place they had taken. Besides, most of the names of the parts of speech in the old system, are appropriated exclusively to the subject of grammar ; whereas the new names, in some cases, are used in other senses, which contributes nothing to perspicuity.

As to the grammar in other respects, whoever will examine it attentively, will find many improvements on all those which preceded it. This is especially true of the syntax, which contains numerous remarks on the idioms of the language, which are highly important and valuable ; and which are to be found

nowhere else, except as they have been taken from this work. In no English grammar with which we are acquainted, is there so full and clear an exhibition of the several forms of the verb, as in this, or in such grammars as have borrowed from it. But with these general commendations of this grammar, as exhibiting a very careful examination of the language in the best writers, and great discrimination in distinguishing principles which have been too often confounded, we must dissent from some of the opinions which hold a prominent place in the work, and which the author has defended with his accustomed ingenuity. Of these we can now notice one only.

In the syntax of the grammar, as originally published, the use of the tense which the author denominates, and we think correctly, the *past-indefinite*, is objected to in certain cases, as used by our best authors. The remarks on this subject may now be found in the introduction to the dictionary. The use of the verb which is condemned, is that which is exemplified in a passage from the common version of the New Testament, Luke xvi, 31. 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one *rose* from the dead.' Instead of *rose*, Dr Webster would say in this place, *should rise*, and this correction he would carry through the language. Now on this we would remark, that any impropriety which may at first appear in this kind of construction, because the past tense is made, in this connexion, to express what is really future,—and if this is not the point of objection, we see not what is,—will at once vanish on reflecting, that the verb *rose*, in the verse above quoted, denotes what is past, only in reference to the verb *will be persuaded*. The past tense *rose*, from its connexion with the other verb, does in fact the office of a future; with this difference only, that the language is more definite. Of the two actions or events, that on the completion of which the other entirely depends, is, by this form of the verb, more clearly and definitely marked. In this respect, the verb *rose* corresponds with as much exactness as the structure of our language will admit, with the original Greek, from which this verse is translated; the verb there being an *aorist*, and bearing the same relation to the other verb, as *rose* does in the English version. This same mode of expressing the future subjunctive, is common in Latin; and indeed what is usually called the future subjunctive, is a second future indicative; or, according to the better

nomenclature in this place of Dr Webster, a *prior-future*. All the tenses of the subjunctive mode in Latin, are used in connexion with the future of some other verb, to express future time ; and a varied phraseology arises from this construction, which often contributes to the force and beauty of a sentence. Examples everywhere occur ; an instance of the pluperfect will illustrate what is intended. Cicero says to Atticus, ' Cum mihi, [libros] per legem Cinciam licere capere, Cincius amicus tuus diceret ; libenter, dixi, me accepturum, si attulisset.' (Lib. i. 20.) Here *attulisset* is past only in relation to *accepturum*, and as connected with *accepturum*, is future with respect to *dixi* ; and may be translated, ' I said that I would receive the books, if he *should bring them* ;' or, according to the form condemned by Dr Webster, ' if he *brought them*.' We have remarked, that any tense of the subjunctive in Latin, may be so used as to express future time. The verse in Luke above quoted, is so translated by Castalio, that the verb corresponding to *rose* is in the present tense. ' Si Mosem et vates non audiunt, ne si quidem quispiam ex mortuis *resurgat*, obtemperabunt.' Here *resurgat* is present in respect to *obtemperabunt*, and is therefore, in effect, future. We see no objection, then, to this construction of a sentence to express a future contingent event, on the ground of any contrariety between the tenses of the two verbs ; as the whole is always future in relation to the leading verb in the sentence ; on the contrary, it appears to us philosophically exact, and is often convenient for the purpose of varying a phrase, and saving the monotony of a too frequent recurrence of the auxiliaries.

This form is, moreover, sanctioned by the highest authorities in the language. Not to go back to the times immediately succeeding that in which the common version of the Scriptures was first published, we will come immediately to a few of those writers who have ever stood among the first for the purity of their idiom. Thus, *Swift*.—' Suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I *knew* not [Dr Webster, ' I *should not know*'] how, over head and ears in debt, although I *were* [Dr Webster, ' *should be*'] sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income ; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr Oldfox, my receiver, and take another.' *Examiner*.

Again. ' If my neighbor and I *happened* [Dr Webster, ' *should happen*'] to have a misunderstanding about the delivery

of a message, what could I do less than strip and discard the rascal, who *carried* [Dr Webster, 'should carry'] it.' *Id.*

Again. 'Writers would quickly be reduced to a very inconsiderable number, if men *were put* [Dr Webster, 'should be put'] upon making books, with the fatal confinement of delivering nothing beyond what is to the purpose.' *Tale of a Tub.*

Addison. 'Another who came with him, told me, by my interpreter, he should be glad to do me any service that *lay* [Dr Webster, 'should lie'] in his power.' *Spectator*, No. 557.

Goldsmith. 'The course, then, I would take, would be, whenever I *went* [Dr Webster, 'should go'] out, to tell my wife where I was going.' *Citizen of the World*. Lett. 19.

Middleton. 'He [Cicero] could not but foresee, that it must needs be fatal to him, if it *passed* [Dr Webster, 'should pass'] to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they *got* [Dr Webster, 'should get'] the better.' *Life of Cicero*, Sect. xi.

Gibbon. 'But he [the Roman Pontiff] was astonished at the reply of the Khan, that the sons of god and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations; and that the pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he *visited* [Dr Webster, 'should visit'] in person, and as a suppliant, the royal horde.' *Hist.* Ch. 64.

The relation of the past tense to the future in each of these examples is obviously explicable on the principle above stated; and the phraseology would be injured, as appears to us, by any change. This form of the verb is often to be met with, especially in Swift, Addison, and Middleton, who are among the most absolutely English of all English writers; and to discard it, would be, as we think, to condemn one of the very common, most exact, and best established idioms of the language. Still, as has been already said, we consider Dr Webster's account of the verb, as a whole, much the best that has been published; but a complete exhibition of the powers of this part of speech, especially in the influence of the tenses upon each other in modifying their application, seems to be still a *desideratum* in English grammar.*

* The most clear and methodical exhibition of the Latin verb in its modes and tenses, and particularly in the connexion and succession of the tenses, is contained in Zumpt's Latin Grammar, an edition

There are several other topics that we intended to discuss, which must now be passed by, and some of those which we have selected for consideration, have been treated perhaps more cursorily than their importance demands, or than is necessary to convey distinctly our own views and impressions. A few remarks only will be added.

The appearance of this dictionary, considering the circumstances under which it was begun, the amount of time and labor bestowed upon its composition, and the value of the improvements actually made, is an event upon which we may well congratulate the public. The proper effect of the author's labors in the cause of the language of his country, will not fail, sooner or later, to be produced. It will be seen in the better understanding of authors, who will ever be the boast of the English tongue; it will be seen in the more correct use of words, in the check which will be put on useless innovations, in the clearer distinction generally marked between new words which are necessary, and those which are merely the offspring of caprice, and we will add, in the increased respect, as we hope, with which the author will be viewed, for his talents, learning, and persevering industry. If we have ventured to differ in some particulars from this veteran philologist, it is because a frank exposition of our opinion is due to our readers; and indiscriminate praise, no doubt, is as little expected or wished for by him, as it is alien from our habits. Our criticisms on this work do not affect its substantial merits; these are manifest, and in despite of all attempts to conceal or decry them, they will be ultimately seen and acknowledged in their real number and value. One proof that this dictionary contains improvements, will probably soon be furnished in the use that will be made of it in compiling others. The author must prepare himself, if he is ever so greedy of praise, to be complimented in this way to his entire satisfaction. No new English dictionary will hereafter serve, either at home or abroad, for popular use, which does not contain many of the additions and corrections of this.

In this bustling and calculating age, when the value of all exertions is very near being measured by a standard of com-

of which, in this country, has been just announced. What Zumpt's Grammar is in Latin, Rost's Grammar, in many respects, is in Greek.

mercial loss and gain, there will undoubtedly be those, who will attach very little importance to some of the author's investigations. Why should we disturb ourselves, they will say, about the questions, whether the Celtic and Gothic languages are radically the same,—whether traces of Persian words may be found in English,—whether the Hebrew roots were at first biliteral, and whether our word *twit* is a compound. Such inquiries, it will be urged, are too remote in their object, lead us too far back into antiquity, and have too little connexion with what is visible and tangible. Supposing all these points satisfactorily settled,—how will they aid us in judging of the effects of the new tariff, the state of our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, or the defects of the banking system, or how will they guide us to new methods of applying the force of steam? We have no time to argue with men of this class; but to another description of our readers, who may themselves be occupied in other departments of literature and science, and may be disposed to ask questions like those above, we would say,—This case is not peculiar; the astronomer spends years in gazing at *nebulae* in the heavens, or in calculating some new secular equation of a few seconds' amount; the botanist traverses continents to find new species of plants, and the geologist is digging the earth, hoping, perhaps, to find the bones of some extinct species of *megatheria* or *palaeotheria*; or he is hunting for some proof of changes in the chaotic ocean, so distant in time, that in comparison with the space which has intervened, all known history is brought within a few years, and the first Celts and Goths, who wandered into Europe from the high plains of middle Asia, seem almost our cotemporaries. In all the great divisions of human knowledge, those who are extending its boundaries are led to similar inquiries. We consider all of them important; and when topics like these shall cease to interest, to enkindle zeal, and to incite to labor and study, no further proof will be wanting, that the human mind is slumbering at its post, and that ignorance is fast regaining its empire. We hope the author will go forward to improve his work; and he need not fear, that his labors will not finally be judged to have been practical, useful, and patriotic.

Whether this work will at once receive its due meed of praise, we will not venture to predict. 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' and, emphatically, of authors; the times and quantity of which have never been reduced to exact calcula-

tion. The Rambler, in his second number, has enumerated various causes, why literary merit may pass without notice, and adds, what is peculiarly applicable to the author of a dictionary; that 'the learned are afraid to declare their opinion early, lest they should put their reputation in hazard; the ignorant always imagine themselves giving some proof of delicacy, when they refuse to be pleased; and he that finds his way to reputation through all these obstructions, must acknowledge that he is indebted to other causes besides his industry, his learning, or his wit.'

ART. X.—1. *The Atlantic Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Offering.* 1829. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

2. *The Token, a Christmas and New Year's Present.* Edited by N. P. Willis. Boston. 1829. S. G. Goodrich.

3. *The Talisman, for MDCCCXXIX.* New York. E. Bliss.

WE may seem to have a somewhat less grave task in hand than common, in taking cognizance of the claims of these *pictured duodecimos*. But we have never been wont to estimate literature by the quantity, or to appraise the productions of intellect by the space which they occupy on paper. Nor yet have we ever found, in the natural history of books, that in these, as in the feathered tribes, sweetness of song is never combined with brilliancy of plumage. These volumes are indeed small in size and beautiful in binding, lettered in gold and full of plates, but not therefore the less will we acknowledge the excellence and beauty of their literary contents. Not every book that is biggest must needs be best, nor do most words always convey most information. *A little fire is better than much wood.* One stirring thought, one strong conception, one sound and useful maxim,—and it may as well be conveyed in the three words of a simple sentence, as hidden in the chaff of a folio,—is more deserving of the praise, and will better repay the consideration of the world, than 'an infinite deal of nothing.' And as to engravings and pictures and all the embellishments of a fair outside, they can do little harm; but when employed in adorning innocence or illustrating truth,

may do much good. 'Where there is virtue, these are more virtuous.' Literature is not, now-a-days, so much the idol of enthusiasm, that she needs to be clothed in a grave and austere habit. In the most fascinating attire, her disciples may well-nigh be counted.

In looking, then, at these little volumes, we would first hail with pleasure that enactment of modern taste, which has converted the symbols of love and friendship and remembrance from pencil-cases, pocket-books, and pen-knives, 'the works of men's hands,' into something more worthy of intellectual and moral beings. There is little enough of real fellowship and true sympathy in this world of self, and it seems like taking away even that which we have, to make us depend for their expression on the artificial and heartless creations of mere mechanism. The attachments of society are too apt to be matters of caprice or accident, of convenience or policy, to be of long duration. They need the strong cement of reason to secure their uncertain continuance and fasten their slippery hold. 'The amity which Wisdom knits not,' says Nature's best interpreter, 'Folly will easily untie.' We are glad then to see anything, which only looks like bringing in this necessary aid to that which, in its purity and strength, is the very joy and poetry of life. We would have Genius make ready his richest gifts and Virtue her purest sacrifice, as offerings for the altar of Friendship, that haply, not only the hearts of her sincere votaries may be confirmed in their peace, but those of the cold and indifferent lookers-on may be purified and set right. Words, and thoughts, and pictures embodying thoughts, seem more proper and trust-worthy expressions of rational affection, and love coming from the soul. They speak to the understanding, and not to the senses only; with the eloquence of the heart, and not the mere cunning of the hands.

We cannot indeed say that there is less of mechanical skill and the nicety of art in these, than in the old materials of friendly interchange. But here genius and reason unite with and sanctify the art, and each borrows a grace and a beauty of the other. The difference is like that between paper and coin as the circulating medium of commerce. In the one, the value is wholly artificial; in the other, art is employed only to adorn and designate its intrinsic worth.

We are far from intending, by these remarks, that the sincerity of friendship is to be tried by the quality or the

cost of a New Year's gift. As well might we measure a man's grief by the width of his crape, or his piety by the length of his prayer. We disclaim, too, any reverence for those ancient superstitions that amulets can keep, or knives cut love. A hearty shake of the hand, an honest counsel, an open trust, a free communication, is, any time, to our mind, better evidence of real regard, than all the love-tokens or keep-sakes which art could devise or wealth can purchase. But forasmuch as it is a popular and innocent custom, for those who are near or dear to each other, to interchange, at the beginning of a new year, some token that their love has not died with the old—a kind of renewal of the bond of affection—we would have such a token, as much as may be, adapted to its purpose. If possible, it should be, in itself, an image and a type of the beauty and purity of that spirit, which is supposed to influence the giver. We say *supposed*, for it cannot be denied that many of these *slight tokens of regard* are mere gifts of ceremony or compliment, to atone for some past neglect or secure some future favor. But still we would have them signify what friendship ought to be, not what it is ; or rather what friendship really is, and not what the world too often make it. Though secretly on our guard, we would never acknowledge any such thing as an interested attachment or a politic love. We would learn to shudder at the idea of a false friend or a hollow heart. Haply, by not acknowledging, we may prevent their existence ; as an unreserved confidence will sometimes ensure faithfulness. These little volumes, then, breathing with the eloquence of pure thoughts, with the music of a rich and chastened fancy, and adorned with all the delicacy of the most refined arts, seem a faint, but not untrue, expression of real intellectual friendship.

But we turn from these somewhat extraneous considerations to those more nearly connected with the works before us, and more appropriate to our character as literary reviewers. And here we are not inclined, nor, if we were, would we indulge the inclination, to clamber to the dizzy top of prophecy, and point to these and the other little golden specks, which are just glimmering above the dim horizon, as the *twilight dawn* of American literature. Still less are we disposed to get us up upon the mount of retrospect, and counting over, as we too easily could, the scant and thinly scattered productions of our past years, to add these as fresh specimens of a vain and vaunting

littleness. Both these operations have often enough been performed. Often enough has the latter brought down upon us a ridicule, whose justice ourselves could hardly gainsay ; and too often has the former only served to cheat us into so self-satisfied and sleepy an assurance, that our literature must of mere necessity become as perfect as our liberty, that we have almost forgotten to use any exertions to make it so. As if a few more revolutions of the globe were going to roll in upon us these treasures of learning and knowledge, as if a ripe and abundant harvest were about to spring spontaneously up to feast our lazy admiration ! We scorn to use those blest endowments of memory and imagination to so miserable and mischievous an end. We would simply remark, and that without fear of having it cast in our teeth, that these little works, made up of short articles of poetry and prose, seem especially suited to the instant genius of our land. The body of our writers are yet young. Few of them have acquired experience and strength enough to venture alone into the world. Here seems to be a fair and pleasant field for them to exercise together, to prove their powers and prepare them for future and nobler exertions. Not that we would allow our young men to devote their time or talents exclusively, or even in any considerable degree, to works like these. On the contrary, we are ready enough to confess that it is one of the greatest faults of our land and time, and that which augurs illest for the success of our literature, that our scholars are permitted so soon to steal out of their closets, to throw by their books, and attempt to teach others, who themselves need instruction. And were the tendency of these literary toys to encourage so pernicious a course, beautiful as they are, we would condemn them. It is not only in 'the lines of a good judge' that the maxim should be written, 'He should continue the studying of his books, and not spend upon the old stock.' No one can expect ever to be rich in wisdom and in good learning, whose expenditure is exceeding, or equalling, or coming nigh to equal his income. But the short articles of which these volumes are composed, appear to us to require just enough of the time and labor of our scholars to keep their pens ready and their ink from growing thick, to give their reason a breathing-time and let their fancy sport its wings. They serve as a kind of sampler, on which they may practise those niceties and beauties of expression, hereafter to be worked in upon more enduring ma-

terials; or, to use a more dignified figure, they answer as the cartoons of the Italian artists, on which may be figured in small those creations of fancy and devices of thought, which may afterwards be applied to the more matured and nobler fresco. Our poets, too, (as indeed may be said of almost all poets of the present day,) seem to have a peculiar aptitude for short pieces, or at least a peculiar inaptitude for long ones. Whether it be want of power, or want of confidence, or want of desire for a longer flight, they venture but a little way at a time. But their productions, though destitute of the fulness and strength of larger proportions, have much beauty, and will merit an exemption from the common doom of fugitive verses. The fair pages of a *Souvenir* or a *Forget-me-not* seem a pleasant and not inapt habitation for these bantlings of the Muse.

Nor ought we to omit, in this connexion, the vast improvement which these annual publications are helping to produce in the useful and ornamental arts connected with book-making. Let any one compare the neatness, the accuracy, the strength, the beauty, in all its features, of one of these volumes, with the loose, misshapen, sorry tomes, which were issued, perhaps from the same shops, not a score of years ago; let him look at the engravings, some of them illustrating the fairest or grandest portions of our own scenery, and others copying the designs of our own painters, and compare them with the sombre wood-cuts which were at great expense imported for us not a half-century back, and he will no longer doubt that not less to the luxuries of literature than to those of fashion or of folly, may the arts look for encouragement.

Again, there is much of curious anecdote and romantic tradition connected with the early situation of our land, the manners and superstition of the natives, the enthusiasm and sufferings of the settlers, which could hardly be *spun out* or *woven* into a history, but which ought to be embalmed in the fondest efforts of our song and story. No inch of ground is without its peculiar association, its appropriate legend; and it seems hardly more than filial duty, no more than filial affection, to gather and garner up these little mementos of our fathers' joys and trials, before time shall have marked them as alms for oblivion. What seems more fitting for the pledge of alliance and amity among the children, than the stories of the fathers, by whose toils and struggles our lots have been cast together in a world of so much happiness and comfort? The

idea of making these seemingly frail and ephemeral works the place of safe-keeping for anything so precious, may seem but poor philosophy ; and we confess that we scarce could single out from the whole mass of literary rubbish a more exact emblem of that dread wallet at the back of Time, than the common run of periodical publications. 'Trudit alius alium,' one pushes the other out of notice and of remembrance. But not so with these. The pledge of affection, the offering of friendship, though they may 'wax poor' and be returned 'when givers prove unkind,' are rarely thrown away or lost. Besides, the deposit will lend its own sacredness to that which contains it, as the worship sanctifies the temple, and each will ensure the preservation of the other. Nor are we without examples of tradition handed down incorrupt, from one generation to another, by works even less enduring in their nature than these. Thus the language and ceremonies of feudal homage were preserved with the greatest exactness in one of the ancient juvenile games, called 'basilinda' or 'the king I am,' the counterpart, perhaps, of our '*royal* game of goose,' or some other of our royal pastimes. And to mention a still higher example, we have decisive confirmation as to the much disputed right of William the Conqueror to the throne, from a bit of 'barbarous needle-work,' found in the cathedral of Bayeux, representing the mission of Harold by king Edward, supposed to have been wrought for diversion by the queen and ladies of the court. This last consideration is rather intended as a suggestion for the future than as a comment on the past Annals. Indeed, we know of nothing in their whole execution, which so readily suggests itself as matter of fault-finding to the American reader, as the want of patriotism and native incident. In the hope that it is a fault which needs only to be mentioned to be amended, we pass to a short but nearer examination of their respective merits.

And here we cannot attempt an elaborate criticism even of those few volumes whose titles are before us. Their nature and our space alike forbid it. Were we only to make out a fair catalogue of all the articles of which they are severally composed, and affix to each, in briefest phrase, the opinion we formed of it when read, as *good, bad, pretty, stuff*, we fear not a few would have to lie over, for this scant notice, until the spare pages of another number should afford room. On the other hand we are not disposed to deal out an indefinite and

sweeping praise to works which, though small, are so various in their features. Nor, further, can we, as in reviewing common books, transcribe select portions of each, to serve as samples of the whole. For, besides that the newspapers have already anticipated us in this rather dubious compliment, it would obviously be unfair where the works are, professedly, not homogeneous. The truth is, their web, like that of life, is 'of a mingled yarn, good and ill together.' To examine its individual threads, were like criticising the hues of an opal or the colors of a rainbow. For justice' sake, as well as our own, therefore, we shall content us with describing, rather than reviewing them.

1. And, first, 'The Atlantic Souvenir,' published at Philadelphia, by those enterprising patrons of literature and the arts, Messrs Carey, Lea, and Carey. This work, having, four years ago, appeared, 'sola atque unica,' may claim to be the mother of the whole tribe of genuine Annuals in our country. The present number evinces the improvement which age and experience might be expected to bring along with them. In the list of contributors, we find many of our most popular writers, and many who, hitherto unheard of, give here good promise to become so. Some, too, there are, who, though withholding their names, have by no means left us without excuse for remembering them. 'The Catholic' and 'The Methodist's Story' have an air of moral purity and beauty about them, which merit special commendation. Much as we would like to boast of this work, as the effort of a genius purely American, we cannot bring our heart to find fault with the few but beautiful strains which have been loaned to its melody by one of the richest lyres of our mother-land. The poetry of Mrs Hemans will never need an apology with us, wherever it is inserted.

2. 'The Token,' edited by Mr N. P. Willis and published by Mr S. G. Goodrich, in our own Boston. The improvement in this work since its first appearance, only the last year, is scarce within measure. We then almost trembled for the reputation of 'the fair city.' But the present number we esteem, as able to stand a strict comparison, side by side, with its twin from Philadelphia. Indeed, in comparing their literary contents, we shall find that the same pens have written the larger portion of both. We are glad to see this free interchange of labor among writers from different quarters of our land. We are glad to see those, who, by their genius or their

eloquence, may exert a strong influence on the popular mind, wreathing together these garlands of love. A common literature is not among the least safeguards of our confederacy, and it is one which sectional prejudice should never be allowed to break through or corrupt. Who knows but these little tokens of individual amity, by keeping alive a generous sympathy and free coöperation among our literary men, may form the first link in one of the strongest bonds of our national union? But to return; the contributions of the editor are, as always, pleasing; though we are, at times, tempted to wish, for their own duration, that they bore deeper marks of classical study and sober thought. His 'Unwritten Philosophy,' in 'The Legendary,' which, though not poetry, is thought to be his best performance, contains some useful maxims, and we could wish that he would more 'reck his own rede.'

3. 'The Talisman,' published at New York, and purporting to be written by one Francis Herbert, a gentleman, who, we believe, is only known to the public as the author of the first number of the same work, last year. We have no desire to intrude upon the privacy of one who has done so well, and tried so ingeniously to conceal himself. But it is difficult to curb our curiosity to silence about one who seems so perfectly to unite in himself all the peculiarities and all the beauties of Bryant, of Halleck, and of Verplanck, in conjunction with other features, which, though hitherto in the mask, are scarcely less known to fame. It must surely be the world's mercy and not his insignificance, if such an one be not speedily drawn into light and 'resolved into his component parts.' The book has too many of those

'Rich, racy passages, where we

The soil from which they sprung, taste, touch, and see,'

for its author to be left long in darkness. But one actual error struck us in its perusal, and that in the notes to the first story. In that 'well-known scene and oft-quoted passage' from Shakspeare, we would remind Mr Herbert that it is not 'great' but 'imperious'—

'Imperious Cæsar, dead, and turned to clay,

Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.'

Perhaps 't were to consider too curiously, to consider so;' at any rate, it is saying much for the text, when we are obliged to resort to the notes for matter of fault-finding. He may well be counted strong, who is vulnerable only in the *heel*. But we

never had any patience with a misquotation from Hamlet. It was in reading this Annual that we especially remarked that want of patriotic incident, which we have before alluded to, and which indeed the author himself acknowledges. It seemed the more surprising in this work when we considered the locality of its birth-place. The majestic Hudson and its 'brave, o'erhanging' highlands have not deserved such neglect of their own sons.

Having thus mentioned the three most noted of these little works, from three of our great Atlantic cities, it might appear less invidious to stop short, than to attempt a selection from that numberless mass of others, which, coming from all quarters of our country, seem to have an equal claim, if any, upon our notice. But, at the risk of being accused of a little local favoritism, we shall not deny ourselves a hasty glance at 'The Offering,' published at Cambridge, whose benevolent and beautiful object ought alone to ensure its exemption from the undistinguished doom of those '*multi præterea quos fama obscura recondit.*' Its execution and embellishments are in themselves neat; and when compared with those which we have mentioned before, may appeal without fear to the consideration that the whole work was unthought of till within two months of its appearance. Its literary contents need no such apology. Many of them would have done credit to a longer forethought. Coming to us, as it does, in the blended beauty of charity and friendship, it may claim yet a further hold upon our regard as being the fruit of classic ground. Issuing from the very atmosphere of learning, it has imbibed much of the purity and strength, without any of the starch propriety of scholastic lore. There is nothing in it but what is strictly moral, but many things of which it would be difficult to answer 'what they prove.'

Upon the whole, we regard these little works as exerting a very favorable influence on the arts and literature of our country. And, in this regard, they admit of no comparison with the works of the same kind in our mother-country; which otherwise, with their proud array of titles and guineas, we should fear to mention on the same page with our own. The difference is wide. Theirs are the application of arts and literature which were long ago in perfection; ours are the subjects of a practice which we hope will make perfect. Theirs are the fruits of a harvest which has been long ripe; ours are

the blossoms of a harvest to come. Here we see only the young and inexperienced proving their uncertain powers, and trying their scarce fledged wings; there we behold the sage stooping to sport—the lion playing with his strength.

- ART. XI.—1. *The Franklin Primer, or Lessons in Spelling and Reading; adapted to the Understanding of Children.*
2. *The Improved Reader; intended as a Sequel to the Franklin Primer.*
3. *The General Class Book; or Interesting Lessons, in Prose and Verse, &c.; intended as the Third Book in a Course of Reading, for the Use of Schools.*
4. *Essays on the Philosophy of Instruction, or the Nurture of Young Minds.*
Greenfield, Mass. 1828–9.

EDUCATION, as we should naturally expect, has been a subject of discussion from the earliest periods; from those rigorous times, when the severe and much perverted maxim, ‘Spare the rod and spoil the child,’ was the law of instructors, to the more lax period of modern days, in which the opposite doctrine has been inculcated.

The principal aim of most experimenters in education has been, rather to devise a method of filling the minds of pupils with the greatest possible mass of *materials* during the common term of study, than to train the mind itself in a manner which shall be the most efficacious in enabling it, during the successive periods of our lives, to make the greatest amount of such acquisitions as shall be best adapted to our wants, at those several periods. But this is evidently proceeding upon an unsound principle. ‘Endeavoring to make children prematurely wise,’ says Johnson, ‘is useless labor. Suppose they have more knowledge, at five or six years old, than other children; what use can be made of it? It will be lost before it is wanted, and the waste of so much time and labor of the teacher can never be repaid. Too much is expected from precocity, and too little performed.’ *

* Boswell’s Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 221, Amer. edit.
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The mode in which education is to be conducted, evidently depends upon the view which shall be taken of these two systems. The opinion of reflecting men is, we have no doubt, that it should be a training of the mind, to qualify it for making acquisitions of itself, rather than the loading of it with facts, or materials of knowledge, by the mere aid of a teacher; but there is still some diversity of opinion as to the best method of attaining that object.

If, again, we assume that as the better opinion, we have then to meet another question of some importance;—Whether the various schemes of instruction which have been tried in modern times, are more efficacious than those which were adopted by the nations of antiquity, and which have been practised upon, in a great degree, to our own age; in other words, whether any fundamental improvements have been made in conducting the culture of the mind.

We have no doubt the very proposal of this question will startle some ardent and sanguine persons, who fancy that in the boasted ‘march of mind,’ which is continually rung in our ears, the present age is almost the only period of man’s residence on the globe, which is worth our studying. The eminent man, however, whom we have just quoted, says in unqualified terms, that education was as well known in his day, and ‘had long been as well known, as ever it could be.’* And that profound observer, Adam Smith, who will not be suspected of prejudice in this case, when speaking of the effects produced by the methods of the ancient philosophers, who were the teachers of that day, expresses himself in these strong terms; ‘In the attention which the ancient philosophers excited; in the empire which they acquired over the opinions and principles of their auditors; in the faculty which they possessed of giving a certain tone and character to the conduct and conversation of those auditors, they appear to have been *much superior to any modern teachers.*’† Independently of the authority of these great men, indeed, when we recur to the works of the ancients, from the time of Aristotle downwards, we cannot deny that the teachers of antiquity had well studied the intellectual powers, and had established some fundamental principles in the philosophy of the mind, which,

* Boswell’s Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 420.

† Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 179.

after being long contested, and even abandoned, have since been revived and reestablished by the schools of modern philosophers, from the time of Locke to our own age; thus justifying the application of a remark made by D'Alembert upon one of the fundamental principles of the ancient mental philosophy; 'In fine,' says he, 'for some little time past, it has been generally acknowledged by us, that the ancients were in the right; and this is not the only instance in which we have begun to incline to their opinions.'* That the instructors of antiquity did possess some means, whatever they were, of giving great power to the intellectual principle, cannot be contested; whether as great as now exist, we will not pretend to decide.

There is, undoubtedly, a striking difference between ancient and modern times in the *variety* of our studies. We are now compelled to know something of a great many more subjects of science and literature, than the ancient nations were. The very treasures of knowledge which those two great nations, the Greeks and Romans, especially the Greeks, have transmitted to us, do of themselves constitute a considerable portion of our education; and these we must study, if for no other reason than because those nations produced men of genius, and happened to live before us on this globe; just as the people who may succeed us twenty centuries hence will, for similar reasons, study science in the works of our Newton, and study man in the pages of our Shakspeare. For, however we may indulge ourselves in speculations upon the value of ancient science and literature, yet unless, with the empirics of the age, who would drug our understandings with their infallible nostrums of education, we are ready to strike off from our intellectual acquisitions the knowledge of all that has been known, and demand of what use it is to make ourselves acquainted with the past history of our race, it follows, that we must keep up the study of those works through which that knowledge has been handed down to us.

After all the experimenting which we have seen in education, many persons, we have no doubt, will feel a good deal inclined, in a practical matter of this sort, to agree to one other opinion of Johnson, who advised his friend Boswell not to 'refine' in the education of his children; for, said he,

* Discours Prélim. de l'Encyclopédie.

‘life will not bear refinement—you must do as other people do.’* And when Boswell asked Johnson what he thought it best to teach children first, Johnson replied, ‘It is no matter what you teach them first, any more than which leg you shall put into your breeches first’; ‘while you are considering which of two things you shall teach your child first, another has learnt them both.’†

This language may be thought strong, perhaps extravagant; it was doubtless meant to be understood with some qualifications; and with them, it is, practically speaking, not so extravagant as it would at first view appear to be. It is unquestionably a fact, that there is no subject on which speculative men, even of the highest order of talents, have fallen into greater practical errors than in the conduct of education. Johnson has said, ‘Education in England has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. Milton’s plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried; Locke’s, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect.’‡

With such warnings before them, it certainly becomes theoretical men, however eminent their talents, to beware of inculcating opinions, which may lead the community into fatal mistakes upon a subject of this vital importance. But we repress the numerous reflections of a general nature, which are rushing upon us as we are carried onward by this all-absorbing subject; and we now direct our attention to the works before us.

The judicious author of these works, (who is understood to be the Rev. Mr Willard, of Deerfield, Massachusetts,) observes,

‘Few words are more frequently uttered than that of Education, and few perhaps with so indefinite a meaning. It is high time that we inquired more particularly into the nature and design of education. What is it? or in what does it consist? So far as it relates to the mind, it consists in feeding the mind; in providing it with suitable nourishment in all the successive stages of childhood and youth, from infancy to mature life. From the management of the discreet nurse in relation to the body, we may learn, with the utmost assurance, the great principles of a

* Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 240.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 352.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 67.

good education. The evident analogies between the body and the mind, mark out our course in the plainest manner, illuminate every step with all the light of nature. There is an appetite in the mind corresponding to that of the body; an appetite equally strong; bearing the same relation to its proper objects, and intended by the Author of nature to secure the growth and perfection of the mind, in the same manner as the bodily appetite conduces to the growth and perfection of the animal frame.' 'Thought is the natural food of the mind, by which alone it can be enlarged and strengthened, and on which alone it can subsist. Words are nothing, any further than they are connected with thoughts, and aid the conceptions of the understanding.' 'The judicious nurse is careful to provide the child with the kind of food which is most suitable to its age, its general constitution, and the particular state of its health. The food is administered every day, several times in a day, and that in proper quantities. Precisely the same course should be pursued in education. The lessons of the child, in order to have any beneficial effect, must contain truth, and such truth as he can understand and digest. It is farther to be remembered, that the mind is no more to be crowded than the stomach. Excess in the one case is no less injurious than it is in the other. A vigorous constitution, whether mental or corporeal, may survive many surfeits and famines; but still it must be impaired by them.' *General Class Book*, p. 253.

The author, in conformity with these sentiments, proceeds to inquire (in his 'Essays on the Philosophy of Instruction,') 'whether the improvements we have made in the means and methods of *common education*, correspond to those which appear in other things, and to the superlative importance of the subject.' 'To this question,' he says, 'the deepest convictions of my mind compel me to answer, No.' He then proceeds;

'There is a principle in human nature, corresponding to the mightiest elements in the material world, which has hitherto been little regarded in the provision of books for common schools—the principle of *curiosity*; that curiosity, which is the most prominent feature of the child; which discovers itself in lisping infancy, by a thousand inquiries about facts and reasons; which, if carefully nourished, would "grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength;" operating on all the intellectual machinery as powerfully as wind or steam in external nature.' *Essays*, p. 6.

This ardent thirst for knowledge is evidently a part of the constitution of the human mind; and very few of our race are to

be found who do not possess it. ‘Falsa enim est querela,’ says Quintilian, ‘paucissimis hominibus vim percipiendi quæ tradantur esse concessam, plerosque verò laborem ac tempora tarditate ingenii perdere. Nam contra, plures reperias et faciles in excogitando et ad discendum promptos; quippe id est homini naturale; ac sicut aves ad volatum, equi ad cursum, ad sævitiam feræ gignuntur, ita nobis propria mentis agitatio atque sollertia.’ ‘The complaint is unfounded, that very few have the capacity to understand what is taught them, and that most persons only lose their labor and time in study. On the contrary, you will find the greater number to have a ready perception, and to be prompt in acquiring knowledge; for this is a natural characteristic of man. And as birds are made to fly, and horses to run, and wild beasts to take their prey, so the active exercise of the mind, and skill in employing it, are peculiar characteristics of man.’*

Of the truth of this remark we see daily proofs in our intercourse with mankind; and the anecdote related by Boswell, of the boy who was rowing him and his friend Johnson down the Thames, affords an amusing example of it. In the conversation between Johnson and Boswell upon the use of *learning*, the former observed, “This boy rows us as well without learning, as if he could sing the song of Orpheus to the Argonauts, who were the first sailors.” He then called to the boy, “What would you give, my lad, to know about the Argonauts?” “Sir,” said the boy, “I would give what I have.” Johnson was much pleased with his answer, and we gave him a double fare. Dr Johnson then turning to me, “Sir,” said he, “a desire of knowledge is the natural feeling of mankind; and every human being whose mind is not debauched, will be willing to give all that he has, to get knowledge.”†

Our author, in his ‘Essays,’ justly complains of the too common ‘inattention to the order of nature and reason in the instructing of children in the rudiments and almost the whole progress of English reading. In some of the first lessons in spelling, the child is overwhelmed with words which are totally unmeaning to him; many of which can hardly be considered as belonging to the English language. A multitude of others are of no present use to children, while perhaps the greater part of those for which they have an *immediate* demand,

* Lib. i. c. 1.

† Boswell’s Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 356.

are excluded. The consequence is, that after having spent many a tedious month on their spellings, when they are put on reading sentences, they are every moment meeting with words, which, though perhaps familiar to their ears, are strangers to their eyes.' And in another of his works, he says, 'If a common spelling-book is ever to be used, it is not to be the first nor the second book which is put into the hands of a child.' The grounds of this opinion are thus stated by him.

'Against all the most popular spelling-books which have appeared for the last fifty years, two grand objections lie; either of which seems sufficient to exclude them from a place in the course of education. *First*, they contain a mass of words so heterogeneous, as ought never to have been brought together; collected from all scenes, real and imaginary; from all the departments of nature, life, and action; from the nursery, the kitchen, the drawing-room, the stable, the bar-room, the gaming-table, the seaman's wharf, the apothecary's shop; from the mechanic arts, the subtle pages of the metaphysician, and the rhapsodies of the pompous pedant. That a book containing some thousands of words like *bice, grice, oaf, node, rhomb, fiat, phalanx, adunque, enfeoff, codicil, travesty, replevin, empannel, and diploma*, is totally unfit for children, who will hesitate long before they dare to pronounce *a, the, to, or for*, is so plain as to render all argument on the subject fruitless. Those who are not convinced by the first whispers of common sense, will not be convinced by elaborate reasoning.' *General Class Book, Preface, p. i.*

'*The other* grand objection to common spelling-books is, that they contain few or no *definitions*.' 'Orthography, pronunciation, and definition, are most advantageously studied in union. If divided, each will require more labor than all together would require.' 'Another defect, though of less importance, deserves to be mentioned. It regards the *arrangement* of words. In most of our spelling-books, words are grouped together, not according to their *sounds*, but according to their visible forms. Hence, when a child has learned the first word of a group, he can proceed almost mechanically, and spell perhaps ten or fifteen of the following words.' The author is therefore of opinion, that when the pupil 'has become acquainted with the usual sounds of the several letters, it seems incomparably better the words should be classed as they are *pronounced*, and not as they are spelled. For instance, there are no less than six different ways of expressing that combination of sounds which is heard in the second syllable of *nation*. These diversities are exemplified in the following words; *ocean, ration, fashion, passion, affection, connexion, aspersion,*

assertion, coercion, physician. Now, if the principles of classification be similarity of sound and diversity of spelling, two important advantages will be the result. It would be much easier to signify the proper pronunciation of words, and it will require the learner to pay such attention to every lesson and every word, as will give him a real acquaintance with it.' *General Class Book, Preface*, p. v.

There is much weight in these remarks; and in a question of this practical nature we should place great reliance upon the opinion of one who has had so much experience in the art of teaching as we believe our author to have had. But there are intrinsic difficulties in the case, arising from the very capricious application of the Roman alphabet to our language, and to which we shall more particularly advert in another part of this article.

After this very brief exposition of some of the principles adopted by our author, we proceed to give a short account of his publications. We give it in his own words.

'In the series of books, of which the one now offered to the public is the third in order, the Franklin Primer was intended to contain a competent number of words, already familiar to the ears and the minds of children, for the purpose of spelling and reading. The chief object of the second book, viz. the Improved Reader, was to acquaint children with the meaning as well as the orthography of those unknown words which they are most likely to hear in places of public instruction and devotion, and those which occur in most of our juvenile books. These lessons are connected with exercises in reading, calculated at once to interest the feelings, inform the understanding, and improve the temper and life. The original design of the General Class Book (the third in order) was what is suggested in the second part of the title, viz. an Epitome of English Orthography and Pronunciation, together with such definitions, as a proper course of instruction requires to be connected with it. To diversify the studies of the learner, however, and render the book more interesting, and more useful, many exercises in prose and verse are inserted on a great variety of useful subjects, which occupy the greater part of the following pages.' *General Class Book, Preface*, p. vi.

In order, however, that our readers may possess themselves more fully of the author's views, it will be necessary to consider very briefly some details, which we are apprehensive may appear minute. But if we are obliged to discuss the humble subject of teaching the alphabet (and we do not per-

ceive how it is to be avoided), we must shelter ourselves under the just and striking remark which Quintilian made in defending himself on a similar occasion ; ‘ It is true,’ says he, ‘ that as one who professes to give instructions for the education of an orator, I may appear to be teaching humble things. But there are certain studies which belong to the most tender age ; and, as the body even of the most robust man begins its development in the cradle, and nurtured by the mother’s milk, so even the most eloquent of orators must begin his art by uttering himself in an infantine cry, and speaking in unsteady accents, and stumbling at the forms of the letters of the alphabet.’ *

The author’s *Primer*, as its name imports, is intended to be the first book for children. He very properly recommends, that, in learning the letters, children should not take them in the order of the alphabet ; and that they ‘ should not be perplexed with the whole alphabet at once. Till the letters are in a good measure familiar to them, four or five are sufficient for a lesson ; and such a lesson should be often repeated.’ This is so exactly agreeable to the method recommended by Quintilian, that we cannot avoid quoting his words, for the satisfaction of those persons, whose pursuits have not led them to become acquainted with that truly practical writer. ‘ I am not at all pleased with the method which I find is practised by many persons, of having children learn the names and order of the letters before they are made familiar with the forms of them. This prevents their recognising the letters ; as they do not direct their attention to the strokes composing each letter, but only to the recollecting of what is to come next to the one they have just pronounced. In consequence of this, after children have been taught the letters in their natural order, the teachers are obliged to make them study the alphabet in a reversed order, and then again, to mix up the letters promiscuously, until the pupils are able to recognise them by their looks and not by their place in the alphabetic series ; by this means children will learn to distinguish the letters, as they do individuals around them, by their forms, or appearance, as well as by their names.’ The same writer adds his approbation of the ‘ well known ’ practice (as he calls it even at that day) ‘ of having the letters cut in ivory, or any other mechani-

* Lib. i. c. I.

cal device of that kind, which they can handle and examine, and which will amuse their tender age, and stimulate their little minds to study.' He makes one further observation, which may possibly deserve attention even at this day, if it should be found useful to have *writing* accompany *reading* as soon as the child's strength of hand shall admit of it. Quintilian says, 'As soon as the pupil begins to be able to follow the lines of the letters, it will be useful to have them engraved in the best manner upon brass tablets, so that his stylus, or pen, may be carried forward, as it were in a furrow or channel, and thus be prevented from taking a wrong direction (as it would on waxen tablets), and be kept within the edges of the channel; and thus, by tracing repeatedly and with celerity the letters so engraved, he will give strength to his fingers, and not need the assistance of the master's hand to guide his own.' *

We have made the longer extracts from this sensible writer, for the double purpose, of gratifying that natural and laudable curiosity, which we all have, to compare past ages with our own, and of showing that the ancient writers on education did know something of the powers of the human mind and of the modes of training it.

At this stage of the pupil's progress, we meet a question which has been frequently agitated in our times. Whether it is better that children should first learn the letters *singly*, or should at once be put upon learning *whole words* or *sentences*. The author, in his 'Improved Reader,' decides in favor of beginning with the single letters. For himself, he says,

'It is hard to conceive how the child is to arrive at such a ready distinction of one word from another, as even tolerable reading must require, without meeting and surmounting the principal labors and difficulties of *spelling*. To distinguish *cat* from *rat*, for instance, he must observe the diversity of the letters *c* and *r* in the two words; to distinguish *eat* from *ate*, he must observe the different arrangements of the letters; that is, he must *spell mentally*, if he does not orally. Besides, it is too evident from experience, that it is a very tedious thing, even for those who have an ordinary degree of acquaintance with the orthography of words, to read their exercises in composition; and that those, who have read volumes and libraries, without first learning to spell, are generally bad spellers and bad readers through the whole of their lives, however much they may excel in information or

* Lib. i. c. 1.

natural understanding.' He adds, as the result of his own reflection and experience, that 'he is satisfied that orthography should in general, if not always, precede *sentential* reading.' p. vi.

The difficulty in this case arises from the circumstance of our having borrowed the *written* alphabet of a foreign language, the Roman, and adapted it to our *spoken* English tongue, instead of devising a distinct written character; which circumstance, however it may facilitate our acquaintance with other languages that use the Roman letters also, causes many impediments in the study of our own. The truth is, that we do not, in general, sufficiently accustom ourselves to consider our *written* and *spoken* languages as entirely distinct in their nature, as two different systems of signs to express our ideas; each system being sufficient by itself for that purpose, and having no natural connexion with the other. Yet we have constantly under our observation, two classes of our fellow men, who afford daily proof of this fact; on the one hand, the illiterate of our own people, and the savage nations on our frontiers, all of whom express their ideas perfectly well without knowing a letter of any alphabet; and, on the other, the deaf and dumb, who can do the same thing by means of *letters*, without having any idea of the sounds of a *spoken* language.

The consequence of our adopting a foreign alphabet has been, that instead of using a single letter, that is, the simplest element of a *written* word in order to express a single sound, which is the simplest element of a *spoken* word, we frequently use two, three, or more letters to express a single sound; which letters have themselves totally different sounds, according as they are taken singly or together. The only remedy for this difficulty, so long as we retain our present alphabet, would be, to connect together by some mark all those letters which constitute one syllable; so that these connected masses of letters would in fact form so many distinct characters. But this process would multiply the characters to such an extent, that we should perhaps lose more than would be gained by that expedient.

If the preceding remarks upon the two classes of signs, the written and the spoken, are well founded, an argument might be made (we do not affirm how solid it would be) in favor of beginning to read with whole words, or even short sentences.

In *speaking*, there seems to be, by nature, no actual division of words into syllables, or even of sentences into words; we

speak in continuous phrases ; and, perhaps, it was by analogy to this, that the early mode of writing grew up, which was, to join all the words together, as we find them in ancient manuscripts. In our own language, indeed, the process of connecting and disconnecting the *written* words is by no means settled upon any principle, but fluctuates with the taste of the age. Formerly it was the practice to write many compound words in separate parts, where we now unite them ; we universally, for example, used to write the expression *any thing* as two words ; but many writers now make one word of it, in analogy with *something* and *nothing* ; and on the same principle we ought to make but one word of *everything*, *allthings*, &c. ; we also write *sometime* and *sometimes* as one word, but still make two of *all times*, *any time*, *every time*, and *no time* ; again, we make single words of *hitherto* and *into*, while we make two of *up to*, *down to*, *over to* ; and the term *nevertheless* is consolidated into one word, while we write *not the less* as three. Now it is by no means improbable, that the difficulty of analysing and distinguishing words and parts of words is in itself as great to a child in our *spoken* as in our *written* language ; but, in the former, he is more constantly in the way of noticing minute distinctions in the conversation which takes place during every hour of the day in his hearing ; while, in the case of the written language, his attention is not drawn to the distinctions of the *letters*, except during the very small portion of the day while he can be kept at his book. Everything, in these cases, seems to depend on habit or practice. A Frenchman, for instance, finds it difficult in our *spoken* language, to distinguish between the sounds of *ship* and *sheep*, *paper* and *pepper* ; yet he is not at a loss to discriminate between these words in our *written* language, because he is accustomed to the same alphabetic letters in his language that we use in ours. And, to take the example of our author, perhaps a child would for a long time be insensible to the distinction of sound between *eat* and *ate* (as generally pronounced), and find as great difficulty in mastering it, as he would the distinction in the two written words, if it were not for the advantage he has in the former case, of noticing it in conversation, perhaps, a hundred times oftener than he sees it written. We do not, however, presume to decide which of these two is the better mode of teaching ; we would rather be governed by the opinion of a practical man, like our author, than to hazard any

decided opinion of our own ; and we make these remarks merely with a view to draw attention to the question.

If we could begin anew and devise an orthography for our exclusive use, the most philosophical method would be, to have one single *written* sign, for each single *vocal* sign ; or, a distinct character for each syllable of our spoken language. One of those unfortunate tribes of American aborigines, whose piteous condition has excited so much sympathy among us, and to whom we should hardly resort for instruction in any thing,—we mean the Cherokee Indians,—has actually proceeded on this principle. An intelligent individual of that nation, by the name of Guess, deservedly styled by them ‘ The Philosopher,’ and who does not speak any language but his own, has, by a laborious analysis, ascertained the whole number of *syllables* in that language, and has formed a distinct written character for each syllable. The consequence is, that as soon as these characters are learned, the whole written language is acquired ; and as the same characters invariably represent the same sound, there can be no such thing as an error in orthography or spelling, and both children and grown persons actually acquire the art of *reading* in the course of a few days !—a striking contrast with the labor of months and years which our own children spend in learning to read English. This nation of Indians, therefore, although they were furnished by the white people with an alphabet of Roman letters, ready made to their hands, rejected it ; and very patriotically preferred one of their own invention ; which, for their use alone, independently of any connexion with the languages of their white neighbors, is much more convenient than our alphabet would have been for them. A similar advantage, though perhaps not so great, has been derived from the adoption of a *systematic* alphabet, composed, however, of Roman letters, in the language of another tribe, the Chahtahs (Choctaws), and also in the language of the Sandwich Islands ; in both of which, we are informed, the native children learn to read with incomparably greater ease and despatch than our children learn English. The Rev. Mr Ellis, in his ‘ Tour through Hawaii ’ (Owhyhee), remarks, on this subject, ‘ I have known a native, acquainted with the power of the letters, spell a word, when it had been correctly pronounced, though he had never seen it written.’* But we return to the works before us.

* Ellis’s Tour, Appendix, p. 475, 3d Lond. edit.

Our author's *second* work, called 'The Improved Reader,' consists of familiar dialogues upon useful subjects; little narratives; an account of the most interesting animals; and characteristics of some of the nations of the globe. 'The leading design of this book,' says the author, 'is to introduce the child, by an easy and gradual progress, to an acquaintance with the most important words.' 'With this view the exercises in general have been so selected and arranged as to bring forward a *moderate number of new words* in each lesson. These words are defined and illustrated with all convenient simplicity; and the definitions should be made familiar to learners before they read the following lessons, and afterward they should be reviewed again and again, till they are permanently fixed in their minds.'

His *third* book, called 'The General Class Book,' contains 'interesting lessons in prose and verse, on a great variety of subjects, combined with an epitome of English orthography and pronunciation.'

In regard to his rules of pronunciation, our author says, 'Mr Walker is invariably followed;' that is, the author has endeavored to give the pronunciation which he supposes Mr Walker intended, 'though from some defect in his notation, he [Walker] is liable to be misunderstood.' He then makes some very just observations upon Walker's notation; which show at the same time great exactness of ear in himself; a want of which exactness has led many writers upon orthoëpy into egregious blunders, and thrown great confusion into the discussions of that subject.

We intended to give some extracts from these different books, in order to show more fully the author's execution of his plan; but our limits will not admit of it. We must content ourselves, therefore, with a general expression of our opinion upon their merits; and, without intending to make any invidious comparison with other works of this class, we can say with truth, that they are certainly well adapted to the purpose for which they are intended by their highly deserving author, and may be recommended to the attention of parents and teachers.

We may add, for the benefit of the author's printer and paper-maker, that the value of the publication would be enhanced by a better style of typography and paper. That practical writer, Knox, justly observes, that books written for

the use of children should be rendered pleasing to the eye and to the imagination ; that they should abound with cuts, and be printed on *fine* paper.

ART. XII.—*Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits ; addressed to a Student in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton, N. J.* By SAMUEL MILLER, D. D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, in the said Seminary. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 1827.

FEW American authors deserve a more particular notice than Dr Miller. His literary enterprises have generally been of an arduous description ; the effect at which he aims is always great and decisive ; and though by no means an impartial, or complete, yet he cannot be pronounced a superficial, writer. His earliest essay of any importance, was 'A Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century,' in two volumes, octavo, in which was exhibited a comprehensive, entertaining, and instructive survey of the progress of the human mind during that period. His subsequent performances, with the exception of some excellent occasional discourses, have been principally confined to the polemic field. Conscientiously attached to the denomination of which he is a well known ornament, he has devoted his strong mind and accomplished talents to its defence and support. He is the presiding genius of American Presbyterianism ; nor would he aspire at any higher honor than to be regarded as the living representative of the Westminster Assembly and Synod of Dort. Stationed near the centre of our political union, he looks out, as from a watch-tower, and detects, from afar, the approaches of each open or disguised foe to his communion, buckles on his armor, descends to the plain, and unhesitatingly gives him battle.

Not long after the publication of the 'Retrospect,' we find him engaged in a warm controversy with the Episcopalians. It swelled to the size of one of the most portly volumes on our divinity shelves. When, some years later, another denomination lifted up their standard in his neighborhood, Dr Miller, again roused to the demands of the occasion, sent forth a weighty volume, and became their most formidable antagonist.

Does a learned professor, at one of our renowned orthodox seminaries, put forth, in an elaborate pamphlet, his views of the Messiah's Sonship, summoning to his aid the vast resources of 'patristical' lore? Forthwith this never daunted champion appears in the field, and fastens upon what he deems the incipient monster of heresy, surprising him by an unexpected familiarity with the Fathers, and an unsparing copiousness of quotation. Does a new prodigy of dissent, still nearer Dr Miller's home, start up from the bosom of his own church, denying the efficacy or utility of creeds and formularies? Instinctively he sees the probable popularity and danger of such an opinion, and writes a potent book in defence of the established system.

Thus has he always reserved his energies for extraordinary occasions. Although possessed of extensive learning, and an easily flowing pen, yet has he never been lavish of his authorship, in presenting himself to the public without some high and paramount aim. Nor, as we presume, would any of the sects or writers, of whom we have just represented him as being a combatant by turns, deny, that in all his conflicts he has obtained some success by the effects produced, whatever may be their opinions as to the cogency of his arguments, or the extent of his candor.

Scarcely can the work before us be considered an exception to the general strain of our author's productions. It involves, indeed, no points of erudition or research, and was called for by no critical emergency in the existing state of religion. It descends to topics of more than fire-side familiarity, more than dressing-room minuteness. The 'lithe proboscis,' which could wield a century in its grasp, or move the gnarled roots of heresy from their bed, appears to be exercising here its powers of minute attraction, in prescribing to the young divine his postures in public, and his habits in private; warning him against picking his teeth, or pulling at articles of furniture, or studying by candle-light, or whispering in the lecture-room, or becoming the prey of notorious match-makers. Yet it is on many accounts an admirable book, and, in its general end and aim, falls not short of the author's usual high designs. The great interests of Presbyterianism are still predominant in his view throughout, although the pins and shreds of the tabernacle are here the main object of his attention. Perhaps we ought rather to have said, it is the *basis* of an admirable book; and if re-

moulded as we would hereafter suggest, might form a valuable gift both to the profession and to the public.

There is a certain aspect in which our country presents itself, not less interesting to the reflecting observer, than its precious political institutions. A large portion of it has long been organized into religious communities, or congregations, of a few hundreds each, and the remainder appears gradually tending to the same condition. Over each of these communities is stationed a single individual, summoned by themselves alone, who appears before them at intervals of a few days only, becomes a subject of their undivided attention, the channel of their most interesting emotions, the inmate of their domestic circles, the director in some measure of their moral principles and taste, and to a certain but necessary degree, the unconscious model even of their manners and their language. It is evident that a body of men, destined to exert so considerable an influence over society for evil or for good, ought at least to be gentlemen; and the present work of Dr Miller was intended to contribute towards so desirable a result.

To each of the fourteen letters, which compose the book, is prefixed a text of Scripture, appropriate to the subject proposed for discussion. These mottoes are so ingeniously chosen, that we shall here present them along with the titles which they accompany and illustrate.

'Letter I. INTRODUCTORY. "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Consider your ways."

'Letter II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CLERICAL MANNERS. "See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise."

'Letter III. OFFENSIVE PERSONAL HABITS. "GIVING NO OFFENCE IN ANYTHING, that the ministry be not blamed."

'Letter IV. CONVERSATION. "A word spoken in due season, how good is it!"

'Letter V. RELIGIOUS CONVERSATION. "Let your speech be always with grace seasoned with salt."

'Letter VI. VISITING. "I taught you publicly, AND FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE."

'Letter VII. HABITS IN THE SEMINARY GENERALLY. "And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works."

'Letter VIII. HABITS IN THE STUDY. "Give attendance to reading."

'Letter IX. HABITS IN THE LECTURE-ROOM. "Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go, for she is thy life."

'Letter X. HABITS IN THE PULPIT AND IN THE HOUSE OF GOD. "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God."

'Letter XI. CONDUCT IN CHURCH JUDICATORIES. "And the Apostles and Elders came together for to consider of this matter."

'Letter XII. FEMALE SOCIETY, MARRIAGE, &c. "Entreat the elder women as mothers; the younger as sisters, with all purity."

'Letter XIII. DRESS—STYLE OF LIVING—PECUNIARY CONCERNS. "Let your moderation be known unto all men."

'Letter XIV. MISCELLANEOUS COUNSELS. "Let all things be done decently and in order."

Dr Miller has a happy talent for the composition of a book. His method, though running out too much into detail, is very perspicuous. His style is marked by an elegant simplicity, and is always intelligible. Generally flowing with the easy sweetness of Doddridge, Newton, and that class of writers on experimental religion, it occasionally rises to the more artificial, condensed, and elevated strain of Hannah More. His English is of the purest kind, and his selecter expressions uncommonly felicitous. Even in his more personal controversies, there is little that is rough, discourteous, Warburtonian. All is as smooth as oil; though, as Burke once described the reproof of a certain righteous man, it is often the oil of vitriol. No man surpasses him in the art of saying severe things in a soft and tender way, and with a kind of helpless, unconscious simplicity. The affectionate pressure of his hand becomes unawares a rigorous grasp. His knowledge of human nature is deep; not arising merely from the varied trials and conflicts of experience, but also from strong natural sagacity, and the habitual study of his own heart. Admirable are his precepts on managing and regulating one's own prejudices, weaknesses, and virtues; delicate and skilful his tact in teaching us how to deal with those of others. Some portions of the present volume breathe a lofty and refreshing morality, however the fastidious may be displeased with several apparently coarse and trifling topics. We would recommend its perusal to readers of every class, as well as to the divine, or theological student. Let congregations learn the requisites for a perfect minister, and they will be more apt to assist and stimulate their own pastors in conforming to an elevated standard.

Probably, however, no recommendation of ours will ever attract to this book the attention of general readers. We will venture, therefore, to suggest a mode by which it may be rendered universally popular and useful. Not more than one half of it is at present peculiarly and specifically appropriate to persons of the clerical order. The author is constantly obliged to force his various topics over to the side of his main subject, by the remark that such or such a virtue is indeed to be cultivated, and such or such a habit to be shunned, by all others, as well as clergymen, but by *them* especially. Now, instead of thus pursuing two several tracks, which perpetually cross each other, we could have wished that he had divided his plan, and given us two moderately sized manuals; one addressed to the young in general; another, with the title and object of the book before us. What American youth, for instance, is unconcerned in any part of Letters third and fourth, of which the following expressive summary is given in the table of contents?

‘Letter III. Offensive personal habits—Spitting on floors and carpets—Excessive use of tobacco—Use of ardent spirits—Fondness for luxurious eating—Boisterous laughter—Paring the nails—Combing the hair—Yawning—Picking the teeth—Leaning on the table—Mode of sitting in company—Importance of sitting erectly—Pulling at articles of furniture—Guarding against slovenly habits of every kind.

‘Letter IV. On conversation—Importance of the subject—Talking too much—Excessive silence—Tale-bearing and tattling—Prying into the secrets of families—Propagating ill reports—Discussion of personal character and conduct—Making conversation useful—Making preparation to converse—Paying close attention in conversation—Treating what is said by others respectfully—Looking the individual with whom we converse in the face—Opposing erroneous sentiments in a suitable manner—Haughtiness in conversation—Controversy—Losing the temper in controversy—Ease and attractiveness in conversation—Too much readiness to make promises of services—Disposition to take offence—Sudden and excessive intimacies—Maintaining personal dignity in conversation—Retailing anecdotes—Repeating old proverbs—Coarseness or indelicacy—Interrupting another in conversation—Contradicting—Indulgence of personal vanity—Egotism—Affectation of wit—Pedantry—Flattery—Inviting flattery to ourselves—Speaking of our own performances—Rude familiarity—Strict regard to truth—Proprieties of time and place—Faithfulness to confidence reposed—Loud and boisterous manner in conversation—Frequent

use of superlatives—Conversing with the wise and good—Observing the conversation of the best models.’ pp. vi, vii.

Letter third should evidently be perused long before a young man commences the study of theology. We know not how it is among our brethren of the middle states, but in these latitudes, we should esteem the case of a youthful divine as very hopeless, who should indulge in almost any of the habits therein enumerated. So the whole of Letter ninth, entitled ‘Habits in the Lecture-Room,’ would be read with special profit, not only by every student attending a course of medical or law lectures, but by every undergraduate. Nearly all of Letter seventh, entitled ‘Habits in the Seminary generally,’ is well calculated for every member of a college or university. Even the second Letter, enumerating the general characteristics of clerical manners, could be perused by no person of moral susceptibility, without some good effect. In treating elsewhere of habits in the study, of dress, style of living, expenses, female society, matrimony, and various other miscellaneous subjects, we regret that the author should have locked up so much valuable advice in a volume from which the title will immediately repel the general reader.

We apprehend that the work would receive still farther improvement, if subjected, in many cases, to a rigorous process of condensation. We would recommend an occasional departure from the author’s plan of rolling out every separate direction or precept into an imposing section. Many of his maxims would speak at once for themselves; their effect is enfeebled by putting the thought into new modes of expression, showing it on every side, and handling it over again and again. He has himself set the example of a better method in Section thirteenth of Letter third, in which a variety of subjects are touched in a neat and summary manner. Why a whole section might not have been fabricated for each of them, or why numerous sections throughout the Letters might not have been compressed in the manner of this one, we are unable to discern. The diffusive habit to which we object was probably brought by the author from his preparations for the pulpit, where a given quantity is often delivered by a preacher on every separate head of his discourse, whatever be its relative or direct importance. As one instance among others, of the peculiarity to which we allude, we refer to Section sixth of Letter twelfth, in which *the inestimable importance of piety*

in a clergyman's wife is urged with so much repetition and prolixity, that we almost become tired of the subject.

Why, too, could not a single general section have been devoted to inculcating the duty of prayer on a variety of important occasions, instead of recommending it separately and at large in different parts of the book, under the several heads of religious conversation, official visits, short social visits, private study, pulpit performances, returning from the pulpit, attendance on every church judicatory, speaking in judicatories, transacting business in judicatories, and choosing a companion for life? It is evident that occasions of this kind might be greatly multiplied, and if so many sections in detail are necessary, the book is imperfect for having no more.

From these general criticisms on the frame-work of the volume, we pass to some desultory remarks on its subject matter. A work of this description would naturally raise many questions of minor casuistry, of mere taste and opinion; a few of which we shall attempt to examine with due frankness and respect.

The question is discussed with elegance and ingenuity in the second Letter, whether there is anything *peculiar* in the style of manners proper for a minister of the Gospel. The Doctor maintains that the six following characteristics are essential to a perfect clerical deportment; Dignity, Gentleness, Condescension, Affability, Reserve, and Uniformity. Among other rules for the preservation of a clergyman's dignity, the author lays down the following. 'When you are invited even to what are called *family parties*, and you find either cards or dancing about to be introduced, though it be on the smallest scale, and in the most *domestic* way, make a point of withdrawing. It is, on all accounts, better to be absent. When a clergyman allows himself to be found in the midst of exhibitions of this nature, though he take no part in them, yet, if he have a proper sense of christian and ministerial duty, he will be more or less embarrassed; and, if he attempt to be faithful in reproof or remonstrance, may, perhaps, do more harm than good.' In this advice, notwithstanding a show of decision, we cannot but perceive something at once wavering, unsatisfactory, and inconsistent. The amusements to which reference is made, are either proper or improper. If proper, we see no reason why a clergyman should withdraw from witnessing them. If improper, we are unable

to conceive why he should not faithfully, but as gently and calmly as you please, remonstrate against them. Is it not possible that the presence of clergymen and other persons of sobriety may prevent innocent amusements from degenerating into extravagance or indecorum? If such spectators abruptly and sullenly withdraw, they acquire no respect from those whom they leave behind; they only diffuse a momentary embarrassment without effecting a reformation; they diminish affectionate confidence, and establish a virtual breach. How can they ever return to the houses they forsake, until the offensive amusements are renounced? We refrain altogether from entering on the question respecting the propriety of the abovementioned recreations. We only wish for decision, independence, and consistency in a clergyman, and can perceive but little of either in a timorous and ambiguous flight.

Again; 'If you happen,' says our author, 'to be thrown into young company, and any of the *little plays* which are frequently resorted to, by youth of both sexes, for passing away time, happen to be introduced, it will be by no means proper that you take any part in them.' The Doctor's correspondent may be able to keep this rule tolerably well, unless he has himself a few young children; in that case, he must be more or less than a man, to permit the little amusements of a birthday evening to fail for want of efficient support.

Some of the following directions inculcate, it may be thought, an almost impracticable and unprofitable strictness.

'You can be at no loss to decide, that—the *private affairs* of your neighbors;—the characters, plans, and conduct of the *absent*;—questions which implicate the principles and views of *other religious denominations*;—the conflicts of *party politicians*;—your *own private concerns*;—the *petty scandal* of the neighborhood; what others have *communicated to you*, in reference to delicate subjects, whether under the injunction of secrecy or not;—your *opinions* concerning the passing events and persons of the day, unless in very clear and special cases;—on all these and similar subjects, if you are wise you will exercise much reserve;—nay you will seldom allow yourself to converse at all, even when all around you are chattering about them. You can seldom do any good by talking on such subjects.' p. 53.

General indeed must be the circle, where restraints so severe ought to be imposed upon a clergyman. In companies of a private and social description, let him take some part in

the talk of the day, or lay his account in being an unwelcome guest. Let him glide along on the current of conversation with an amiable though cautious participation, since thus only can he effectually prevent, or gracefully reprove, those occasional breaches of charity, prudence, and propriety, to which our author would condemn him to be a stern and silent listener.

In Letter fourth, Dr Miller cautions his friend, with especial earnestness, against ever being drawn into controversy, in company, with *aged men* and with *females*. As to the former, he says, 'Never dream that you will be able to convince, or by any means to *effect an alteration* in the opinions of a man who has passed the age of three score, or three score and ten.' As to the latter, he thinks nothing can be a match for their acuteness, wit, sprightliness, and delicate raillery; or at all events, he considers that common gallantry must seal the lips of any one who differs on important subjects from the fair. How absolute and sweeping are such remarks! Many an elderly person, many an intelligent female have we known, capable of conducting a controversy with all desirable fairness and calmness. Why should their friendly challenges or candid inquiries be evaded, in favor of the warm, positive, prejudiced dogmatists of a younger age and a rougher sex?

For the sake of the author's consistency we could wish him to revise some of his directions respecting the miscellaneous literature proper for a clergyman to cultivate. How have Shakspeare, Pope, and Johnson, any *peculiar* bearing on theological studies? And if there be danger even in 'touching, tasting, or handling' a novel of the highest class, would there be nothing perilous in the fascinations of the great dramatist? To expose a clergyman to the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and yet forbid him to read 'Tremaine,' is to us an incomprehensible distinction. Why should the young divine be debarred from those deep lessons in the human heart, that exquisite perfection of taste, that delightful solace of his heavier hours, which exist in the volumes of Scott and others of the same school? He who cannot be trusted with such books in his hands, because 'he is never sure that he will not go to excess,' has no business in this world of temptations; he must dispense with chairs in his study, for he may die of sedentary indulgence; he must cause his door to be locked on every beautiful day, otherwise he will spend it in sauntering abroad;

he must be confined to bread and water, for ruin awaits him in the least artificial luxuries of the table.

With regard to opening or shutting the eyes in public prayer, instead of taking a positive, absolute side, and recommending, with our author, the latter in all cases, we would have left it to be determined by circumstances. Very high authorities beside Doddridge condemn the practice which Dr Miller enjoins. In some regions, one custom, we find, prevails and is favored; in others, another. A pure and true theology, recognising the universal presence of the Deity, would seem to render either mode indifferent.

The two letters on 'Habits, in the Theological Seminary,' and on 'Conduct in Church Judicatories,' present a curious, but rather sad picture of the state of things, which sometimes exists in those places of resort, and of which there is sufficient danger to induce the author to lay down such particular directions. We were not a little amused by the address of his gentle satires and indirect reproofs on these subjects, and have no doubt that many an individual has secretly thanked him for administering his correction over the shoulders of a student at Princeton.

The Doctor's general rules on matrimony are excellent; but his superabundant and too minute directions respecting the choice of a wife, seem to presuppose in his young friend the faculty of cool prophecy, and almost to place the adviser himself among a certain interfering class, against which he devotes a whole indignant section. Where can be found the paragons whom he destines for the rising generation of divines? And supposing they could be discovered,—

'Crois-tu que d'une fille humble, honnête, charmante,
L'hymen n'ait jamais fait de femme extravagante ?
Combien n'a-t-on point vu de belles aux doux yeux,
Avant le mariage anges si gracieux,
Tout-à-coup se changeant en bourgeoises sauvages,
Vrais démons apporter l'enfer dans leurs ménages,
Et, découvrant l'orgueil de leurs rudes esprits,
Sous leur fontange altière asservir leurs maris !'

'Never allow yourself to be a politician.' With the whole section on this maxim, we cordially agree; but wish it had been accompanied by the advice given by the venerable Dr Freeman in his discourse at the settlement of a colleague, namely, to maintain the practice of depositing his vote in the ballot-box at every important election.

On the subject of an appropriate professional garb, we were surprised to find this book entirely silent. In that portion which treats of dress, the reader is persuaded to be only economical, whole, neat, and clean; but nothing is anywhere hinted of an established clerical uniform. Would the author encourage his pupil to assume any other than the color usually worn by clergymen? Does not this ingredient enter into one's romantic and unspeakable musings on a perfect clerical character, as readily as the six moral qualities formerly enumerated? A course of sermons, we allow, would lose none of their inherent excellence, by coming from the lips of a person clad in the varying habiliments of the day. But never may we witness such an anomaly from our usual associations. We would enter our protest against the liberty which is beginning to be assumed in these respects by some members of the cloth. Could we legislate for that respectable profession, we should at once abolish the white hats that have occasionally appeared among them for the last few summers. We should be almost jealous of minister's grey. Not that we perceive in black any abstract fitness for a clerical dress. The plain, unobtrusive drab of the quaker, or any other color, if conventionally and universally adopted, would equally answer the end. But the former, being already in such extensive use, ought, as we conceive, to be scrupulously retained, in spite of trivial inconveniences. We will venture to assert, that the Moravian brethren, whom Dr Miller pronounces, in the end of his second chapter, to be clerical models, are dressed according to the spirit of our remarks. At all events, we cannot be wrong in pleading for the continued prevalence of that modest, sensible, and gentlemanly costume, which is allied to our hallowed recollections of a Matignon, a Buckminster, a Dehon, a Worcester, a Stanhope Smith, and a thousand others, of every denomination. These, amidst the unavoidable discrepancies of opinion and ceremonials incident to the limited nature of the human mind, seemed willing to unite in at least one common observance, and, by something like a happy emblem or allegory, tacitly consented to merge all their disagreements in a uniform suit of sable.

But we have pursued our little differences with the author far enough. To show how much more easily and safely we might approve, a few extracts shall be presented from various parts of his book. The first will at once exhibit the modesty of his pretensions and the propriety of his design.

‘I will only add, that in preparing this little system of advices, I have by no means forgotten how small my title is to assume the office of teacher on such a subject. It is a maxim in physical science, that a stream can never, in ordinary circumstances, rise higher than its fountain. If I thought this maxim applied as rigidly in intellectual and moral culture, I should lay down my pen in despair; or rather, I should not have dared to take it up for the purpose of discussing a subject at once so delicate and difficult. But it does not. Nothing is more common than to see pupils rising far higher than their instructors in knowledge and practical wisdom. This thought comforts and animates me in the undertaking. My office having placed me in the way of perceiving how greatly a body of precepts and suggestions on this subject is needed; having never seen anything which appeared to me to approach toward answering the purpose in view; knowing that all that many ingenuous youth need, to put them on the right track, is a collection of hints, for setting their own minds at work; and hoping that what is “sown in weakness,” may be “raised in power,” I venture to make the attempt which the title of these Letters announces. May our common Master accept and bless it!’ pp. 33, 34.

The next passage skilfully justifies his uniting the apparently opposite qualities of affability and reserve in the ministerial character.

‘By *reserve* I mean, not the opposite of *frankness*; but a manner standing opposed to *excessive* and *unseasonable communicativeness*. This is in no respect inconsistent with anything which has been already recommended. The most attractive affability is not only quite reconcilable with a delicate and wise reserve; but really requires it, and cannot be of the best character without it. There are many subjects on which a minister of the Gospel ought not to allow himself, in ordinary cases, to talk with freedom, if at all; and, of course, concerning which, when they are introduced, he ought generally to exercise a strict reserve. Every wise man will see at once the reasons, and the importance of this counsel; especially in reference to one who bears so many interesting relations to those around him as a minister of religion. He ought certainly to be affable. But if by this he should understand to be meant, that he ought to talk freely, at all times, to all classes of people, and on all subjects, which the idle, the meddling, the impertinent, or the malignant may choose to introduce, he would soon find to his cost that he had totally misapprehended the matter. Affability is good—is important; but incessant and indiscriminate talkativeness, will soon reduce in public esteem, and entangle in real difficulties, the official man who allows himself to indulge it. pp. 51, 52.

The following may furnish a valuable hint to some of our studious readers ; though we think the author pushes his theory beyond necessary limits.

‘We owe it to our bodily health, as well as to good manners, to learn the art of *habitually sitting in an erect posture*. Few things are more important to a student. If he allow himself, in the privacy of his own apartment, to sit in a leaning, lounging, half-bent posture, with his elbows on his knees, or with his feet stuck up on a chair, or against the side of the fire-place, higher than his head, or on a level with it ; he will be much more apt to contract a pain in his breast, and to find his eye-sight, and his general health affected by three hours’ study, in such a posture, than by five or even six in a more erect one. Let your habitual mode of sitting, even in your study, be perfectly erect, with the breast rather protruded than bent in ; and, in short, very much in that self-supported and firm manner, in which you would wish to sit in the most ceremonious company. This may seem, at first view to be too formal ; but it will become, in a short time, what it is the object of this counsel to make it, the most natural posture ; and will, without effort on your part, confer all those advantages on the score of health and manners which it is desirable to gain from it. Besides ; if now, in your youth, you are constantly seeking, as many appear to be, something to recline upon ; if you cannot sit ten minutes without throwing yourself into the recumbent, or semi-recumbent postures, to which we see the young and healthy constantly resorting ; what will you do in the feebleness of old age ? If you cannot sit otherwise than half-bent at twenty-five ; how will you sit at three score and ten ? Let the sunken, revolting figures of many aged persons give the answer.’ pp. 83—85.

The next is a specimen of that united knowledge of the world and matured Christian spirit, which appear in many parts of the work.

‘It is one of the most obvious dictates of good manners, *not to interrupt another person when he is speaking* ; and yet how frequently is this plain rule of decorum violated ! To interrupt one in conversation, almost always carries with it an offensive character. It implies either, that we are not instructed or interested by what he is saying ; that we have not patience to hear him to the end, and are anxious that he should come to a more speedy close ; or that we are wiser than he, and more competent to give instruction on the subject on which he is speaking ; neither of which is consistent with that respect and benevolence which we owe to those with whom we converse. But, while you sacredly guard against interrupting others in conversation, be not

impatient of interruption *yourself*. Bear it with calmness, and without the least indication of irritated feeling. Set it down to the score of inadvertence, of nervous excitement, of irascible feeling, of constitutional impatience—in short of anything rather than a design to give offence, unless you are compelled by unquestionable testimony to adopt this unfavorable construction.’ pp. 115, 116.

So again ;

‘Introducing and conducting religious conversation with persons of *wealth, and high station in society*, is a peculiarly important, and, at the same time, a very delicate and difficult duty. Peculiarly important, because any good impression made on them, will be likely to extend itself more widely ; and in many respects, delicate and difficult, because this class of persons are more in the habit of being approached with deference, and, for various reasons, more apt to be nice, and even fastidious, in their feelings, than many others. At the same time, I have no doubt, that the difficulties of this duty have been, by some, greatly overrated ; and that plain, good sense, with a heart overflowing with piety and benevolence, will be found, humanly speaking, safe and adequate guides, in all ordinary cases. My advices on this point shall be short. Never, on any account *court*, or *affect* the company of the wealthy and great. Never take pains to be much with them ; and never *boast* of their acquaintance. When you are providentially thrown in their way, sacredly avoid everything that approaches to a supple, sycophantic spirit of accommodation to their errors or vices. Never accost them with that timid, embarrassed diffidence, which may lead them to suppose that you have more veneration for them, than for your duty or your God. At the same time, let nothing of the unmannerly, the sullen, or the morose mark your deportment toward them. An old divine was accustomed to say, “Please all men in the truth ; but wound not the truth to please any.” Let them see that christian duty is not inconsistent with the most perfect politeness. Introduce pious thoughts and divine truth to their view, in a gentle, and sometimes in an indirect manner ; and let them see that you are much more intent on doing them good, than gaining their favor. When you have occasion to oppose them, let it be done mildly and meekly, but firmly ; with the air and manner of one who dislikes to oppose, but feels constrained to “obey God rather than man.” In a word, I believe that a minister of the Gospel never appears to more advantage in the view of those who are considered as the great ones of this world, and is never likely to make a more deep impression upon them, than when he makes them to feel—not by ostentation, sanctimoniousness, or austerity ; not even by impor-

tunately soliciting their attention to his own views of truth and duty—but by exhibiting meek decision of spiritual character,—that they are in the presence of a man, who regards the authority and favor of God above all things, and whose supreme and habitual object is to promote the everlasting welfare of his fellow-men.’ pp. 147—149.

A glow of fine moral eloquence appears in the following.

‘If you desire to gain an easy, natural, and attractive manner of introducing and maintaining religious conversation, let the foundation of all your efforts at improvement in this respect, be laid *in the culture of the heart*. Study daily to grow in *vital piety*. Perhaps there is nothing more indispensable to the happy discharge of the duty under consideration than that the HEART continually prompt and speak; that heart-felt emotion and affection dictate every word, and tone, and look, while engaged in addressing a fellow creature on the most important of all subjects. Truly, without active, fervent love to God, and to the souls of men, it will be vain to hope for the attainment of this happy art, in any considerable degree. But if your heart habitually glow with interest in this subject; if the “love of Christ constrain you;” if you daily cherish a tender concern for the salvation of your perishing fellow mortals; if your mind be constantly teeming with desires and plans to do them good; then religious conversation will be as natural as to breathe. Then your lips will be opened seasonably, unaffectedly, and profitably to all around you. Then, instead of being at a loss what to say; or being timidly backward to say it; or saying it in an embarrassed, awkward, pompous, or unnatural manner; there will be a simplicity, a touching tenderness, a penetrating skill, a native gracefulness, an unction in your mode of conversing, which no spurious feelings can successfully imitate. The true reason, I have no doubt, why religious conversation is so often what it ought not to be, and so often useless, is that it is so seldom the offspring of that unaffected, warm, spiritual feeling, which piety of an elevated character alone can give.’ pp. 165—167.

How full of delicate and humane instruction is the ensuing paragraph.

‘Let your *prayers* in the apartment of the sick, be tender,—sympathetic,—appropriate from beginning to end,—*short*,—and as much calculated as possible to fix, calm, and enlighten the mind of the sufferer, and to direct his meditations. It is very injudicious to make prayers in a sick chamber, as they often are, pointless, tedious, general, inapplicable in the greater part of their structure, or loud and harsh in their manner. Many topics proper for social prayer, on other occasions, ought to be left out here;

and every tone adapted to the stillness and sympathy of a sick chamber.' pp. 186, 187.

On the subject of plans of study there is this judicious advice.

'There is such a thing as a student's making himself the *slave* of his plan, instead of using it as an auxiliary. He may erect it into an end, instead of employing it as a means. His plans were made for *him*, and not he for his plans. Let your plan of study, therefore, be, at all times, judicious, practicable, and adapted to your situation; such as you will not be compelled frequently to violate. Do not be perpetually altering it; and yet accommodate it, from time to time, to your situation. If you either alter it, or depart from it very frequently, it will soon cease to have any power over you. And here, as in many other cases, you will have occasion for all that *decision of character*, which is so important in a public man. I could almost venture to prognosticate whether you would do much to purpose in future life, if I only knew with what degree of rigor you adhere to your plan of study. If you are unsteady and undecided in regard to this, you will probably be so in every important occupation as long as you live.' p. 261.

The following should be attentively considered by all public speakers.

'Never habituate yourself to the use of many of those tonics, nourishing draughts, and clearers of the voice, of which many make such abundant use. I have known some preachers, who abounded so much in the use of eggs, and honey, and mint drops, and spirits of lavender, and wine, and sugar-candy, &c. &c., immediately before going to the pulpit, that, when abroad, and among those who were not accustomed to their habits, they were really troublesome guests. And I not long since read a work, entitled '*Medicina Clerica*,' from the pen of an English clergyman, in which the writer makes preparation for entering the pulpit so complicated a system; in which he recommends such a long list of drops, and lozenges, and stimulants, and remedies for hoarseness, and such an endless round of indulgences and plans for "ease and comfort," that the perusal of his book appears to me much better adapted to teach a man how to make himself a hypochondriac, than a powerful, active preacher. The truth is, young preachers do not stand in need of any of these things, and ought not to use them. They are seldom necessary for any one who does not make them so, by improper management. If you ask me, what plan I would recommend for keeping the lips, and mouth, sufficiently moist, and for clearing the voice, in the pulpit?

My answer is—I would recommend, just nothing at all. Avoid the use of anything for this purpose. Guard against the miserable servitude of having a dozen little wants, all of which must be supplied before you can ascend the sacred desk. Endeavor, by temperance and exercise, to preserve in vigor your general health, and then, unless some organic disease should render some application to the mouth or throat necessary, you will do much better without any thing of the kind. The truth is, this is one of the numerous cases in which, the more you make use of the auxiliaries of which I speak, the more indispensably necessary to your comfort they will be likely to become, until you may convert your study into an apothecary's shop, and render yourself a poor, feeble valetudinarian, by the very efforts which you make to avoid the evil. On this subject I speak from experience. In the early part of my ministry, I abounded in the use of prescriptions for strengthening and clearing the voice. I soon discovered, however, that the only effect of them was to increase the difficulty which they were intended to remedy; and to render an increase both in the frequency and quantity of the applications indispensable. Alarmed at this discovery, I determined to lay them all aside. I did so; and found, when the first little inconvenience of the privation had passed away, that I was able to do better without than with them. And now, with a delightful independence of all my former little wants, for which I cannot be sufficiently thankful, I usually go to the pulpit more comfortably, without a single medical, or dietetical application, than before with a host of them.' pp. 306—308.

The Doctor sometimes holds a graphic pen.

‘Let every look, motion, and attitude in the pulpit correspond with the gravity of your character, and the solemn purpose for which you ascended it. Let there be no roving of the eyes over the assembly, as if to gratify curiosity, to search for acquaintances, or to indulge vanity at the sight of a crowd. Let there be no adjustment of the dress, as if you were anxious about your personal appearance. Everything of this kind should be done before you go thither, and afterwards entirely dismissed from the mind. Let there be no abrupt, rapid motions, as if you were hurried or agitated; no tossing about of books, or turning over, their leaves in a hurried manner, as if vexed or impatient. But let every movement, and your whole demeanor, be of the calm, sedate, gentle character, becoming a mind withdrawn from the world and its scenes; a mind even withdrawn from its own secular feelings, and occupied with divine contemplations; a mind softened, tranquillized, and adapted to its holy employment. There is something as beautiful as it is impressive, in seeing the whole air, countenance, and manner of a man of God, who is just about to

deliver the message of his Master, corresponding with his office and his work ; and without either affected solemnity, or any other species of affectation, evincing a heart absorbed with the great objects which he wishes to recommend to others.' pp. 311, 312.

And sometimes a humorous one.

' While marriage is a subject concerning which counsel is more frequently needed than almost any other ; it is one, at the same time, in which feeling and caprice are so apt to triumph over reason, that, when counsel is most urgently needed, it is seldom heard, or at least, seldom properly weighed. What else, indeed, can be expected, when so large a portion of mankind, and especially of the young, and even of the conscientious and pious, seem to think that here, if ever, inclination ought to bear a sovereign sway ; and that listening to the dictates of prudence, is a sort of high treason against that refined system of " sentimentalism " which they suppose ought absolutely to govern in such cases. This is being weak and foolish, if the expression may be allowed, upon principle. And hence, I have known, again and again, some of the most sober-minded and excellent people of my acquaintance, giving themselves up to matrimonial partialities and connexions so manifestly unworthy of persons in their senses ; and so perfectly deaf to all the suggestions of wisdom, that they deserved the discipline of the rod just as much as children at school.' pp. 383, 384.

But he most excels in the mild sagacity with which he lays down prudent lines of conduct for one's intercourse with mankind.

' In travelling among strangers guard against every thing that may savor of a forward or obtrusive spirit. There are two extremes in relation to this point, into one or the other of which public men are prone to fall. Some retreat to the most private recess of the vehicle in which they travel, or the hotel in which they lodge, and wrap themselves up in the silence and impenetrable reserve of one who wishes to escape from all intercourse with his species. Others are forward, talkative, and apparently desirous of making themselves known to every individual with whom they travel, and engaging with prominence in every conversation that occurs. The former is a monkish plan of proceeding, by which an intelligent man loses many pleasures and advantages, and withholds from others many a social benefit which he might confer. But the latter plan of deportment is no less faulty. It is weak, undignified, obtrusive, and, to all delicate minds, extremely revolting. Be invariably polite, and ready to accommodate every fellow-traveller ; but never obtrude your acquaintance or conver-

sation on strangers. Rather wait to be drawn out, than run the risk of being repelled as unduly forward. Those who, in travelling, thrust themselves into every circle, and meddle in every conversation, seldom, I believe, get through a long journey without placing themselves in circumstances, which, if they were persons of delicate sensibility (happily for their feelings this is seldom the case), would lead to many an hour of deep mortification. When designing or unprincipled men meet with such persons in public vehicles or places, they are peculiarly apt to single them out as objects of their artful approaches, under the confidence that they shall find them more accessible than others, and more open to imposition.' pp. 465-467.

In the present volume, there is little opening for verbal criticism. The epithet *newsy*, descriptive of a newsmonger, is hardly well coined. 'Unfortunate *whisperer*,' for a person annoyed by a whisperer, is but little happier. The phrase *in common*, for *commonly*, is here often used, but, as we think, with doubtful propriety in written composition. An infirmity of Bishop Burnett is described as 'infinitely ludicrous,' only two pages before the section against fondness for superlatives. 'The *knack* of closely observing,' is an expression which somewhat degrades one of our best habits or faculties. To *put up* at an inn, is, we suppose, a pardonable Americanism.

We conclude by requesting our author to employ his pen more frequently and copiously for the public. His large experience in men and things, his power of sagacious observation, his long habits of reflection, together with the peculiar merits of his style, must contribute to render any of his productions, on general subjects, very popular and useful. Who could better execute memoirs of his own times, or more thoroughly instruct his countrymen on the right formation of American character? If these are presumptuous suggestions, let them be excused by a zeal for the promotion and honor of our literature.

ART. XIII.—*Report of the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements of the State of Massachusetts, on the Practicability and Expediency of a Rail Road from Boston to the Hudson River, and from Boston to Providence, submitted to the General Court, January 16, 1829. To which are annexed the Reports of the Engineers, containing the Results of their Surveys, and Estimates of the Cost of constructing a Rail Road on each of the Routes selected. With Plans and Profiles of the Routes.*

HAVING devoted a portion of our last number to an examination of the Reports upon the Baltimore and Ohio rail road, we should not at present have called the attention of our readers to the documents named at the head of this article, had not the subject become one of peculiar interest, at this moment, from the position in which it has been placed by the legislature of Massachusetts. Engineers have been engaged during the two last seasons, under the superintendence of different commissions appointed by the government of the state, in making very thorough surveys of the country between Boston and Albany, and also between Boston and Providence; the routes which offer the greatest advantages for rail roads in those two directions have been selected; a species of rail road, to be formed principally of materials found in abundance along the several routes, and which will combine the advantages of solidity and durability with those of cheapness and simplicity of construction, has been particularly described, and the cost of construction carefully estimated. Inquiries have also been made, to determine the amount of business to be accommodated, and other facts necessary for forming an estimate of the degree of benefit to be expected from these works. The results of these investigations are submitted in the Reports which form the subject of this notice, to the legislature, with a strong recommendation that the construction of rail roads upon both routes should be undertaken at the cost of the state.

The legislature, instead of acting definitively upon the question thus submitted to them, at their late session passed resolutions declaring their opinion that it is expedient to aid and encourage these works by the funds of the state, and recommending the subject to the people for their consideration, and to the next legislature, as deserving a thorough examination, and

an early decision. The difficulty of forming a satisfactory judgment on a subject involving so many details, in so short a period as was allowed after the publication of these Reports, and the magnitude and novelty of the undertaking, afforded strong reasons for deferring a final decision upon the question presented to the legislature, and for appealing to the sense of the public at large upon it.

In this state of things, the people of Massachusetts are loudly called upon to examine into the merits of this question, that they may make such a decision upon it as will be creditable to their intelligence, as well as consistent with their own best interests. Feeling the obligation of citizens thus called upon to form an opinion on this subject, we have carefully looked over these Reports, and made such an examination of the facts and principles stated therein, as will enable us to present our views of the improvements here recommended.

The distance from Boston to Albany, by the most favorable of the routes surveyed, is found to be one hundred and ninety-eight miles; that by the roads now most travelled being about one hundred and sixty-five. This route is on a line so nearly level as to admit of being travelled throughout by locomotive power alone, without the aid of any description of stationary power, in surmounting the elevations to be passed. By the adoption of stationary powers, on inclined planes, in surmounting some of the steeper declivities, it is supposed the distance might be reduced to something less than a hundred and ninety miles, without any considerable increase of the elevation to be passed.

The distance by the most level of the Providence routes, from tide waters on Front Street in Boston, to the neighborhood of deep navigable waters, at Fox Point, in the southerly part of Providence, is forty-three miles and forty-eight chains. This is about two miles farther than by the shortest road now travelled. It is found that no part of the inclination on this route need exceed thirty feet in a mile, and that no aid of stationary powers will be required.

The route which is recommended for the Albany road, passes through the towns of Newton, Framingham, Westborough, Worcester, Brookfield, and Palmer, to Springfield; and thence, through Westfield, Chester, Pittsfield, Canaan, Chatham, and Castleton, to Greenbush, on the Hudson river, opposite to the city of Albany. On this line the estimates of cost are made, but it is supposed that occasional de-

viations from it may be advantageously made on the final laying out of the road. In proceeding westwardly from Boston on this route, the line of the road, when formed on the principles assumed in the estimate, will have an ascending inclination for ninety miles and a half, a descending inclination for ninety-four miles and a half, and it will be level for thirteen miles. On forty-nine miles of the ascending part of the road, and the same number of miles on the descending part, the inclination exceeds the rate of twenty-six feet to a mile; and on these portions of the road, varying in their rate of inclination from twenty-six to eighty feet per mile, it is computed that the resistance or acceleration of the motion of the load by its gravity, will be greater than the resistance from friction. On the other hundred miles of the road, the inclination will be so slight, that the gravity of the load will act advantageously in aiding its motion in descending, in the same degree that it will act disadvantageously in ascending. The travelling on these parts of the road, therefore, will be nearly as easy, and accomplished by about the same exertion of travelling power, as it would be if it were level. On the forty-nine miles of ascending road, an additional travelling power will be necessary, proportioned to the degree of inclination. On the forty-nine miles of descending road, no exertion will be required to move the load forward, but precautions will be necessary to retard and regulate the motion.

It is computed, that on all parts of the road constructed in the manner described, except those which make up the forty-nine miles of steep inclination, an average load for a single horse, travelling twenty miles per day, will be sixteen thousand pounds, or eight tons of two thousand pounds each, exclusive of the weight of the wagons; and that, on the steepest parts, an additional horse will be necessary for conveying the same load, travelling ten miles a day in an ascending direction, and returning the same distance. It is further computed that the cost of transportation for heavy articles, exclusive of tolls, will not exceed a cent a mile per ton. The particulars of this estimate are stated in the report. Admitting the assumed cost of labor to be correct, of which every one conversant with such subjects can judge, and admitting also the correctness of the statements which are found in works of acknowledged authority, of the ordinary performance of horses on rail roads which have been for some years in use, the form and inclination of

which are particularly described, there can be no doubt of the accuracy of this estimate. It being once ascertained what degree of locomotive power is necessary for the conveyance of loads of a given weight on a level rail road, or on a road of a given inclination, it is easy to calculate the power which will be necessary on a road of similar construction, having any specified rates of inclination. In this estimate, there appears to be an ample allowance for the increased power which will be required in consequence of the departure from a level line.

In the above estimate of the cost of transportation, it is assumed that the road will be made without the application of stationary powers to surmount any of the declivities in the route. The Report, however, recommends, that before the road is finally laid out, further examinations and calculations shall be made, with a view of determining whether it may not be expedient to adopt a system of stationary powers, on inclined planes, for the purpose of passing the principal elevations in the line of the road. Such an investigation ought unquestionably to be made, and a careful estimate of the comparative cost and value of the two modes of construction. After the proper surveys and inquiries shall have been completed, it will be easy to make such a comparison as will leave little doubt which of the methods of passing these declivities should be preferred. Should it prove on inquiry, that there is a sufficient supply of water to afford a permanent moving power on most of the elevations, there can be little doubt that it will be found expedient to appropriate this power, which can be obtained at an extremely low cost, to this purpose.

The principal facts necessary for this inquiry, which have not yet been ascertained, are, the saving which may be made in the distance, by admitting of steep inclinations instead of those never exceeding eighty feet in a mile ; the cost of constructing inclined planes, with the necessary machinery ; the cost of the stationary power, whether it be water or animal power ; the cost of attendance, and of the probable repairs of machinery ; and the comparative length of time required to pass, in the two modes.

On most of the rail roads of any considerable magnitude in England, stationary steam-engines are used for the purpose of moving the loads over the steep elevations. They are also adopted on the rail road connected with the Hudson and Delaware canal, leading to the Lackawaxen coal mines in

Pennsylvania. But this species of power would not be at all adapted to the convenience of the irregular travelling, on a public road like that here proposed. Besides this objection to the use of steam power for this purpose, it is evident that it would have no advantage over horse power, in a part of the country where the cost of fuel for the supply of the engines would exceed that of keeping a sufficient number of horses or oxen, to perform the same amount of labor.

On the Stockton and Darlington railway, which is the longest in existence now completed, the loads are moved principally by locomotive and stationary steam-engines, but partly by horses. The cost of maintaining locomotive engines in England, near the coal mines, and where, consequently, the expense for fuel is low, is greater than that of keeping the number of horses, in this country, which will exert the same degree of power, provided the horses travel at a slow pace. But if the pace of the horse is accelerated, his power is diminished in a much greater ratio than his speed is increased. With steam power, acting on a locomotive engine, it is otherwise. The same power which will move twenty tons a given distance per hour, will move ten tons double that distance in an hour; so that the effect produced is the same in a rapid as in a slow rate of motion. For rapid travelling, therefore, locomotive engines may be cheaper than animal power. But they are applicable only to the conveyance of loads of many tons' weight, and are therefore not suited to the purpose of moving stage-coaches. Indeed the resistance to the motion of a carriage on a rail road is so slight, that the cost of horse power, even at the low degree of exertion which he is capable of when travelling at a very rapid rate, is a matter of small consideration, compared with the cost of travelling in any of the ordinary modes. The power of a single horse is sufficient for drawing a stage-coach as fully loaded, and at as rapid a speed, as the passengers will desire. For other purposes than the conveyance of passengers, a rapid rate of travelling is not, in general, of any great advantage. It is not probable, therefore, that locomotive engines will, for the present, be found advantageous in this country.

But if by the use of horse power on a rail road, the cost of transportation can be reduced as low as a cent a mile for the conveyance of a ton; if a single horse, travelling at a slow and natural pace, can draw a load of eight tons, exclusive of the weight of the wagons, and a stage-coach loaded with

fifteen or twenty passengers, when travelling at a speed of nine or ten miles an hour ; it is evident that such a rail road, passing through a rich and populous country, must be of immense benefit, and that it will not only afford a great facility to business, but will produce a great increase of business and of profits.

The Report goes into a variety of investigations, for the purpose of showing the amount of business which will be thus accommodated. The data for this calculation are derived from a great number of scattered sources ; and many of them are too uncertain to be very fully relied on. The results are stated with a good deal of reserve, and the aggregate of the estimate appears to be moderate. In this estimate, the business that is expected to pass the whole road, between Boston and Albany, is not relied on for more than a fifth part of the whole income. This amount is supposed to be about a third more than the present amount of business between the two places. A material increase of this business is anticipated, not so much from a reduction in the cost of transportation, as from the greater expedition and certainty of the conveyance, and from the continuance of an advantageous trade through a great part of the winter, when the present outlet of the trade of Albany is closed. These are certainly substantial grounds for anticipating a great increase of business, and the introduction of a much more extensive direct trade than is now carried on, in place of that which at present centres in the city of New York. The extent of this increase must of course be in a great measure a matter of conjecture. It could not be considered an extravagant supposition to place the amount much higher than the estimate in the Report.

Some persons have expressed a belief, that if the rail road were built, the trade between Boston and Albany would still be carried on by water, because this conveyance would be cheaper than that by the rail road. Those who have adopted this opinion, must have taken it up without due examination. It will be found on inquiry, that the customary freight for heavy articles, which pay at the lowest rates, between Boston and Albany, is three dollars and seventy-five cents a ton, but that, for the purpose of filling up a vessel, which would otherwise sail with part of a cargo, certain articles, particularly flour and mackerel, which are the most considerable articles of transport between the two cities, are often taken at two

dollars and fifty cents a ton. We have the authority of the largest importer of flour from Albany for the two last seasons for saying, that he has never paid less than twenty-five cents a barrel for the freight of flour, that he often pays thirty-seven and a half cents, and that he thinks the average price paid by him about thirty-one cents. Those who ship but transiently, and in smaller quantities, of course generally pay more. The gentleman above quoted, and others competent to judge, are of opinion that the business could not be carried on at so low a uniform rate of freight as the lowest price above named. To the freight must be added, for the cost of water conveyance, the insurance, at an average of three fourths of one per cent. on the value of the article. This would be, on a ton of flour, from thirty to sixty cents; on most other articles more than this amount, and on the cheapest of manufactured goods, which will form a large part of the transport, more than the above rates of freight.

In these facts we place entire confidence, and therefore cannot doubt that a rail road, constructed in the manner proposed, will command the whole transport between Albany and Boston, provided the tolls are placed as low as is recommended in the Report, namely, a dollar a ton for the whole passage. Higher tolls might be charged on the more costly articles. The distinction proposed to be made in the rate of tolls, on articles carried through the whole line, and on those which are carried to or from the interior of the country, will be entirely reasonable, and will probably be necessary for obtaining a proper income for the support of the road. It will be reasonable that the compensation for the use of the road, should be in proportion to the benefit afforded by it. It is on this principle that bulky articles, of small value in proportion to their weight, are usually charged at low rates of toll, on rail roads and canals, in comparison with more costly articles. Where the transportation on the rail road comes in competition with water conveyance, as between Albany and Boston, the tolls must be low, or there will be no inducement to prefer the rail road. Where the only competition is with the conveyance by land, on common roads, much higher rates of toll may be demanded for the use of the rail road, and still the benefit will be far beyond the price paid.

However great may be esteemed the benefits anticipated from the facility which this improvement will afford, to the com-

munication between Boston and Albany, and to a direct trade between the manufacturing towns of the East and the agricultural regions of the West, the accommodation of the intermediate country must be regarded as the leading motive for undertaking this great work. The cost of transporting merchandise and produce any considerable distance by land, in the ordinary method, is so great, compared with that of water conveyance, that this disadvantage alone is sufficient to make trade, and every branch of industry, languid and unprofitable, compared with the same degree of industry and skill, exerted in parts of the country where nature has furnished a cheaper mode of intercourse. Every one, in estimating the bounties which nature has conferred on different states and countries, has been accustomed to regard the possession of extensive navigable rivers as among the most enviable advantages, on account of the facility which they afford to intercourse and trade. The late improvements of steam navigation have given these natural channels of intercourse a new value, so that they have become the great highways not only for trade but for personal intercourse. The introduction of steam-boats, with luxurious accommodations, travelling with a rapidity heretofore unheard of, on the Long Island Sound and the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, has given to the parts of country bordering on those waters, more decided advantages over other parts of the country, than they before possessed, and drawn to those routes much of the business which was formerly carried on by land transportation, in other directions. But a very large tract of country, including the whole of the central and western parts of Massachusetts, and a large portion of several of the neighboring states, is remote from either of these channels. To these parts of the country it is important to afford some substitute for the advantages of navigation, which their situation does not permit them to possess.

The rail road will furnish them that substitute. It will afford a method of communication in some respects superior to any inland navigation. It will not be so cheap as sloop navigation, but it will be more safe and more free from interruption. It will probably not admit of the conveyance of passengers quite so rapidly as steam navigation under the most favorable circumstances, but it will admit of their being carried more safely, and at a cheaper rate, unless in cases where by the latter great numbers are carried. The cost of locomotive power in the

fast travelling steam-boats is very great. The power of the engines used in these boats is nearly equal to a horse power for each of the average number of passengers. On the rail road the power required will be but that of a single horse, when travelling at a very rapid rate, for a large coach-load of passengers. The cost of conveying merchandise will not be greater, independently of tolls, than that of the same conveyance on a canal, and the tolls may be less, in the same proportion as the cost of the work is less.

It has sometimes been erroneously inferred from the fact stated by elementary writers, that a boat may be moved on a canal at the slow rate of two miles an hour, by one third of the power required to move the same weight on a rail road, that the cost of transportation by the former mode, will be two thirds less than by the latter. This is a great mistake. A horse does not in fact draw three times the amount on a canal, which he usually draws on a rail road. Two horses are usually employed in drawing a boat with a load of about thirty tons; and what is more material, two men are required, besides the person who drives the horses, to conduct the boat. The slow pace at which they necessarily move, limits the progress of the men, as well as of the horses, to about twenty miles a day, unless they travel through the night, in which case two sets of men are necessary. The daily cost of two horses at fifty cents, two men at one dollar each, and a boy at fifty cents, is three dollars and fifty cents for the conveyance of thirty tons twenty miles, or six hundred tons one mile. On the rail road, two horses at fifty cents each, travelling twenty miles in six or seven hours, and two other horses to be driven the same distance on the same day, by the same driver, with one man at one dollar, will cost three dollars for conveying sixteen tons forty miles; which is equal to six hundred and forty tons, one mile. The allowance for the expense of horses must be increased on the steep parts of the road, but the expense for the conductor is the same. In the above estimate a horse is supposed to draw fifteen tons on a canal, or what is equal to three hundred tons drawn one mile daily. Heavier loads are no doubt often drawn by a single horse, but we believe that this is fully equal to the average load. Taking together, therefore, the cost of locomotive power, and the necessary attendance of men, that which is required for transportation on a rail road is lower than what is required on a canal.

Transportation by a good rail road, therefore, must be as cheap as by the best canals. It has a great advantage over canal transportation in its greater rapidity even in the conveyance of merchandise, and this advantage is of much greater moment in the conveyance of persons. It gives to rail roads a value for the conveyance of passengers only, nearly equal to that which they have from the conveyance of property. They have the still further advantage of being less liable than canals to interruption. Canals are necessarily closed by frost four or five months in a year, and they are liable to interruption by droughts, and by the failure of their banks. Rail roads are not interrupted by frost, nor by a light snow. In some seasons they will be interrupted by deep snows, but the interruption will be much shorter than that to which canals and rivers are always liable. They may be interrupted by other accidents, but the injuries to which they are liable are not likely to be so extensive, or to require so long a time in the repair, as those to which canals are subject.

By opening a channel of communication of this description, adapted to all purposes of business through a tract of country two hundred miles in extent, filled with an industrious population, who rely in part on foreign products for their subsistence, and on the exportation of the products of their industry for their means of wealth, there can be no doubt that a new vigor would be given to the public industry, and a new value to the resources of the state. The population of the five western counties is about two hundred thousand souls. Nearly the whole of this population would pass over some part of the rail road, on their way to the best markets for the sale of their products, and for the purchase of their supplies from abroad. An equal number of people, inhabiting the borders of Connecticut river in New Hampshire and Vermont, and the parts of Connecticut adjoining this state, would derive a similar benefit from this rail road. To these should be added the inhabitants of that part of the state of New York through which the route passes, and of part of the county of Middlesex, and it will be found that the number of inhabitants who would be more or less accommodated by this rail road, is equal to more than half the population of the whole tract of country which depends for the transport of its produce and supplies on the New York canals, including the whole of the northern and western parts of New York, and the western parts of Vermont.

The Directors, in their Report, estimate the cost of the rail road at a sum which may be procured on the credit of the state at an interest of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum, and the annual cost of superintendence and repairs at fifty thousand dollars more. In their estimate of the income which may be expected from the use of the road, in the present state of the population and wealth of the country, they endeavor only to show that the business will be amply sufficient to produce this sum at very low rates of toll. They argue that if, in the present state of the country, the income of the road will be sufficient to defray the whole of the annual charges, including the interest on the cost, the additional income, arising from the increase of population and business which may be reasonably anticipated, may be relied upon as a fund for paying off the debt at no remote period ; after which, the whole income of the road will remain as a perpetual revenue to the state, to be appropriated to further improvements, or in such other manner as the legislature may direct. The whole burden and risk to which the state will subject its treasury, by undertaking the work, will be, the payment of the interest on such part of the debt as shall be incurred before the road begins to afford an income, and the hazard that the income may fall short of the amount estimated. Against this hazard, is to be set off the chance that the income may exceed the estimate, and the whole unincumbered income of the road, after the debt shall have been paid off.

But this is not all. Another view is presented in the Report, of the advantages which will result from this improvement, in the increase of business, and the increased value of property in the state. The precise amount and value of these benefits cannot be estimated ; but we agree fully in the opinion intimated in the Report, that, independently of the other advantages, from the increased facility of transacting business, the immediate increase of the value of real estate in the Commonwealth would be more than equal to the whole cost of the road. If these anticipations are well founded, there are twice the inducements which are necessary for this undertaking. The cost will be twice repaid, once in refunding that cost in the direct income of the road, and once in other pecuniary benefits which the citizens of the Commonwealth will derive from it.

We have remarked that the Directors in their report attempt to show only that the annual income of the western road

in the present state of population will be equal to the annual charges, including the interest on the cost. This estimate appears to be extremely moderate. Nearly half of this amount they anticipate will be derived from the conveyance of passengers, and one fifth from the business between Boston and Albany, of which we have already spoken. The residue must be derived from the business of the intermediate places, and of all those parts of the country which will be in any degree accommodated by it. The population to whom this road will afford the best access to a large market, in the whole or in part, cannot be numbered at less than five hundred thousand. Of the income which may be derived from the business of such a population, some conjecture may be formed, by comparing this business with that done on the New York canals.

The Erie and Champlain canals measure about four hundred and thirty miles in length, and their cost was ten millions of dollars. The amount of tolls received on them, the last season, was eight hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars, and the preceding year eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand dollars. It appears from the last report of the canal commissioners that the navigation of the canals was open from the 1st of April to the 19th of December, a period of eight months and fifteen days, and that this was the longest period of navigation, which has occurred in any season. In this period of a little more than two thirds of a year, these canals have afforded an income which would be sufficient in four years to pay the whole cost of a rail road from Boston to Albany.

We know that some persons have adopted the belief, that the people of New England have nothing to transport on a rail road or canal, and that on this account the work here proposed will bear no comparison in its advantages, with the great canals of the state of New York. They appear to forget that the people of the interior of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut, live as well, and in their mode of living consume as much (and we might perhaps safely say much more) of foreign merchandise, and products of the seaboard, as the inhabitants of New York, who receive their supplies through the canals. To enable them to pay for the articles thus imported, they must carry something abroad, of the produce of their home industry. These exports, it is true, do not consist of two or three great staples, like the wheat and flour of New York, and they are perhaps in general not so

bulky, in proportion to their value as the present products of the northern and western parts of the state of New York, which are in a larger proportion the fruits of agriculture. Many products of the interior, however, which are of great weight and bulk in proportion to their value, will be transported on the rail road, such as wood, timber, charcoal, and lime. Besides these articles, there are now transported a great variety of coarse manufactures of wood and other materials, pork, butter, cheese, and live stock. There are now annually brought to Brighton for the supply of the market of Boston and of the neighboring towns, thirty-seven thousand fat cattle, one hundred and thirty thousand sheep, and twenty-two thousand swine, weighing twenty thousand tons; a large proportion of which are brought from the west. These might undoubtedly be brought most economically, either dead or alive, upon the rail road.

With the present means of transportation, the produce of the interior, carried abroad for sale, must be sufficient in amount and value to pay for the supplies brought from abroad for the consumption of the inhabitants. It is well known, that the people of the interior of Massachusetts and other New England states are accustomed to use for their subsistence, not only all the foreign productions which are in common use by the inhabitants of the western parts of the state of New York, but several other articles from abroad which the inhabitants of that part of the country produce for themselves. Among these articles are flour, salt, and plaster. Singular as it would have seemed a few years ago, a very large proportion of the farmers of these states depend in part for the subsistence of their families, on flour from New York or the more distant states. Salt is obtained by them from abroad exclusively, but the people of the western part of New York procure their whole supply of this article, as well as of flour, at home. The importation of these articles adds very materially to the amount of transportation, and a greater quantity of articles must be exported to pay for these imports. From these facts, and from what is well known of the habits of living among the inhabitants of the interior of New England, it may be confidently inferred that they require a greater amount of transportation, for the supply of their families, than the same number of inhabitants in the parts of the country through which the New York canals pass.

We have already spoken of the comparative amount of

population accommodated by the two improvements. It is a low estimate to compute the number of those who will transport their supplies and produce upon the Western rail road, at half those who depend on the New York canals. The average distance of transportation on the rail road, will perhaps not exceed half the average on the canals. If, therefore, we suppose that half the quantity of merchandise transported on the canals, will be transported on the rail road, and that the average distance of the transportation will be half, the amount of tolls, if charged at the same rates, will be one quarter, or two hundred and ten thousand dollars per annum. This, it should be remembered, does not include the estimate for passengers, as the amount of tolls for passengers on the canals is inconsiderable.

To this mode of calculation it may be objected, that in the estimate of the population accommodated by means of the canals, we do not include the inhabitants of Ohio and the Canadas, who live beyond the terminations of the canals, and receive a part of their supplies through them. To this we reply, that the proportion of merchandise which will be carried through the whole course of the rail road, for the supply of inhabitants not included in the number supposed to be directly benefited by the road, is much greater than that which is carried through the whole course of the Erie canal to Buffalo, and through Lake Champlain to Canada. The whole amount of property received at, and transported from Buffalo on the canal, in 1827, was short of twenty thousand tons; and in 1828, the amount was still less. The amount conveyed to and from Canada, through the Champlain canal, is not known, but it is undoubtedly less, with the addition of the amount belonging to persons residing west of Buffalo, than the amount which will be transported to and from Albany, over the whole course of the rail road.

If, therefore, we are correct in our premises, that the population of the interior of the New England states requires as great an amount of transportation (including the supplies of flour, salt, plaster, and raw materials for manufactures, and the new exports of wood, marble, lime, and other heavy articles which the rail road will enable them to make,) as the same number of inhabitants of the western and northern parts of New York, our conclusion cannot be denied, that, at the same rates of toll, this transportation will afford an annual income of more than two

hundred thousand dollars, independently of that which will be derived from the conveyance of passengers. The estimate in the report of the Directors, is but little more than half this amount. Their estimate, it will be observed, is made at the low rates of a half cent and a cent a ton per mile, whereas the canal tolls are nearly all at the rate of three cents a mile for the transportation upward, and the greater part at the rate of a cent and a half for the transportation downward. The transportation on the rail road, with the exception of that through the whole route from Boston to Albany, will bear to be subjected to as high rates of toll as that on the canals, though sound policy may recommend the adoption of lower rates.

If it is still objected that we estimate too highly the amount of produce which will be exported on the rail road, we will suppose, for a moment, that nothing is exported, and that the supplies required by the inhabitants to be imported, in proportion to their numbers, are only equal to the imports on the New York canals. The tolls received at Albany and Troy the present season, which we understand to be exclusively for the transportation upward, amounted to more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Tolls at the same rate, on half the amount of merchandise, carried half the average distance, would amount to more than sixty thousand dollars. This alone is within about ten thousand dollars of the amount estimated in the Report of the Directors, as receivable on the whole trade of the interior, including exports and imports. This will serve further to confirm our opinion, that the estimate in the Report is extremely moderate, and the rates of toll assumed by the Directors much lower than may be charged, if it shall be found desirable to enhance the amount of revenue above that estimate.

The Directors, in their Report, estimate the present number of persons travelling on the several routes between Boston and Albany, and on parts of the route selected for the rail road, to be equal to seventy-five passengers, both directions included, per day ; and that, if by means of the rail road the time of performing the journey should be reduced to twenty-two hours, and the cost to three dollars, this number of travellers would be doubled. This number of passengers, at a toll of a cent each per mile, would afford an annual income of ninety-three thousand and nine hundred dollars. Nothing can be more unsafe than to undertake to determine with confidence what number

of persons will travel on a given route, in a very different state of things from any which has yet existed. The number here assumed is apparently a moderate estimate. At any rate there can be no hazard in considering it as certain for the present purpose ; for if the number should fall short of this estimate, the toll on the actual number might be doubled, without the least hazard of driving them to any other mode of conveyance.

There are some other parts of the Report of the Directors, on which we intended to have made some remarks ; but this article is already drawn out to too great a length. The Reports of the engineers show that their investigations have been thoroughly, carefully, and scientifically made, and the results are very clearly and satisfactorily stated. These Reports contain a vast deal of topographical information, which will be useful for other purposes than those for which the surveys were specially made. The inquiries and calculations for the estimates appear to have been very elaborate, and we believe they are made on principles which entitle them to the strongest confidence. The care with which all the reports are elucidated by maps and plates is deserving of commendation. These are so complete as to render every part of the Reports perfectly intelligible.

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